

COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER

.....
VOLUME LXXXIV.

FROM APRIL 5, TO JUNE 28, 1834,

INCLUSIVE.
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LONDON:

**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
11, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.**

1834

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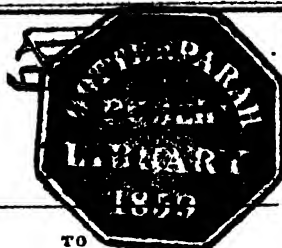
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 84.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 5TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

London, 31. March, 1831.

SIR,

IN the former letters, addressed to you by me, and which were not sent to you in manuscript, as this will be, I informed you that the hopes and the fears of all good men in England were fixed upon you, in your struggle with the voracious and hellish monster of paper-money; hopes, that you would persevere until you had strangled the monster; fears, that, from feelings of compassion for the present sufferers, or from deception practised on you by the myriads of fraudulent deceivers whom the monster has always at his command, you might be induced to hold your hand, and to suffer the infernal monster, to recover from the blow which you had already given it.

Amongst all, the persons thus divided between their hopes and their fears, there was, perhaps, no man who felt so much anxiety as he who has the honour now to address you; but, sir, while I was in this state of mind, there came into my hands, by mere chance, the *History of your Life*, written by your brother senator and neighbour, JOHN HENRY EATON, and published at PHILADELPHIA in 1824; and, curious to relate, published by Mr. BRADFORD, who published the very first book that ever I sent to the press. Having read this book of Mr. EATON, all my fears were removed. I had here quite evidence enough to prove to me, that, having once formed your determination,

nothing but death would stay the execution of your purpose.

I need not tell you, sir, that our monster will, at the least, be brought upon its knees, by the execution of your determination. Already millions upon millions of dollars have been shipped off from this grand receptacle of the bullion of the world; the United States, instead of being the collector of bullion for England, as heretofore, is now drawing away the bullion from this place of deposit: our prices are already so low, as to spread ruin amongst merchants, amongst farmers, amongst manufacturers, amongst tradesmen, and amongst handicraftsmen of every description. All men who have any knowledge of the subject, know, that if you persevere, one of two things must take place here: a blowing up of the paper-system at once; or, a non-payment in specie; that is to say, a system of *assignats*.

Therefore, the question was, and yet is, *whether you will persevere?* That question is settled with me, by my having read the book of Mr. EATON; and, in order that it may be settled with others also, I, on the 29. instant, sent to the press, the book of Mr. EATON, abridged, in some cases; explained in other cases; corrected, with regard to dates, which, in numerous cases had been omitted; and, Mr. EATON having stopped with your defence of NEW ORLEANS, in 1815, I have continued the "*history*" down to the month of February, 1834. There needs nothing more than this book to convince every man, that the doom of the paper-monster is sealed in America, at least, unless it should please God, in his anger against your country, very speedily to put an end to your life.

In another letter, to be written, probably, to-morrow, and to be sent you in print, unaccompanied by manuscript original, I shall have much more to address to you. I transmit this in manuscript solely for the purpose of giving you this mark of my great respect; and request-

ing you to be pleased to understand clearly, that I can easily perceive the impropriety of your sending me any answer in return. In short, I thus address you with my own pen, as the strongest mark that I have it in my power to give you of the admiration which I entertain of your character and your conduct, and of the boundless gratitude that I feel for the services which you have rendered to the cause of justice and of freedom; in which sentiments I only participate with millions of the people of this now oppressed, harassed, and distracted kingdom.

I have the honour to be, sir,
your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

London, 2 April, 1834.

By the first ship that leaves the river, I shall do myself the honour to send you several official documents, which you will find, I am persuaded, worthy of your attention. The poet says:

"Heav'n first taught letters for some wretch's aid,
"Some banished lover, or some captive maid;
"They speed the intercourse from soul to soul,
"And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole."

Begging pardon of this accomplished philosopher and beautiful poet, I must tell him, that Heaven taught letters for somebody else besides lovers. They are very good for them, to be sure; but they are equally good, at the least, for the unfortunate wretches, who are suffering under the fangs of the paper-money monster. It is very good of them to waft *sighs* certainly, but better to waft execrations, and better still, to waft facts and arguments against the monster of paper-money: very good in them to "waft a lover's sigh from Indus to the Pole"; but a great deal better, to waft my letters (addressed to you) to the

United States, and to cause them to be republished in the newspapers all over the country. It has been promised us, by him who could not err, that, if we work with good intention, and prudently work, our efforts will, first or last, never be thrown away. The official documents which I sent you in the fall of the year, will have shown you into what a *quagmire* the accursed paper-money had plunged this kingdom. In the present letter, and in the documents which I shall cause to go out as quickly as possible, you will see a great deal more than sufficient to convince you, that we have, at last, arrived at a state in which it is impossible for us long to remain; and that we must come, either to some great change with regard to the public debt, or with regard to the paper-money: every man in the kingdom is satisfied, be he of what party he may, that we cannot proceed much further in our present course. The duration of our present course cannot be long; but that duration will, in some measure, depend upon you.

In order to give you as full a view of our situation, as time and other circumstances will permit me, I will give a hasty sketch of the progress of our paper-money, which, you will please to observe, is the original cause of all the present calamities of this country. I need hardly tell you, that the Bank of England, and its paper, were invented for the sole purpose of upholding a foreigner upon the throne; that immediately after its invention, the taxes raised upon the people became ten times as great as they had been before; that, before the American war, it enabled the Government to make wars, wholly unnecessary to the well-being of England; that the American revolutionary war had for its object, the compelling of the people of that country to contribute towards the payment of the interest of the then debt; that the late French war was undertaken to put down those doctrines which had abolished tithes and nobility in France; that the last American war originated in a desire to extirpate the last free institutions; and, that neither of these wars could ever have been attempted, without the aid of

paper-money; during these wars our enormous debts were contracted in paper-money; and, an attempt to pay the interest of these debts in gold, which attempt arose out of a conviction (well-founded) that, if we did not return to gold, we must go on to *assignats*, and thus have a revolution complete, from the top to the bottom; an attempt to pay these debts in gold, has now plunged us into a scene, the like of which the wildest dreamer could never have expected to see.

There are several things on foot at this moment; each of which contemplates what would be quite worthy of the name of revolution; contemplates a much more important change than was effected at *Old Glorious*, in 1688; but at present I will speak to you only of the revolution that is actually going on, under the auspices of the King's Ministers, with regard to the ESTABLISHED CHURCH. You, sir, will probably exclaim, "Poh! what's the church!" "We think nothing about a church here: our Government and laws recognise no establishment in religion; what, therefore, has the church to do with civil and political Government?" This is, I dare say, very much underrating your knowledge of the nature of our Government; but it would be perfectly excusable in you, if you did entertain this view of the matter; if you could not conceive it possible that the teachers of religion, excluded, too, by law, from all civil and political functions, and shut out of the House of Commons by law; it would be very excusable, if you were unable to conceive, that even the total extinguishment of all these people, could have any effect upon the stability of the other orders in the state; and, if you were to deem it a sort of madness in any one to predict, that the peers and the King would not long survive the overthrow of the church. A little closer view of the subject, however, would change your opinion as to this matter; and, as I look upon the work of annihilating the church to have actually begun, I will now endeavour to enable you to take that closer view.

You who have all your lifetime seen abundance of bishops and priests and deacons and doctors of divinity and other "reverend" gentlemen; and have seen them of no more consequence than so many carpenters or bricklayers with regard to the political institutions and powers of the country, can have but a faint notion of the power and influence of this body in this country, though you must know, if you were to give yourself the trouble of looking into all the laws connected with this establishment of ours, that there is not the most distant resemblance between the two things; yet your acquaintance with this ecclesiastical establishment must be so imperfect, as for it to be absolutely necessary to explain the matter to you, in order that you may be a judge of our present state.

We have bishops here, and so have you; but ours sit in right of their *see* in the upper House of Parliament. The archbishops take precedence of all other peers, except those of the king's own family, and every bishop takes precedence of a far greater part of the peers. But this is by no means the most material of their rights and their powers. Some of these bishops have means to the amount of fifty thousand pounds a year each; and I believe that their average revenues amount to not less than twenty thousand pounds a year each. Nor is the amount of their revenues the circumstance of the greatest importance: the nature of those revenues is of equal or still greater importance. Were it *so much money given to each*, it would be a different matter. Their revenues consist of palaces, parks, rents of land, quit-rents, fines, heriots, right of timber upon other men's estates; and all the many rights and powers belonging to *lords of manors*. I believe that the Bishop of WINCHESTER is the lord of forty manors in Hampshire and Surrey. He has a palace on a lofty hill, looking over the town of FARNHAM, in Surrey; and looking over a circuit of country, probably thirty or forty miles round. He is the lord over almost the whole of that. The lands are either copyhold or leasehold. There is here and there a little patch of freehold;

he is the lord of all the rest ; and his stewards are the lords under him, to collect the renewals of leases, the fines on death or alienation, the heriots, the timber sales. You will observe that the *game* in this country is a great affair ; and that this bishop is the owner of the game, generally speaking, in all these manors ; and that he can appoint a game-keeper, with a deputation from himself, for every manor. His stewards hold manor-courts, at Michaelmas and Lady-day, in every year. In these courts deaths or alienations are recorded ; and the title to the lands is a copy of the roll of these courts. Then, another part of his revenue is derived from fines even on freehold lands. He has the power, besides, of appointing vicars and rectors to many benefices in his diocese. NORTH, a late bishop of WINCHESTER, gave to his own sons, and other relations, benefices yielding twenty thousand pounds a year.

This, sir, is an English bishop, who may truly be said to be, as far as relates to property, the real overseer of his diocese. There are *twenty-six* of these in England and Wales. JAMES the First used to say, "*No bishop, no king* ;" and I believe you will be satisfied, that that clunder-headed old fellow was not far from being right.

Next come the "*DEANS AND CHAPTERS*." In every diocese there is a cathedral church ; and to each of these churches is attached a body of men, called the "*DEAN AND CHAPTER*." The chapter consists of prebendaries, or canons ; and they have underlings called *precentors*, and singing boys, and God knows what besides. These things were of great use in Catholic times, drawing the country people together on market-days, on fair-days, on Sundays, to bend at the performance of mass in so grand and imposing a style, as to leave an impression on their minds for the remainder of their life. All this is now gone and forgotten ; all is become a mere sinecure ; but the property and the power remain. These Deans and Chapters are the lords of manors ; the owners of estates : they have rents, fines, quit-rents, heriots, stewards, game-keepers,

and every thing else as in the case of the bishop. They, too, are patrons of livings in the church ; and you will please to observe, that there are twenty-six of these bodies, each consisting of from twenty to forty in number, and, if you will look at the cities which give the names to the sees of bishops, and which have cathedrals, you will see how judiciously they have been spread over the country.

THE UNIVERSITIES and COLLEGES come next. These were formed, as you well know, a great while ago, and chiefly by Catholics. These alone can give degrees, such as doctor, master of arts, and the like ; and before a degree can be taken, the party taking it must subscribe to the articles of the established church ; consequently, no man can be master of a college, a fellow of a college, or fill any post of honour or emolument in the college, unless he be of the church. But it is the solid pudding in this case as well as the others ; the pudding, and the power which the pudding gives. When a college was founded, it was *endowed* ; and the endowment consisted of lands and tenements, of lordships and manors, of right of presenting to livings in the church ; and, in short, of every thing mentioned in the case of the bishops and the deans and chapters.

Next come the great schools of WESTMINSTER, of ETON, and of WINCHESTER. There are others, and very many others, but of inferior note to these. These are, in fact, colleges, and very largely endowed. The owners, in fact, of the property belonging to these, are the masters, the wardens, the fellows, or whatever else they may be called. These also are owners of lands and tenements ; of manors innumerable ; their stewards collect renewals, rents, fines, quit-rents, heriots, indulgencies ; and these men again, who must all be of the church of England, appoint game-keepers on their manors ; and exercise an influence and control round about the country, of which you cannot possibly form an adequate notion.

Lastly come the PARSONS, divided into *rectors*, *vicars*, and *perpetual curates* ; each of whom, when he has once got

his living, has it as his freehold for life and it is a real freehold, having in it all the attributes of freehold, giving him the right, generally speaking, to take the tenth part of the gross produce of all the lands in his parish; and to take these in kind, or commute them for money, just as he pleases. He has the tenth of every thing, from the wheat field down to the hen's nest; the tenth lamb, calf, pig, egg, gallon of milk, apple, gooseberry, cabbage. In short every thing arising out of the land, or arising in any way upon the land; and in towns, they have a tithe upon the houses, and in the country, a tithe upon the profit of mills. Now, sir, imagine a man thus clothed with power; clothed besides with the powers of magistrate, very frequently; clothed besides, with the power of putting his *veto* (*your Bank knows what a veto is!*) on a man's having a license to keep a public-house on a man's having a license to be a travelling merchant, or pedlar; on a poor man's being able to put his child into a charity-school: see this man, *ex-officio*, the chairman of the vestry of his parish. Imagine a man thus armed with influence and power, having a parsonage house and glebe-land, and having the church and churchyard under his absolute control: imagine him perfectly protected by the law, as well as by traditional custom, while he mounts the pulpit one day in every week, and talks there about just what he pleases, no one daring even to whisper disapprobation of his preaching; imagine a man thus endowed with power, stationed for life in every four square miles, on an average, throughout England, not four miles square; imagine this, and add to this all-pervading influence and power, the mass of influence of the bishops, the deans, the chapters, the universities, colleges, and schools; then consider, that all these livings and benefices and dignities of every description, flow from the king, the nobility, and the gentry; and that the parties in possession are all closely bound up in ties of relationship, or ties of immediate interest, with the nobility and gentry. Look at all this, sir, and you will exclaim, in speaking of this

church, "The gates of hell cannot prevail against it"! No; not the gates of hell; but, as you will soon learn, *the gates of paper-money can!*

This is, surely, the most curious and interesting spectacle ever yet witnessed by the world: that a parcel of *clerks*, as they call themselves, destitute of all learning, except what they find prepared for them in the "*Ready-reckoner*," and in "*King's Interest-tables*"; with no title, no eminence; totally unknown; having for their highest insignia, a pen stuck behind their ear; a parcel of creatures like this, whom forty-four years ago this church considered of no more consequence, than the jackdaws which build their nest in steeples; that this troop of clerks, and without knowing what they were doing, too, should, by the means of little bits of paper, intrinsically worth nothing, have brought this immense mass of power upon its knees, and made it play the hypocrite to the extent of feigning willingness to yield to those preliminary measures which have been begun, and which must go on, until this whole mass of power be totally annihilated; unless there be an instantaneous arresting of the progress, which is a thing that many men hope for, but which very few men expect.

How this deadly instrument, invented by a bishop, at the instigation of the devil; this apparently contemptible instrument; *how* it is, that this hell-invented paper-money can have produced his effect; can have put in peril such a mass of power, which all but blind men must see is the main pillar of the English throne; *how* it has been able to do this, it will remain for me to show in sequel to the history of the "*PROTESTANT REFORMATION*"; but that the facts such you may be assured; and, is here any ground for wonder, that the same instrument should have put in peril the existence of your constitution, unsupported by any thing but the mere will of the people, and those people beset with a press bribed by the Bank, and abouring to spread about popular error and delusion in every direction?

From the very establishment of the Bank of the United States, I sent over

my remonstrances on the subject ; those remonstrances produced no effect ; but now, when the monster has half-devoured the industry of the country, surely so sensible a people will listen. PAINE has observed, that a paper-money never yet was extinguished without destroying the Government, which had had the wickedness or the folly to suffer it to become the sole currency of the country. His argument was, that, in getting back to specie, the wrongs, the sufferings, the turmoil, were so great, that they naturally produced a *convulsive revolution*. America will escape this, because you have the millions on your side, and because you have taken care, that those millions shall understand the matter well ; but if you had been a man to relax, to give way, though in the smallest degree, your famous constitution would have become the laughing-stock of the world.

It is making a bank the agent of the Government, and the keeper of the public money, that do the mischief. It then issues paper, and gets an interest for it upon the foundation of the people's own money ; and, finally, it becomes the master of the Government itself, as it long has been of this Government, which can consent to nothing of which it expresses its disapprobation. Thus the nobles, the Ministers, and the House of Commons, are all kept in subjection. Those of them that have sense feel sore at this ; but they dare not resist. I can see no reason why the Treasury itself should not receive the money arising from the taxes, and issue it, without the intervention of any bank at all. Here it cannot be done ; for the Government *is always in arrear to the Bank* ; and if the Bank were to refuse to go on advancing in this way, the Government must come to a stand ; and, therefore, it thus proceeds.

We have a strong instance of the monstrous effects of paper-money in the vote of twenty millions to the West Indians, in order to induce them to liberate their slaves. If we had been compelled to raise the twenty millions, and to pay it down, this monstrous act of folly could not have been committed ;

but here were paper-money mongers in abundance to lend us the twenty millions ; and the paying of the interest is all that we have to provide for. However, here are eight hundred thousand pounds a year, and this is now put forward as an excuse for not taking off that much of taxes. I must beg your permission to stop here, while I make a few remarks on this "great measure of justice and humanity," as it is everlastingly called. Nothing was ever more unjust than to compel the suffering people of England to pay this eight hundred thousand pounds a year ; and as to *humanity*, the miserable cant has disgusted all the sensible part of the nation. This measure has been ascribed to three different motives ; *first*, a desire to please the petitioners who petitioned for the abolition of slavery ; *second*, to take this covert method of saving the West India merchants and planters from general bankruptcy ; *third*, to set, from *motives of pure philanthropy*, an example of *humanity*, to be followed by *other nations, and particularly by the UNITED STATES*. As to the *first*, nobody that has witnessed the conduct of this Government can believe it : the petitions came from the swarms of fanatics that inhabit the crack-skull county of York ; and from other bodies of the same description, scattered all over this canting kingdom. As a specimen of these petitions, there was one presented by Mr. FOWELL BUXTON, a London brewer of that famous drink called *porter*, of which I shall only say, that I pray God that you may never need any of it to drink. This petition, he represented as having been signed, quite voluntarily, by TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHT THOUSAND ENGLISH WOMEN ! It formed a bundle about the bulk of two Winchester bu-hels ; and that you may duly estimate the philanthropic disposition of the House, you should know, that there was a *general loud cheering* when the two door-keepers brought forward the goodly lump. Now, please to observe, sir, that in England and Wales, here are twelve millions of people ; and, of course, six millions of females ; and,

probably, about three millions of adult females, going down even into the poor-houses and amongst the beggars in the streets, and the gipsies under the hedges, and including blind and bed-ridden old women, and probably, a good half-million of girls of the town. So that here was about an eighth part of all these adults with their names to this one petition. Women's names to the other petitions that had been presented, would make the whole amount to about a million. Judge, you then, of FOWELL Buxton, of this Ministry, and of this cheering House of Commons.

It is insincerity to affect to believe that the Ministers could have been influenced by such petitions. The petitions were laughed at by every sensible man; the petitioners were, in a political point of view, not of half the consequence of an equal number of musquitoes; a parcel of crack-brained dupes, cheated out of their pennies by a set of lazy vagabonds, who go about telling them, that it is good for their souls that they endure hunger and thirst in this world; good for their souls to work three times as hard, and not to live a tenth part so well, as the negroes.

The second motive has more of sense in it; and a great deal more of justice. The West India planters and merchants have been ruined by the measures of the Government in England. First, by the monstrous restrictions on their commerce; and, second, by the change in the value of money made in 1819. Therefore, to advance them the twenty millions was not so unjust; and if the motive had been openly avowed, I do not know that it was liable to any very serious objection. The third motive; and, to speak plain, the desire to create disturbances in the slave states of America, I myself do not ascribe to the Government; but I know it to have been a favourite idea with some other men. I did not like the passage in the King's speech, expressing a hope, that our example as to this matter, would be followed by OTHER COUNTRIES, who still held blacks in a state of slavery. I did not like this, I must confess; but I do not believe that the Ministers were

actuated by this motive; though it is impossible not to see that their measure may do great injury to the United States. At any rate, if such were their motive, you have given them a *Roland* for their *Oliver*: they certainly had a right to abolish negro-slavery, without consulting you, and without regard to consequences affecting you; and you have as clear a right to abolish paper-money, without consulting them, and without regard to the consequences resulting to them and their affairs.

In the meanwhile, however, you should be informed, that there are miscreants going about from town to town, in England, preaching up the necessity of forming combinations and raising subscriptions for the purpose of compelling the United States of America to free their negroes. There is no law here that your ambassador can make to reach these miscreants. Nor, if there were such a law, would it be worth while to resort to it; but the miscreants threaten to go over to the Southern States of America, and there preach up their doctrines; and as I believe they will go; and that there are people here to pay them, for the sole purpose of doing injury to the United States, I think it necessary to warn you of their probable approach. The hope was indulged by many persons here, that that which could not be accomplished by war, would be quietly accomplished by the means of the banks; and it would amuse you to perceive the disappointment which the cowardly monsters feel at your having now again blasted their hopes.

Along with this letter, I send you, sir, the Estimates of the ARMY, NAVY, and ORDNANCE, for this year; I send you also an analysis of the two former; and have only to add, that every penny of the money demanded by these estimates, was voted by the House of Commons, without the smallest hesitation; from which you will judge what benefit we have derived from our famous reform of the Parliament. I send several other official papers, at every page of which you will discover the effects of the infernal paper-money.

I request you to receive these, sir, as

marks of my great respect, and a proofs indubitable, that you are acting the just and wise part. Of what sort the change is to be here, or to what extent it may go, no man living can tell: that it must be a great change every one clearly sees; and, so sure as there is a moon or a sun, so sure there would have been a total revolution in America, if you had not interposed your authority with regard to the Bank.

I shall think it my duty to keep you regularly informed of our proceedings here, and

Sir,
I have the honour to be,
your most humble,
and most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.

(From the *New York Standard*)

THIS report was presented on Tuesday. The conclusion of the report and the resolutions accompanying it are published in Wednesday's *Globe*. That paper says: "It is a document of facts, not speculation." The question of right, in regard to the power assumed by the Treasury Department over the deposits, is settled, not merely upon the broad authority reserved in the Bank charter, but upon an uninterrupted chain of precedents, showing by their unbroken tenour, that every administration, since the foundation of the Government, has given the same interpretation to the law in relation to this matter, which has recently been acted upon by Mr. Taney.

The views of the committee against the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, and the restoration of the deposits, are clearly presented. They are decisively followed out by suitable resolutions, which we have no doubt will receive the sanction of a large majority of the immediate representatives of the people, and thus seal the fate of the corrupt colossal tyranny, which has a foot set upon each State in the republic.

The committee give their opinions at large, upon the subject of the state-bank agency in the management of the public finances. They show that reliance on them was part of the long-sighted policy which induced the framers of the constitution to reject the proposition to confer the power, creating corporations, upon Congress, and that it was in fact the resort of the confederacy before, as well as after, the adoption of the constitution. They propose, however, to begin a new era and to throw new safeguards around the public deposits, by specific legislation upon the subject.

To secure the pecuniary interests of the Government yet intrusted to the Bank of the United States, and to ascertain to what extent the abuses have gone, and how far it has contributed to produce the present commercial distress complained of, a full and searching inquiry into its management is proposed.

The report will doubtless be read with intense interest by all classes of our countrymen. The questions it discusses are of vital interest, not only to the present generation, but to unborn millions. The decision of them involves, not merely the fate of the Bank, but the fate of the Government.

We give below, the resolutions and the concluding portion of the report, being all that our limits will enable us to give to-day. It will appear as a whole in the *Globe* in a day or two, and will also be published by us in pamphlet form.

Conclusion of the Report.

It will be seen by the views already taken by the committee, that in their opinion, the deposits have been lawfully removed from the Bank of the United States, and the money now in the Treasury has been legally deposited in the state banks.

In these circumstances it remains to be considered, whether any, and if any, what legislation is necessary in consequence of the change of the deposits.

It is the opinion of the committee that the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered. The constitutional objections to it are, in their judg-

ment, insuperable; and if its charter could be justified by the constitution, recent events have demonstrated that the continued existence of such a vast concentrated money power, must prove dangerous to the freedom and purity of our institutions.

And after the great abuses of which it has been guilty, a re-charter, under any modifications, would be offering the high legislative sanction and approbation of Congress to the various acts of misconduct detailed in this and former reports to Congress. It is impossible that a corporation, which is proved to have used its money to corrupt the press, to influence elections, and control the Government, can ever be selected as the peculiar object of the favour and bounty of the Government. The Bank ought not therefore to be re-chartered on any terms. And as the charter ought not to be renewed, it is manifest that the deposits ought not to be restored to it. For, setting aside the various acts of misconduct, by which the present corporation has justly forfeited the public confidence, it is obvious that the restoration of the deposits to the present Bank, to be removed again in two years, would produce nothing but the most serious evil and distress to the country, without any possible advantage. The restoration of the deposits, and the re-charter of the Bank, are, in the judgment of the committee, inseparably connected together, and neither can wish any propriety be adopted without the other.

The question then arises, whether the state banks should be continued as the fiscal agents of the Government.

The committee are satisfied that the state banks are fully competent to perform all the services which the general Government ought to require, in the collection and disbursement of the revenue; and to afford also all the facilities to the internal commerce and exchanges of the country, which have been derived from the Bank of the United States.

The collection and disbursement of the public revenue may be safely placed where the sages who framed the consti-

tution left it. They did not deem a national bank essential, either to the Government they were forming, or to the successful administration of its finances. The opinion has already been expressed, that the state banks are competent to perform all the duties which the Government or the public convenience may require. And there are many circumstances which strongly recommend them to a preference over the Bank of the United States. No one of them can exercise a general control over all the others, and expand and contract the whole currency of the country at its pleasure, to favour the private speculations of individuals, or to increase its own profits. And they can never combine together for political objects, nor hope to gain possession of the Government, and control its operations. The state banks are now firmly interwoven with the institutions of the country. They are generally under the management of citizens as respectable, as trustworthily, as any directors of the Bank of the United States. And it would be unjust, and contrary to the spirit of our institutions, for Congress to sustain a great moneyed power to overawe and oppress them, and to bring ruin upon multitudes of our citizens, whenever cupidity or ambition shall tempt them to exercise their power. The stock of the Bank of the United States has fallen, for the most part, into the hands of the great capitalists of this, and foreign countries, who have but little sympathy for the suffering of our people, when their own sordid and ambitious views make it their interest to inflict it.

If it should be urged as an objection to the state banks, that they cannot afford a general currency, the answer is obvious. If it were necessary to create a paper currency, possessing equal credit with that of the present Bank of the United States, the object can be as well accomplished with the state banks, as with the Bank of the United States. The provision which has made the latter current every where, is the clause in the charter which compels the Government to receive their notes in

payment of all debts due to the public and a similar provision in favour of the state banks which might be selected as the depositories of the money of the United States, would immediately make their notes equally current, and ensure for them equal confidence in any part of the United States.

But the committee are not prepared to recommend the adoption of such a measure. They are convinced that at which public convenience requires, in this respect will soon be accomplished by arrangements among the banks themselves; and that there ought to be no legislation of Congress for the purpose of establishing a currency of paper.

The main object of legislation should be, to enlarge the basis of specie, on which the paper circulation of the state banks is to depend for support. And the committee are persuaded, that by the adoption of the state banks as the fiscal agents of the general Government, and a judicious course of legislation founded upon it, that a sounder state of the currency than now exists would soon be attained, and the country rescued permanently from the danger of those sudden expansions and contractions of the paper currency which have been constantly succeeding each other, since the Bank of the United States was established, which have brought such severe and extensive evils upon the country. The aid and co-operation of the several states may be relied on, to banish gradually the smaller notes, and introduce in their place silver and gold, for ordinary domestic purposes, and the convenience of travel between distant places. Such a reform is strongly called for by sound policy, and the best interests of the country; and the accomplishment of an object so desirable, may be mainly accelerated by laws passed by Congress, adjusting the standard of value of our coins, and regulating the deposits and collection of the revenue. If gold and silver were brought into common use, and the small notes banished from circulation, payments of small sums would probably be made in specie. The great object is not to diminish the amount of the ordinary,

circulating medium, but to give it a broader and firmer foundation on the precious metals.

With these views, the committee are of opinion that the state banks ought to be continued as the depositories of the money of the United States, and that measures ought forthwith to be taken, to regulate by law the manner in which they shall be selected, and to ensure the safety of the public money.

According to the law, as it now stands, the duty of selecting the banks, and of prescribing the securities to be taken, is devolved upon the Secretary of the Treasury, under the supervision of the President. This power has been heretofore exercised by the head of the Treasury Department, and in a manner advantageous to the public, and it is not doubted, if the law should continue unchanged, that it may and will continue to be so exercised by the head of that department—yet it is the opinion of the committee, that discretionary power should never be given, in any case, to any officer of the Government, where it can be regulated and defined by law. They think that it would be more consistent with the principles of our Government, for Congress to regulate by law, the mode of selecting the fiscal agents, the securities proper to be taken, the duties they shall be required to perform, and the terms on which they shall be employed.

In accordance with these views they accordingly report for the consideration of the House, resolutions declaring that the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered, and the state banks ought to continue to be employed as the fiscal agents of the Government, under such regulations as Congress shall prescribe.

Before they close this report, the committee consider it to be their duty to state, that in their judgment, a necessity exists for an immediate examination into the conduct of the Bank, and they proceed to state the grounds which make it absolutely necessary, that a strict and rigorous scrutiny should be instituted. They think such an examination necessary in reference to the se-

curity of the interests which the United States as a stockholder have in the Bank, as well as to correct as far as practicable, the abuses of which it has been guilty, and to prevent it from using its corporate power and money for purposes of corruption and oppression.

Numerous memorials have been referred to the committee, complaining of embarrassments in mercantile transactions, some attributing them to the removal of the deposits, and others chiefly to the subsequent conduct of the Bank of the United States. That serious embarrassments exist in many of the commercial cities, cannot be doubted, and it seems necessary clearly to ascertain the cause before an attempt be made to prescribe the remedy. The powers possessed by the committee are inadequate to that object, and they are unable to do more at present, than to submit the facts which have come to their knowledge, with the course they seem to suggest. That the simple transfer of a sum of money from one bank of deposit to another, could have produced the commercial embarrassments complained of is impossible. The public deposits have not been annihilated; nor have they been transferred from the country; they are still in the country, and in the use of the community.

It is in vain that they look for the cause of embarrassment in the state of our markets, or the operations of trade. Our agricultural productions, and manufactures generally, bear a good price; foreign exchange is at its lowest rate; the balance of trade is decidedly in our favour, and the precious metals are flowing in upon us from South America, Mexico, and Europe. None can doubt the power of the Bank to create embarrassment whenever its managers deem it expedient. In four months, commencing with August last, and ending with November, it called in 9,707,245 dollars of its loans. As the state banks could not commence extending until they began to receive the public deposits in October, and from that till December could not, in their extension, keep pace with the curtailment of the Bank of the United States, it is evident that such

rapid curtailment by the Bank of the United States must have created some sensation in the commerce of the country. But it is easy for the Bank of the United States to produce universal embarrassment, without aggregate curtailment of its accommodations, by calling in rapidly one month, letting out the next, and calling again during the third; while it loans out in one place what it curtails in another, and in this manner, falls upon all the commercial cities in rotation, it may more effectually embarrass trade than by a steady curtailment. When the policy of the Bank is unsteady and capricious, producing a scarcity of money to-day, and an abundance to-morrow, to be succeeded by a greater dearth the next day, it is impossible for merchants to conduct business with safety, and prudent men will restrict or discontinue their operations. The Bank has long enjoyed a large portion of the business of domestic exchange, and whenever it chooses to cut off the supply in any or all directions, embarrassment and difficulty naturally ensue.

There is much reason to suspect that the Bank has been managed, for the last six months, with a view to embarrass the community, as a means of operating on public opinion, and controlling the action of Government.

In the proceedings of the Bank, in relation to domestic exchange, as far as known, are perceived indications of a disposition to use the power it possesses through that branch of its business, for the purpose of producing excitement and distress.

The Government directors inform us, in their memorial, that on the 18. of August last, two weeks before the Treasury Agent returned from his mission to confer with the state banks, and five weeks before the determination of the executive was announced, the Board of Directors adopted a resolution, declaring—

“That the bills of exchange purchased at the Bank, and at all the offices, except the five western offices, shall not have more than ninety days to run. That the five western offices be

instructed to purchase no bills of exchange, except those payable in the Atlantic cities, not having more than ninety days to run, or those which may be received in payment of existing debts to the Bank and the offices, and then not have more than four months to run."

The Government directors inform us, that on a subsequent day, a series of resolutions were adopted for reducing the business of the institution, and *authority given to the committee on the offices to modify them at pleasure*, and although a strenuous effort was made to require them to report such measures as might be directed by them to the board, the *proposition was voted down*.

Thus, in direct violation of the charter, and in defiance of all prudence and propriety, was the whole power of this vast and powerful corporation, to relieve or to oppress, vested in a committee, who are not subject to the responsibility of even making reports to the Board of Directors. A few irresponsible men, issuing secret orders from their private chamber, possess more power to distress the American people, than any department of their Government, or all departments, by an act short of a declaration of war. What the resolves and orders of this potent body have been, we have no means of knowing. The President of the Bank who is *ex-officio* a member of this committee, and undoubtedly directs its operations, is also clothed with unlimited power to set the press in motion for the purpose of promoting the views of the Bank. For months, those presses which are known to have been sustained by enormous loans, and those which have received the most liberal allowances for printing, have been incessantly engaged in an effort to spread alarm and dismay throughout the land. It is impossible not to suspect that the *secret management* of the Bank, and the use of its funds by the President, are in perfect concert with their dependent and devoted presses, all aiming to create a general panic, and produce the same result. That result is the restoration of the deposits and the re-charter of the Bank.

If any thing was wanting to confirm these suspicions, the alleged refusal of this Bank to co-operate with the state banks in their laudable efforts to relieve the existing pressure upon the community, in the larger commercial cities, is sufficient to remove all doubts from the minds of the most incredulous.

It is due to the country that the source of the embarrassments which oppress a portion of its commerce shall be laid bare. Should they appear to spring solely from the management of the Bank, wantonly and wickedly directed to produce them, it may become the duty of Congress to resort to all the means within their constitutional authority to check its career.

If it shall appear that the Bank, by means of its money and the presses under its control, has wilfully and intentionally produced these embarrassments; and if its power has thus been abused, it cannot be endured that for two years longer it shall be suffered wantonly to excite alarm in the country, to direct a pressure first on one point and then on another, enlarge at one place and contract in another, for the purpose of continuing to the end of its existence the evils which, there is too much reason to believe it has already inflicted on the community. If, upon examination, it shall be found that it has been guilty of such offences, its charter cannot be too soon terminated, and a *scire facias* would be imperatively demanded to put an end to its machinations against the peace and interests of the people. The Government owns seven millions of its stock, equal to one-fifth of the whole amount. It is the duty of Congress to see that it be not used to oppress the people and subvert the principles of our Government. Of every hundred thousand dollars spent by the president of the Bank, or distributed to advocates under the name of loans, twenty thousand belong to the people of the United States. That their property may not be wasted, that the cause of their distress may be ascertained, and a remedy applied, and above all, that their own funds, and the money and power of this corporation may not

he employed to subvert the principles of their Government by controlling their elections, the committee deem it necessary that there should be a thorough investigation into the alleged abuses and corruptions of that institution, and particularly into the details of its management for the last six months. To this end, they propose a resolution to invest a committee of the House, with power to make such investigations.

1. Resolved, That the Bank of the United States should not be re-chartered.

2. Resolved, That the public deposits ought not to be restored to the Bank of the United States.

3. Resolved, That the State Banks ought to be continued as the places of deposits of the public money, and that it is expedient for Congress to make further provision by law, prescribing the mode of selection, the securities to be taken, and the manner and terms on which they are to be employed.

4. Resolved, That, for the purpose of ascertaining, as far as practicable, the cause of the commercial embarrassment and distress complained of by numerous citizens of the United States, in sundry memorials which have been presented to Congress at the present session; and of inquiring whether the charter of the Bank of the United States has been violated, and also what corruptions and abuses have existed in its management; whether it has used its corporate power, or money, to control the press, to interfere in politics, or influence elections; and whether it has had any agency, through its management, or money, in producing the existing pressure—a select committee be appointed to inspect the books, and examine into the proceedings of the said Bank, who shall report whether the provisions of the charter have been violated or not; and also, what abuses or malpractices have existed in the management of said Bank; and that the said committee be authorised to send for persons and papers; and to summon and examine witnesses on oath, and to examine into the affairs of the said Bank and branches; and that they are further authorised to visit the principal Bank, or any of its

branches, for the purpose of inspecting the books, correspondence, accounts, and other papers connected with its management or business; and that the said committee be required to report the result of such investigation, together with the evidence they may take, at as early a day as practicable.

STATE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

(From the *Acadian Recorder*, Halifax, N. S.)

LOWER CANADA.—In a late *Recorder* we gave an outline of the celebrated Stanley dispatches which have been received in the province of Lower Canada, and which prove, setting aside all question of their fitness to the circumstances of the case, that the Colonial Secretary of State is a direct speaking personage, and has not been tired of settling great countries, by his attempts respecting Ireland and the West Indies. We proceeded to give a brief outline of the principal business of the Lower Canada House of Assembly, but before doing so would supply an omission which occurred in our last notice, and which destroyed the meaning of part of our remarks. Towards the conclusion of our article headed Lower Canada, we mentioned, that Mr. Stanley had given the Legislative Council the benefit of his reproving powers, as well as the House of Assembly, and stated that the Council had addressed his Majesty last session on certain topics. The answer to their address contained the reproval alluded to, and an extract from it should have followed the notice. The extract informed the Council, that they would have consulted their own dignity, by making use of more temperate language respecting the House of Assembly, than that which appeared in the address to his Majesty.

On January 14, the dispatches were alluded to incidentally in the House, and were described by the principal speaker on the occasion, Mr. Bedard, as “the most violent attacks that had been made on the Constitution,” and as an invasion of the rights and most sacred privileges of the House. At the conclusion of the debate on the subject, it was ordered

that 400 copies of the message printed.

On January 17, the House went into committee on a bill to continue number of Acts which were about to expire. Of these, the Emigrant-Tax Act became the subject of debate. In a former notice we mentioned that the renewal of this act was discouraged in one of the dispatches, and that the Governor-in-Chief was directed, if such a bill passed, to reserve it for the opinion of the Home Government. Mr. Papineau warmly advocated the renewal of the act, and expressed his sentiments respecting the dictation of the message in the following words: "If the act of imposing tax upon emigrants be omitted, it ought not to be on the grounds of submission to the order of an arbitrary governor. A law which had so much contributed to the relief of the needy, and was both just and expedient, would be looked for; and it was a most odious attack on the part of the executive against the independence of the House, to dare, as it had done, to interdict the introduction of this or that measure, or dictate what the House should do or not do. The committees of trade, the intrigues of persons who think they are the aristocracy of the country, represent this act under a false light, poison the feelings of the minority, and throw England into the most ridiculous and humiliating contradictions. Compare the dispatches of Lord Goderich with those of the present Minister, in their spirit of haughtiness and imperiousness, and it will hardly be believed, that at two periods so little removed, contradictions so ridiculous could be committed." The speaker commented on the *lying pamphlets which are circulated in Great Britain, for the purpose of inducing emigration*, and concluded by urging the House not to be influenced in their decisions by an arbitrary message. It was ordered that the bill should be brought in separately. The bill was brought in subsequently, and passed the House and the Legislative Council.

On the 18., a question respecting in-

creased sittings of the Inferior Court, was introduced. On this subject Mr. Papineau said: "To wait three months for justice, was in England a matter of absolute necessity, because the judges were travelling on their circuits, and terms must be fixed so as to admit of their presence; this at least had something to recommend it however little. But what could be said in support of our system? Had not the suitor a right to obtain speedy and early justice? Here, however, this absurd distribution of terms, the all-powerful influence of the judges, their tastes for ease, and the accumulation of business, left no hope of real justice. The authorities were the principal sources of this evil. Several bills passed by this House had been rejected, and the hopelessness of seeing them attended to had prevented renewed efforts."

On a subsequent day the House considered the propriety of re-appointing Mr. Viger as agent of the House in Great Britain. This gentleman has been for some time acting in that capacity, and has, it would appear, pleased Mr. Papineau and his party, as much as he has displeased others. On a late occasion Mr. Stanley refused to acknowledge Mr. Viger as an official person, seeing that he represented one branch only of the legislature of the colony. The speaker was warm in support of Mr. Viger's re-appointment, and characterized Mr. Stanley's refusal of recognition in strong language. A bill naming Mr. Viger agent, passed, 43 to 12.

On the 21st the contingent expenses of the House were the subject. This is a sore theme just now, from the Governor's refusing to advance the required sums, and consequent embarrassment. The subject was brought before the House by a report of a committee appointed on the Governor's message, which report advised the House to pass a supply bill for the discharge of various items to the payment of which the House is pledged. Such a bill the majority object to, on points of informality as to time, and on account of former proceedings of the Governor and Council, respecting supply bills.

Mr. Papineau said, "The first consideration that naturally presents itself is, whether the committee making that report was without personal engagements; the hon. Member for the county of Quebec was one of the committee, and he thought it was against the rules of the House and justice that he should be; the House was indebted towards Neilson and Cowan for printing and stationery, and is it not natural to suppose that the fear of losing this debt, the inconvenience they would be subjected to in not having it in time, or the dread of a bankruptcy, may not have had some weight; but whether or not, the higher a man's standing in society, the more esteem he enjoys, the more circumspect he ought to be. . . . The Governor in refusing the advance asked for, thought the House had no means of resisting his injunctions, that he might sport with it, keep it in dependence, hurt it, compel it not to proceed, and involve it still more and more;—was this acting in the interest of the Province or in conformity with his duty? If he wanted no session he had legal means to gain his object, and ought not to resort to cowardly and indirect ones; the committee acted cowardly in not telling him so; the Governor has a right to prorogue and dissolve the House, but not to disgrace it; the representatives of the people, when in the exercise of their legislative functions, are kings—the Governor has no right to control, direct, retard, or annihilate their labour—by prorogation or dissolution alone may he do so. . . . No Governor had acted in the manner Lord Aylmer has; Governor Craig sent some of our most respectable and esteemed citizens to prison, Lord Dalhousie retained a Receiver General after having robbed the province, but Lord Aylmer sees citizens killed in the streets, the perpetrators of which have not been acquitted by a jury, and he screens and applauds them; he avows his distrust in the House, his personal interest and his frivolous fears which are contradicted. He, Lord Aylmer, ought not to force the House to adopt a course derogatory to its cha-

acter. If he wants a Supply Bill, why not tell the House so at once? The Governor when applied to by distressed parishes for relief, relieved that distress in favour of some; he paid 20,000*l.* out of funds raised by three acts which amount but to 16,000*l.*, where are his doubts, where his anxiety? When the House said that no salary more than one shall be paid to persons holding several places, he still pays them, and that on his own responsibility. As regards the rights of this House, it is farther from the enjoyment of them than it was in 1792; then the Council knew it was in money matters not independent of the representatives of the people, it then asked from the House its monies in detail, and if the House now submits to sacrifice its right and those of the people, it will soon be entirely devoured by the Council. The violent man at the head of the British Government, who introduced, supported, and effected measures, to exasperate and rouse the ire of eight millions of souls in a neighbouring kingdom, has gone too far to retract or stand still, he must all or advance. He sincerely hoped the House would not give the fatal example they were asked to do in submitting to the orders dictated to them by the Governor. None of his predecessors had ever suffered by the pledge of the House; it was a subject involving great principles and fearful consequences, and ought, with the remainder of the subject necessitating the call of the House, to be referred on that day to the same committee; he then should prefer his complaints against the Governor particularly, impeach him, and see whether he was beyond responsibility. The only shelter, consolation, and hope, left the House was the Parliament of Great Britain against the colonial office."

The next subject of importance which appears is the penitentiary system, which was taken up on Feb. 3,—when it was resolved, "That it is expedient that a penitentiary be established in this province, and that two commissioners be sent to the United States, to report on the system." There seemed no dif-

ference of opinion in the House, and very little out of it, on this subject Prisons, unhappily, are objects of necessity and of extensive importance in large communities. The difference between a mere strong-hold, to keep vicious persons from doing evil, at a great public expense; and one which gives the desired security, reforms the character, and leaves a pecuniary profit to the country, must be very apparent, and well worthy the attention of legislators everywhere.

On the 4., the contingencies were again brought before the House by a petition of one of the witnesses—on the 21. of May affair—asking for the payment of his expenses. This gave an opportunity to Mr. Papineau, which he improved, as he improves all opportunities of late, by an intemperate display of his feelings. We quote a few of his words. "All our committees," said the speaker, "are obliged to go to expenses which they cannot meet, and the insolency to which we are reduced, shows on the part of the Government, which is the author of it, and which pretends to some system, and claims respect, that it is moved by something monstrous and debasing, or rather there are no words to express the character of an administration so disorganizing, and incapable of doing what it ought to do. But having no instruction, the committee cannot proceed. We have however only to consider that the petitioner is a witness complaining of the governor who approved of the crimes and massacre of the 21. May, and who instead of repressing the brutal force of a furious soldiery, has corrupted the courts of justice, silenced the laws by the soldier, shut the mouths of iniquitous judges, and exposed the profound corruption which follows everything connected with the administration. It was then its fault, it we were obliged to have witnesses."

This language is too bad to be used except under circumstances of great extremity. It appears more like a tirade against an open enemy, than language used by the head of one branch towards the head of another, in a country possessing English institutions." In this

speech the speaker remarked, that in England the contingencies were paid before the passing of a bill of appropriation, and merely on a vote of credit.

On Feb. 10. Mr. Stuart, an opponent of the Papineau party, moved and carried eight resolutions respecting the legislative bodies. The first provided that the legislative and executive powers should not interfere with the due exercise of each other; 2nd, that the independence of the judges should be secured by their exemption from executive functions; 3rd, that the executive council should be free from the control of the legislative council and assembly, as ministerial officers of either; 4th and 5th, that the proper administration of justice, and the confidence of the public require, that the chief justice of the province, the chief justice of the district of Montreal, and the justices of his Majesty's Courts of King's Bench for the several districts of the province, should not sit or vote in the legislative or executive councils of this province, so long as they shall continue to hold their aforesaid respective offices; 6th, that it is expedient that the ministerial officers of the executive council should not sit or vote as members of the legislative council; 7th, that it is expedient that the ministerial officers of the legislative council and of the assembly, should not sit or vote as members of his Majesty's executive council.

On the 14, a bill founded, we suppose, on those resolutions, for securing the dignity and independence of the legislative and executive councils, and of the judicial body, passed. The following day it was resolved, that in the event of the bill sent to the legislative council, appointing the Hon. D. B. Wager, agent for the province, not becoming a law, that Mr. Viger continue for the present year in England to represent his Majesty's Government the interests and sentiments of the inhabitants of the province, and to support the petitions of both Houses of Parliament.

We are not yet in possession of the proceedings of the important 15. of February, when articles of impeachment were to have been moved against

the governor, but *Neilson's Gazette* of the 17. informs, that 83 resolutions were prepared for that occasion, and gives the substance of several. These, as might be expected, contain very strong words. They dwell on a variety of charges against the council and governor. The following warm language is given as the substance of some which refer particularly to the dispatches. "That more injustice has been done by this than any former administration. That Mr. Stanley has helped to shake the confidence of the country in the English Government; that this House cannot submit to insult, and Mr. Stanley's dispatches are incompatible with its privileges."

In reply to Mr. Stanley's hints to use authority in the settlement of our difficulties, they state "that in twenty years the population of the United States will be equal to that of Great Britain, and that of the present colonies equal to what it was in the late colonies in 1775."

So matters seem to rest at last accounts. The next mail will probably bring us something decisive as to the session, and the legislative branches; that such information will be interesting, and of considerable importance, will be readily granted, when it is considered that Lower Canada is the principal of the British provinces, and the post of the Governor-in-Chief. Mr. Stanley is famous for bearding countries; without attempting to judge between his petulance and his judgment on this occasion, we cannot avoid lamenting that such a wide and almost irreparable breach has been made between the branches of Government. The Assembly majority are, we believe, much to blame in late transactions; whether the Colonial Secretary has acted too much in their own spirit remains to be seen. The Canadian papers, of course, are active on the subject, some lauding and others reprobating the Secretary. In these discussions quite as much invective as argument appear. As an instance of what is advanced we may mention, that a Montreal paper most gravely reminds an opponent of Mr. Stanley, that the

Secretary is "*grandson to the Earl of Derby*,"—as if that weighed a jot in the affair; another calls the Secretary a new Cromwell, and thus both parties go on making such ridiculous or exaggerated assertions as their feelings dictate, rather careless often, one would think, of their judgments, and of the chief facts of the case.

*3,303*l.* have been voted to relieve the distress of the agricultural districts. One member proposed that the amount of the two speakers' salaries, and the members' pay, should be this year given to the poor. The net revenue of the year 1833 is stated at 164,121*l.* Appropriations to the amount of 28,462*l.* have been made this session.*

COLONIAL PAPER-MONEY.

HALIFAX.

PUBLIC MEETING.—An adjourned meeting was held on Wednesday last, to receive the report of a committee appointed at a former meeting. The committee, it will be recollected, were appointed to make inquiries respecting the depressed state of the community, and to prepare advice on the subject. The committee's report, and a petition to the House of Assembly, were read, and are as follow :

The committee appointed by the public meeting on the 15. inst. beg to report as follows :

Pursuant to appointment made by the chairman of your committee with the presidents of the two banks, your committee waited upon the managers of both these institutions on the 17. inst., and upon reading to them a copy of the resolution of the public meeting under which your committee were acting, they received from the president of the Bank of Nova Scotia, the replies hereto annexed, marked A.

Q. The committee request information as to the causes of the present restrictions of discount.

A. The accommodation afforded to the public by discounts, so far from being diminished, has been increased during the last two months.

Q. Under what circumstances are the

operations of the Bank designed to be resumed?

A. It is the desire of the directors to continue the same line of conduct as heretofore pursued, and for that purpose they have made a call on the shareholders for a further instalment of twelve and a half per cent.

WILLIAM LAWSON, President.

January, 17, 1834.

From the president of the Halifax Banking Company, your committee received the following answer to the resolutions:

"Reasons restraining discounts at the Halifax Bank.

"The act restraining the issue of notes under 5*l*. The want of punctuality in paying notes due at the Bank.

"The second question, perhaps, can only be answered in a general way, that should the above causes be removed, the Bank will go on to discount in a more enlarged degree."

The president then, in the course of a general conversation which arose after the above answer was communicated, explained, that having been informed that it had been stated at the public meeting that the Halifax Bank had run upon the Bank of Nova Scotia, he felt bound to state that the Nova Scotia Bank had demanded, within the last two months, a larger sum from them than they had obtained from the Nova Scotia Bank; that the reason why the members of the Halifax Bank did not attend the public meeting, was that they considered it more delicate not to interfere in deliberations which might touch the management of their establishment; that they considered the paper they had issued was based upon gold, as they had imported and put into circulation a pound in specie for every pound in paper they had issued, and that in order to enable them to extend as much accommodation as possible to the public, they had recently added 8,000*l*. from their private funds to the banking capital.

Your committee next beg leave to submit a petition to the legislature, upon the state of the currency, which is also hereto annexed, marked B.

As respects the subject of illicit traffic, which has been mentioned, your committee, in common with their fellow-townsmen, regret the injurious extent to which it is carried, and the great injury it occasions to the revenue of the province; but your committee recommend that the correction of this evil be left to the wisdom of the legislature, who it is hoped will devise effectual measures to prevent it.

Your committee would also respectfully suggest that the coins of Great Britain do pass in this province, and be the standard, at their sterling per value. Spanish and American dollars, doubloons, and other foreign coins, to be bought and sold as bullion. The Bank to respond their paper in coins, at the above value.

That until the above standard be enacted by law, the banks ought to respond their paper in doubloons at 4*l*. each, being the rate at which they were current when bank paper was first circulated.

In conclusion, your committee cannot avoid stating it as their decided opinion, that much of the present distress and inconvenience is attributable to the sudden suspension of discounts, for which they have been unable in their investigations to discover any sound or legitimate causes; and they are of opinion that a great portion of the prevailing distress might have been averted, had the banks thought proper to have given some intimation of their intentions. All of which is respectfully submitted.

ANDREW BELCHER,
Chairman.

Halifax, January 21.

PETITION.

To the Honourable, the House of Assembly, of the Province of Nova Scotia.

The Petition of the undersigned Merchants, Traders, Mechanics, and other inhabitants of the town of Halifax.

Humbly sheweth, That the trade of this province is now, and has been for some time past, labouring under severe embarrassment and depression, which

your petitioners have no hesitation in attributing to the debased and depreciated paper currency in general circulation.

As that paper, while it has taken the place of the precious metals, is not exchangeable for them, a very heavy and enormous tax is imposed upon all classes of the people, by the unnatural elevation of the British and foreign exchanges, by the delay, inconvenience, and uncertainty, which attend almost every transaction in business and transfer of property.

Your petitioners might bring before your honourable House, a great variety of circumstances, to illustrate the evils which they feel it their duty to represent, but they consider that when they state there is no longer in this country any standard of value, by which property can be measured, and that the present difficulties therefrom resulting are heightened by the fears and apprehensions which the history of other countries creates, they can add nothing by which the state of the province will be more strongly conveyed to your honourable House.

Your petitioners humbly pray your honourable House, as speedily as possible, to take these evils into your serious consideration, and provide the only safe remedy, by making cash payments compulsory, and thus restoring the currency of a sound and healthy state.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The report and petition were adopted, and it was resolved, that a copy of the petition be left with each member of the committee for signatures, that it be presented to the legislature, that the committee be requested to take measures for promoting this object, and that they have the power to call another meeting if that step should be deemed advisable.

Mr. James Crosskill moved that the issue of bank notes be confined to 10% notes redeemable in specie. After some conversation the resolution was put and lost. Mr. Hugh Bell called attention to

the duty on flour, which is chiefly levied on the inhabitants of Halifax. It was further resolved that the Members for the town and county of Halifax be requested to take such measures as they may consider necessary to bring the subject of the flour duty under the consideration of the legislature, with a view to obtain its repeal, or an equivalent drawback, if it be found impracticable to alter the imperial act.

(From the Miramichi Gleaner.)

BANKING.—This is a subject which has created a good deal of discussion of late both in the public prints and in the domestic circle. The great difficulty merchants in this place labour under in procuring specie and such paper as will be taken at the public offices, for duties, and the high premium they have to pay for the same, has had a most ruinous effect on the revenue; the falling off this year, owing principally from the above cause in this county, is estimated at 1,000*l*. This is a subject of vital consequence to the province, and well deserving the serious consideration of the legislature, and calls loudly for their immediate interference. From our own knowledge we can state, that several persons who were in the habit of importing, both from the mother country and from Halifax, dutiable articles, have abstained from so doing, owing to the causes above stated.

The principal, we may say our only currency, is Halifax Bank and Nova Scotia provincial paper, which has been subject at all times to a discount of five per cent. at the public offices and then taken as a favour, but within the last six or eight weeks they have refused to take them at the public offices in Fredricton, and many persons who remitted such paper for the payment of timber licenses, in consequence of this refusal, are now experiencing great inconvenience, and must eventually suffer much loss.

In another column will be found a communication on this subject, which points out in a more detailed manner, the evils resulting from the present state of our currency, and calls on the members of this county to use their exertions

to procure a meeting of the inhabitants so that the subject may be fully discussed, when such measures may be adopted as will remedy the existing evil.

STATE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

(From the *Acadian Recorder* of Feb., 1834.)

When the "banking system"—we speak of it in *propria persona*, and not merely in so far as it concerns trade—was adopted, it was the general belief, that it would lead to public prosperity and peace. It has lived but a few years, and behold! its friends are paralyzed by the sights that appear in the commercial horizon. They no longer assure us that it will produce all the necessary objects of speculation—unexampled trade and prosperity—that it will make the country wealthy, its inhabitants independent and happy; but, instead of this they cry—stagnation of business and irretrievable ruin. Even the leading advocates of the system are taking up the cry, and forgetting their first moments of fond credulity, now discover, not only that it is the hour of embarrassment, but that indications are felt of the most desolating distress. And have all the fine-spun speeches resolved themselves into this? Is this the consummation of all the promises that have been held out? Where are the argosies that were to crowd our ports? Where the golden harvest and the crowded granaries, the luxuriant dives and the well-fed menial, the contented husbandman, and all the train of magnificent improvements? The canal—but hush that sound! Gone! gone! "like the baseless fabric of a vision." Agreeing as we must with all upon the existence of deplorable evils, we should have left the case in the hands of our patriotic senators, if those individuals seemed to be arraying their power and energies for the right application of the remedy, the true and efficient means of protection. But, instead, they have only apprized us of its existence by vague and erroneous declamation, and there is no reason to suppose that their counsels will either remove the mischief or impede its march. As to the sources from whence you de-

rive their information upon the subject, there can be no want of them, they abound—and no doubt each man of them has felt, either directly or indirectly, the reality of them, which we must consider the most forcible demonstration that can be given. Do they understand the cause then, or do they not? If they do, why do they not apply the remedy? or, are their hands tied up by the moneyed oligarchy? Proceed we then to lay bare the hidden matter by probing the festering sore to its root.

The people of this country, but town more obviously, have been ever since the golden harvests of the two wars, highly extravagant. We will not goad them in their misery, by dwelling too severely on (it is to be hoped) by-gone follies, nor will we draw invidious comparisons, or harsh inferences from any assignable causes, but extravagant they are, and that far beyond anything that their present condition should either justify or desire, but at the same time we must not suppose that it is from individual expenditure alone that all our difficulties thus arise; it is only one of the drops in the vessel, and if we were to return to the abstemious simplicity of the most pastoral ages, we should still have our political wants and public sufferings. At the same time I cannot suppose, that we are a people and country so blighted before the fair face of heaven, and the bright elements around us, as to stand before them like the cities of the plain, devoted to a sea of overwhelming ruin. This evil is a hydra whose heads are not to be annihilated by one stroke. It will not suit our purpose therefore, to act upon vague generalities; but to accommodate our measures to circumstances, and remove the offending evils respectively and in succession. There are self evident and important axioms of political economy that must be kept in mind throughout, and it is only a just comprehension and application of their bearing upon *all cases* and *in all points*, that can promise any thing like the desired success. We have been so long accustomed to depend upon external resources, rather than ourselves,

that we hardly know in what way our real strength may be shown. Pampered by the means that have been afforded us by the expenditure of the mother Government, amongst us, in the establishments which she has thought it expedient to keep up, we find ourselves weak and timid like little children who are suddenly left to walk alone, but we must not allow our alarm to deprive us of that use of our natural powers, which alone can support us, and which the good God of nature in his wonderful provision for the interests of his creatures, has pleased that necessity should stimulate and exercise invigorate.

I take it for granted then that the time is come for us to employ our abilities to the utmost to find out where our resources lie ; and having found them, to use the same exertion to improve them. The country cannot be prosperous if the individual is not, and the individual's prosperity must depend upon the profits of his capital or his labour, wherever it may be engaged. If either of these must be employed without profit, or at a loss ; if labour and capital must be given for inadequate wages and interest, the farmer and merchant are kept in continual distress ; and every speculating capitalist in succession will be a bankrupt, and every workman a beggar, and when every wheel of the vehicle is broken, it is sure to come down. If, then, by want of proper policy the farmer is deprived of a remunerating price for his produce, his husbandry cannot be continued, and you deprive his labourers of the means of subsistence ; this you effectually do by opening your markets to the cheap productions of a foreign country ; admit their corn, provisions, tallow, &c., at prices below those which would be remunerating ones to your agriculturists, and your farmers and husbandry labourers—say more than three-fourths of your population—are subjected to constant loss and suffering. Apply these truths to the shipping interest, which is small, it is true, but allow the American vessels to take our freights, or bring our purchases in their bottoms at a low rate, at this or any future period, and our

shipowners are deprived of their just and lawful rights. In like manner, apply the truths to what we ought to have it in our power to call the manufacturing interest of the country—for we might have looms of our own, and we should wear more than we do of what these might produce. We have temperance societies,—why not home-spun societies ! Admit into your market foreign and expensive things. Without limit ; superfine cloths, lace, silks, gloves, &c. expend all the specie that you have in fine things, that might be employed in the encouragement of native manufactures, and you are withholding from the country what you should endeavour to make its pride and ornament. It has been the policy of the British Cabinet, for what good reasons we shall not have it in our power to discover, to deprive us of our fishing interest, the only one that might claim the title of an export, and make us wealthy. The Americans can catch and cure this article at a rate which defies our competition, particularly in the present state of things, so that we have nothing, comparatively, to expect from this source, until things are otherwise ordered, and Ministers are impressed with a sufficient sense of its importance. Reduced then, as we now are, to constant loss and suffering—bankruptcy prices and famine wages, dissatisfaction, vice, and crime, discover themselves with universal distress. The people rail at the state of affairs, pronounce the laws and institutions faulty, and fill the land with tumult, and, to use the language of a celebrated periodical to which I must confess myself mainly indebted for the reflections ; when the people are excited to hatred by this, on the one hand, and continual new legislation on the other, against all established things ; it learns to despise the wisdom of past ages, and to reject, as error, whatever bears the stamp of experience ; is inspired with contempt of those feelings and usages which humanize man's nature and bind him to his species ; man is opposed to man, servants and masters, inferiors and superiors ; no longer influenced by precept and example, reli-

gion and morals are derided as bigotry and prejudice ; the loyal and orderly are goaded at length into disaffection by insult and coercion, the feelings and regulations which give being and weal to society are rooted out, and replaced with those which brutalize and destroy it.

A. B.

of themselves. I have written a PREFACE descriptive of the contents of the book ; and I here below insert the TITLE, the DEDICATION, and the PREFACE.

Life of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America. Abridged and Compiled by William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham.

JACKSON'S LIFE.

AGREEABLY to my promise, I have sent this book to the press, and it will be out next week, to be published at BOLT COURT, and to be had of all booksellers, and the price will be *four shillings*. This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station ; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object ; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book ; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part

DEDICATION.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

MY FRIENDS,—Ever since I became acquainted with the nature and extent of the ill-treatment of the people of Ireland, I have availed myself of every opportunity to endeavour to show that I held their persecutors in abhorrence. I now dedicate to you a history of the life of the bravest and greatest man now living in this world, or that ever has lived in this world, as far as my knowledge extends. It has given me pleasure, which I cannot describe, to find that this famous man sprang from poor emigrant Irish parents ; and that he was born in the United States of America two years after the landing of his parents. You will read, with uncommon interest, the clear proof of his having been urged on to perform the wonderful acts of his life, by his recollection of the ill-treatment of his parents in their native land. For more than two hundred years, the laborious Irish people were scourged, because, and only because, they would not apostatize from the religion of their fathers ; and, even unto this day, every effort is made to keep them down, and to represent them as an inferior race of men. It is, therefore, in the name of truth and of justice, that I send this book forth amongst the people of this whole kingdom, to prove to them, that this ill-treated Ireland, this trampled-upon Ireland, has produced the greatest soldier and the greatest statesman, whose name has ever yet appeared upon the records of valour and of wisdom. According to all the laws of all nations, a man, though born in a foreign country, if born of parents natives of another country, is a native of the country to which the parents belong. Thus this famous man is an

Irishman ; and, I beseech you to look at his deeds and to applaud that just Providence, which has made him an instrument, though in a manner so indirect, of assisting to avenge the manifold wrongs of ill-treated Ireland.

I am,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,

Wm. COBBETT.

Bolt Court, 27. March 1831.

PREFACE.

Amongst all the duties which men who meddle with public affairs, and who have any portion of the press at their command, no one is more obligatory upon them than that of endeavouring, by all the means that they have in their power, to do justice to the character and conduct of those, who, during their own time, especially, have rendered eminent services, in the cause of public justice and public liberty ; and, amongst all the men who have distinguished themselves in this way, in the present age, I know of no one who can challenge any thing like an equality with him whose life and actions are the subject of the following pages.

There may have been men placed in situations as difficult and as dangerous as those in which he has been placed : there may have been men who have shown courage, fortitude, perseverance, and resolution, equal to those shown by him. This may be : but, at the end of pretty nearly seventy years of observing, of hearing, and of reading, I declare most explicitly, I have never seen, never heard of, and never read of, any man equal to the President in these prime and admirable qualities. These pages trace him from the spade and the plough to the musket carried against invaders, aiming at the destruction of the liberties of his country : from the musket they take him back to his books ; then take him to the bar ; then place him on the bench ; then send him to the senate ; afterwards lead us to see him on his farm, from whence, when another invasion of his country took place, they show him quitting his beloved fields, again rushing to meet

hostile foes ; and, having delivered his country of those foes, we are led with him back again to his farm, from whence he is again called to take upon him the chief magistracy of a great and opulent and a free country ; and that, too, by the unanimous voice of millions of free men.

Thus honoured ; thus confided in ; thus placed in a more honourable situation than any other man upon the face of the earth, we see him acting a part worthy of his high station. The angry, the bitter, the implacable, the heretofore deemed-all-powerful British Government, he had repulsed ; he had humbled the savage tribes, the cannibal foes of his country, he had scourged with rods of scorpions ; if he had not tamed them into humanity, he had made fear sheathe their hatchets and their scalping knives ; but in his capacity of chief magistrate ; in his capacity of chief guardian of the civil and political rights, and of the property and lives of his countrymen, he had to deal with a monster more formidable, and more destructive to the people than either the British, or the savages ; a monster perfectly insatiable ; hypocritical as the crocodile ; delusive as the Syren ; and deadly as the rattle-snake itself. The monster of paper-money he has now to encounter. This is his last great labour : if this monster fall beneath him, no pen, no tongue, no vehicle of praise, can ever render justice to his name. Some poet has said, that the grandest spectacle that the human mind can conceive is, " a great man struggling with the storms of fate." It is a greater still to see a great man struggling ; to see the greatest of men now alive, struggling with the most cruel and destructive monster that ever the Almighty in his just displeasure, permitted to be the scourge of offending nations.

It is with no small delight that I see in the following pages, proofs undeniable of the superiority of nature over art, of genius over rank and over riches ; it is with pride, and with just pride, I trust, that I behold all that is great in the character of man springing out of the humble homestead ; but it is with

still greater, and with inexpressible delight, that I see it spring from poor **IRISH EMIGRANT PARENTS**, driven from their native land by its inexorable oppressors. Ah! God is just in spite of our ungrateful impatience. No man living ever did so much to humble England as **ANDREW JACKSON**; and these pages will show us how his zeal was sharpened, how his anger was pointed, by the lessons taught him by his ill-treated parents, and by the cruelty and insolence which he had to endure from the same source. Arrogance and injustice, when associated with power, never listen to reason or remonstrance as long as the power lasts. If they were capable of listening, I would bid the oppressors of the poor people of Ireland to read these pages; and to remember that the country which produced **ANDREW JACKSON**, still retains the faculty of giving life to other men.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt-court, London, 27. March, 1831.

DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS.

To the eternal honour of England, and, indeed of Scotland and Ireland, too, they have been roused from one end to the other by the sentence passed by **WILLIAMS** (the new judge) on the six agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire. There have been meetings at, and pressing petitions sent from, innumerable places throughout the whole kingdom. The working people of the metropolis led the way by a petition from an assemblage of twelve thousand men, which petition I had the honour to be chosen to present to the House of Commons. The next petition came from the town of **OXFORD**, signed by fifteen hundred men in eleven hours; and it was very punctually and zealously presented by **MR. HUGHES HUGHES**, one of the members for that town. The petition to the King from my constituents of **OLDHAM**, I have duly transmitted to Lord **MELBOURNE**; and I insert it here below. At **BIRMINGHAM** there has been a prodigious meeting on the subject; but, if what the newspapers say be true, his Majesty's Ministers themselves have

signified their intention not to cause this sentence to be carried into execution.

The whole nation has been surprised at the sentence; not one man in the whole community appearing to know that there was any law to punish men for taking oaths, or administering oaths, relative to proceedings merely connected with their own private affairs. It seems that these men have been convicted and sentenced, in virtue of an Act passed in the 37th year of **Geo. III.**, and on the 19. of July, 1797, being chapter 123, of that year of the King's reign. The whole of that act relates to oaths administered or taken for the purpose of seducing persons serving in his Majesty's service by sea and by land. It was passed in consequence of the mutiny in the fleet. The preamble of this act is in these words: "WHEREAS divers wicked and evil-disposed persons have of late attempted to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces by sea and land, and others of his Majesty's subjects, from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, and to incite them to acts of mutiny and sedition, and have endeavoured to give effect to their wicked and traitorous proceedings, by imposing upon the persons whom they have attempted to seduce, the pretended obligation of oaths unlawfully administered." This was the preamble, setting forth the whole of the object of the law; and under this law, which was intended solely to prevent mutiny in the army and navy and conspiracy against his Majesty and his throne, these poor labouring men for combining together for the purpose of getting *better wages*, without the smallest notion of anything political, have been sentenced by this Judge **WILLIAMS**, to seven years' transportation beyond the seas. However, if it be true, that the Ministers have signified their intention not to carry the sentence into effect, it will be of little consequence with regard to the poor men, and as to any other consequence, that is not worth our inquiring into at present.

PUBLIC MEETING AT OLDHAM.

(From the True Sun of the 1. April.)

• THE DORCHESTER UNIONISTS.

ON Good Friday a public meeting was held in the large room at the Albion-inn, Oldham, "to consider the propriety and necessity of petitioning his Majesty to withdraw the sentence of transportation (passed against the men for attending a Trades' Union meeting) from being carried into effect; and also to be graciously pleased to grant them a free pardon for their inadvertent transgression."

The proceedings excited considerable interest, and the large room at the inn was crowded to excess by an attentive and orderly assembly.

Mr. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, grocer, at Oldham, was unanimously elected chairman, who, after he had introduced the subject matter of discussion, remarked, that it was surprising the Whigs had not before discovered the alarm and dread effected by the taking of the oath of Trades' Unions, which they now professed to say had arisen. If working men associated together by any means from saving a town from the burden of poor-rates, no matter whether they had secret lodges or not, or took oaths, it was all right; but no sooner did they unite to protect wages, their only property; no sooner did they associate to preserve their rights and benefit their trades, than despotism pounced upon them, and subjected them to its galling chains. (Hear). The Whigs soon found that it was unlawful for men to associate together and demand higher wages. One of the men transported had only 5s. per week of wages, and another, with a wife and six children, had but 7s. per week. (Cries of Shame!).

Mr. B. HARROP, of Lees, near Oldham, moved—

"That the feelings of this meeting are deeply agonized and indignant at the sentence passed by Baron Williams upon the six men at Dorchester, and therefore resolve, with the utmost speed, to forward a petition to his Majesty, praying him not merely to prevent the execution of the said sentence, but also that he will be graciously pleased to grant them a full and free pardon."

Mr. HARROP observed that it behoved every operative to prove his sympathy towards these unfortunate men, because they were suffering the iron grasp of tyranny. He conceived the conviction of these men was contrary to law. He coincided in the opinion of an old French writer, that the working classes should form a nation apart, and govern themselves. (Hear).

Mr. HALLIDAY, who seconded the motion, said he believed the Ministry had made an example of these men to intimidate the unions. It was the people's duty to study politics; the more they studied them, the more Government would respect them. (Hear, hear). Why should the Government put a tax on newspapers if they did not wish to prevent the

spread of knowledge? (Hear). If these men had understood the law, probably they would not have been convicted. Secret oaths were absurd. He regarded this painful occurrence as a Whig scheme to extinguish liberty. (Hear).

The resolution was unanimously passed.

Mr. MILLS read the memorial to the King, and suggested a plan by which the working classes might amend their condition.

Mr. HIBBERT, of Lees, near Oldham, moved—"That the petition now read be adopted, signed by the Chairman on behalf of this meeting, and forwarded to his Majesty with all possible speed." He was anxious that the petition should have been extensively signed—(hear)—for many there were deeply concerned in this question. Petitions from every lodge in the kingdom ought to deluge Parliament in favour of these poor men—(hear, hear)—for if they were guilty, how many else would be! (Hear).

Mr. GREAVES, in seconding the proposition, deemed the conviction of these poor men a national disgrace. (Hear). He conjured the people to be firmly united, and boldly resist tyranny in every shape. (Cheers). If these unfortunate persons were transported, three millions of others would be. (Applause).

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS stated that Whig coercion in England had been foreseen a year ago. It behoved the working classes to determine upon Mr. Fielden's plan of eight hours' daily work for the present wages. (Hear). He would move—

"That William Cobbett, Esq., one of the representatives of the borough, be requested to forward the same to his Majesty; and also to support any motion which may be made in the honourable House on behalf of the said six suffering men."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Rushton.

Mr. HALLIDAY was persuaded that this act of the Whigs was committed to extinguish political discussion; they were determined to put down the friends of the people. When the Reform Bill was to be passed the people were not only suffered, but exhorted by the Whigs, to refuse paying taxes, and even to appeal to arms, &c.; but now the people were not serving the Whigs. (Applause).

Mr. HARROP suggested the building of a place wherein they could discuss politics.—(Hear).

Mr. GREAVES said it became requisite to banish fear from their unions. (Hear).

The resolution was carried.

Upon the motion of Mr. RUSHTON,

A vote of thanks was unanimously awarded to the *True Sun*, for the honest and accurate relation that Journal had given of this painful occurrence.

The CHAIRMAN recommended the company to open a subscription for the relief of the poor men and their families, who had become victims of Whig despotism. If every member of the Unions gave only a halfpenny each, it

would amount to a large sum. He, for one, would receive subscriptions on their behalf.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having been carried by acclamation, the assembly separated.

The following is a copy of the petition resolved upon to his Majesty :

"To his most gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, King of Great Britain and Ireland, the petition of a public meeting held at Oldham, on Friday, March 28, 1834,

"Humbly sheweth,

"Your Majesty's petitioners most humbly beg leave to state to your Majesty, that thousands of all serious reflecting manual labourers in your Majesty's dominions are filled with anxiety, alarm, and dread, in the situation in which they feel themselves placed, and at the prospect which lies before them; for after a careful survey of what hath taken place, during the last twenty years, your petitioners are convinced, that a very great proportion of the labourers in your Majesty's dominions have had one-half of their former wages taken from them; and that very great numbers of them have had two-thirds or even three-fourths taken from them; nor are your petitioners aware of any law being in existence to prevent the remainder from being taken away.

"That your petitioners hope your Majesty will permit them humbly to intimate, that as meet and drink are essentially necessary to the life, health, and vigour of labourers, so the price of food and the price of human labour ought, as far as possible, to rise and fall together, and in the same proportion.

"That your petitioners deeply lament the existence of another fact (from whatever cause it may arise) the vast difference in the wages paid to workmen, in different branches of business, a difference amounting, as your petitioners believe, to as much as six to one, although they all have to pay the same price for their food; this fact brings immense privations, and, of course, causes immense discontent to all those who are receiving the lower rates of wages.

"That your petitioners hope that under such circumstances your Majesty will allow that all those whose wages are below the average or mean rate have a fair right, and that it is a duty which they owe to themselves and their families, to endeavour, by all peaceable means, to raise their wages, until they arrive at the medium rate of the wages of the country.

"That your petitioners from many and various statements made in the newspapers, have been impressed with the belief that the agricultural labourers of the country are more uniformly poor, miserable, and degraded than your petitioners themselves; understanding also, that the six persons sentenced to transportation at Dorchester are agricultural la-

bourers, and probably smarting under privations arising from low wages, ignorant too of the existence of the law which they are said to have violated, under all these strong circumstances of mitigation, your petitioners most fervently pray, and ardently hope, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, not merely to prevent their being transported, but also to grant to them your Majesty's full and free pardon, and

"Your petitioners shall ever pray."

ST. PANCRAS VESTRY.

Dr. MOORE, the Vicar, in the Chair.

Mr. NASH begged to introduce to the notice of the vestry a petition to his Majesty, praying for a remission of the sentence passed on six agricultural labourers at Dorchester, for the alleged offence of administering an illegal oath. Mr. Nash commenced at some length on the circumstances connected with the conviction, and dwelt with some force on the good character which the unfortunate men bore. He observed that the disproportion of the punishment to the crime, if any had been committed—(hear, hear)—was a subject of the first importance, inasmuch as the men belonged to a class comprising a vast portion of the labouring community. The sentence was one calculated to excite that class; great numbers had already declared that if these men were guilty, they also were guilty. He thought that for the peace of the country, a remission of this cruel and oppressive sentence ought to be acceded to. He then moved that the petition be received.

Mr. WRIGHT seconded the motion.

Mr. LARK agreed with Mr. Nash that the sentence was most unjust.

Mr. DOUGLAS entirely coincided with the mover, and thought if the petition were taken from house to house (if there had been time) that nine-tenths of the parish would have signed it. (Hear).

Mr. ECKERTT felt for the individuals, but thought it a matter the vestry could not entertain. (Oh, oh!) His opinion was that the only ground for mitigation of punishment was the ignorance of the men as to the law. He trusted that, without their interference, the case would be taken into the full and impartial consideration of the Government. The vestry ought not to interfere; the men did not reside in the parish, nor did they reside in the country. (Loud expressions of disgust, both in the vestry and behind the bar). How, he would ask, could they interfere without recognising the use of the unions, and as the unions made their ultimate objects a matter of such profound secrecy, why in assenting to the petition he would perhaps be approving of what he ought to deprecate. He thought it ought to be carried into execution. They might, if they adopted the course before them, take up every question that arose at the Old Bailey as a matter of inquiry. (Loud murmurs).

The disapprobation was so generally expressed that Mr. Eckett hastily quitted the vestry.

Mr. VIGORS, M. P., observed that the gentleman who had just left the board, had spoken of the unfortunate men not residing within one hundred miles of the parish, but in the cause of humanity, if the objects of it were as many thousand miles from them as these honest men were hundreds, were they in Poland, in Africa, or in China, they were called upon to come forward in their behalf. (Much approbation). The question was, that a representation from such a body as this vestry would have great weight with the Government, and he (Mr. Vigors) felt convinced that the voice of the vestry would have weight with the Government.

Mr. SIMMONDS said the vestry knew that the men had been tried by a jury of their countrymen; and they knew that the judges were merciful in their judgments. (Loud laughter, and cries of Oh, oh, in the vestry). He objected to the vestry signing it as a body.

The Rev. Mr. GRANT objected to the entertaining of the petition, as the vestry could not take cognizance of political matters.

Mr. MURPHY should endeavour, in the few observations he had to make, to avoid discussing the question of the Trades' Unions; he did not consider that subject came under their consideration. He begged to inform the vestry, that the accidental circumstance of a person coming into the board-room to obtain signatures to the petition, had induced several gentlemen to exert themselves to obtain the sanction of the vestry to it. A reverend gentleman had said that this was not a proper place for entertaining questions of a political nature; but in ancient times, when people had to complain of their grievances, and had to present a petition expressive of them, it was their custom to assemble with their vicar in vestry for that purpose. (Considerable approbation). He wished to see this excellent right restored to them, and that vestries might truly be the representatives of the people. (Approbation). Besides he recollected they were not without a precedent; the old vestry had granted sixty pounds for an address to His Majesty, when his sacred person had been outraged, now he contended that the sacred liberty of the people had been outraged (great sensation in the vestry, and applause behind the bar,) in the sentence passed on the six unfortunate men, and it was the duty of the vestry to petition his Majesty to prevent the mothers becoming widows, the children becoming orphans, and both becoming a burden on their parishes. His philanthropy was not confined within 100 miles, in a case like the present, were the object a Pole, or an African, he should feel it as if a brother were in question. (Applause). This was a question of feeling, they did not interfere with the Trades' Unions, and as men and as Christians they should endeavour to prevail on his Majesty to extend his mercy to these unfortu-

nate victims. (Hear, hear). He would impress on the vestry that these six unfortunate men were sentenced to seven years' transportation for an alleged offence not at all affecting their moral character, for evidence had been produced in court that they were virtuous men and good fathers, (great sensation). and he should be ashamed if the vestry did not join in the common feeling of the country on this unjust and iniquitous sentence.

The motion for the reception was carried unanimously.

Mr. NASH then moved that it be signed by the chairman, and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Carried unanimously.

It was understood the rev. Doctor kindly undertook to present the petition himself.

The debate did not conclude till six o'clock in the evening.

LIVERPOOL IMPUDENCE !

Bolt-court, 2. April, 1834.

A LITTLE while ago, in speaking of the county of Suffolk, and in describing all the evidences of productiveness that it exhibited, I said that it contained, on an average, a parish church in every three square miles. A man at LIVERPOOL, a place by no means remarkable for the diffidence of its politicians, has written to me a very rude letter, attempting to ridicule the idea of there being one parish church in every three square miles. He does not put his name; but his letter is marked by that insolence, which assumes, as a thing taken for granted, that I am wrong, and that he is right; and it concludes with the still greater impudence of advising me to be more cautious in future.

Now, if this conceited fellow had taken the trouble to look into that book which I published for the instruction of ignorant men like him, namely, my *Geographical Dictionary of England and Wales*, he would have found, at page 522, a *Statistical Table of England and Wales*, containing information, which, if it could be crammed into his head, would, perhaps, make him a little more modest in future. In that table, he would have found that Suffolk contains 1,512 square miles, and 510 parishes, which is not three square miles to a parish. He would have found Norfolk with 2,002 square miles, and with 731 parishes: less than three square

miles to a parish. So that this man should not imagine that he has a great deal of sense, because he lives in a great, squandering, speculating, gambling, impudent town.

Many other of the counties are in about the same state with regard to this matter; and, if we reckon *townships* in the north, as being parishes, there are not four square miles to a parish, take England and Wales all through. The matter for this "*statistical table*" was taken from the fullest, most elaborate, and most circumstantial return ever laid before Parliament, and it was laid before it in 1818. This conceited fellow must not imagine that this answer is given *for him*; but it is given lest some decent and modest man should fall into the same error.

WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. COBBETT, M. P.

*Stratton St. Margaret's, near
Swindon, Wiltshire, March 31, 1834.*

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of addressing you again on the state to which the tax-devourers have brought us, and of the approaching revolution which is at hand if some great thing be not set about very quickly that will relieve us farmers and tradesmen, and thereby enable us to employ the labouring people instead of feeding them with sparing and grudging hands, more resembling years of famine than years of plenty; but before I proceed to show you facts on the subject, I will tell you some *good news*, nearly as good news as that which you give us from America: that is, I have heard this day, from good authority, that the Cirencester Tories are moving about the country, under the sanction of a lord's steward, and I suppose the lord himself, with a petition praying for a repeal of the malt-tax, and for poor-laws for the Irish people; and if that be not good news, I am lost to reason; for all but fools must know, that no two measures of the same kind can relieve this country from a convulsive revolution so effectually as the two before-mentioned. Let the few honest

men who are amongst the Tory ranks declare for a real reduction of taxes, and good honest, humane, and just poor-laws for Ireland and Scotland, and the villanous Whigs and political theorists and doctrinaires will soon be hooted out of all respectable society: the dreaded war of opinions and interests might probably swell and heave at a furious rate, but the danger of destroying England as a free nation would be past. I have heard, too, that some bull-frog farmers, tools of the Whig Ministry, have been very busy in getting up petitions to aid the Parliament in incorporating the several parishes into much larger parishes or districts, and to build fresh-planned barracks or poor-houses: but as their movements are only noticed for the ridicule and contempt which they bring on themselves, I will, as I have before stated, show you our state, and the prospects before us, and to do so without falling into any errors of my own, I will state what I believe to be fully correct, from the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* of Thursday last.

"The Poor of Wroughton.—The state of the agricultural poor in this neighbourhood is most alarming. A lamentable change has recently taken place in their moral condition; and to what particular cause to attribute it, otherwise than to the great increase of beer-shops, it would be difficult to determine.

"It having been generally known, that a notice was intended to be given in the parish church on Sunday evening, regarding some proposed alteration in the workhouse, and to call a meeting of the paymasters to consider the subject, a great number of the labourers purposely attended, and immediately after the notice was read, every one of them, in the most daring manner, left the church; several of whom lighted their pipes, and actually smoked them on the tombstones in the churchyard! On Sunday last, a still greater number of the poor attended the church. The notice was repeated immediately before the sermon was delivered; and again, every poor

“man, woman, and child, to the number of one hundred and fifty walked out; but observing some strangers in the churchyard they quickly dispersed. A few days since, one of the labourers, for some offence, was handbolted to the constable, for the purpose of being conducted to the gaol. On passing through the village of Wroughton, he went up to Mr. Codrington (a highly respectable gentleman of the parish), and after swearing that immediately he returned from prison, he would burn all his property, he seized Mr. C. by the cravat with his disengaged hand and nearly strangled him. Indeed so determined was the wretch to do him some injury, that the cravat was obliged to be severed with a knife, before Mr. Codrington could be liberated from the fellow's grasp. Another labourer, whose child was burnt to death at Elcombe last week, went to a beer-house soon after the accident had occurred, and on coming out, he met the Rev. Mr. Codrington (the clergyman of the parish of Wroughton), to whom, with great hardihood, he thus addressed himself: ‘*I mean to have my child buried in the church. You have had a child buried there, and I have as much right as you have to do so; and I'll be d—d if my child shan't be buried there as well as yours.*’”

And in the succeeding paragraph you will find the following, which will show you at once the feelings of the Wiltshire people concerning large parishes; and it is a notable fact that the Highworth farmers are groaning under the same burden as the Wedhampton farmers are now petitioning to be relieved from, without knowing how to relieve themselves, as the towns-people and the governors of the workhouse appear to do as they like with them.

“At a petty sessions held in Devizes on Tuesday last, before Mr. C. L. Phipps, Mr. Warrenner, Mr. Hughes, Major Olivier, and Mr. Goubbe, a memorial was presented, signed we believe by all the respectable paymasters in the tithing of Wedhampton,

within the parish of Urchfont, respectfully submitting as follows: ‘That the hardships are very great of our being compelled to contribute to the general rate of the whole parish, and that the parish is altogether much too large, and ought to be made separate for the better management of the poor; the maintenance of whom, the increase of population, and the consequently rapid advance of poor-rates, the depressed state of agriculture renders not only inconvenient, but insupportable; and the poor-rates being applied to other purposes than those for which they were raised, the poor cannot, from the abuses and maladministration of the poor-laws, have the benefit of the statute of Elizabeth. We therefore crave that of the 13th and 14th C. 2. and humbly pray your worships to take the matter into your consideration, it being our wish to have our tithing of Wedhampton entirely separated, as far as regards the poor, from the entirety of the said parish of Urchfont.’ Mr. Lewis, one of the memorialists, stated that if the system which had for some years been pursued at Urchfont, should be continued much longer, the land in the parish would become useless both to the landlord and the occupier.”

So that you see, my dear sir, that the workhouse-system, as they call it, seems to breed up swarms of idlers, which are of no manner of use to the farmers and tradesmen in the villages, except it be to eat the food which they the workers raise for them; indeed you would be really surprised, if you were to see the swarms of people drawn up together in Highworth town, and out of the several tithings and hamlets which were annexed to it some years since, before the infernal debt and paper-money began to devour us wholesale. An old farmer who resided in the tithing of Marston, and who died last year, violently opposed the joining of Marston to Highworth; but as the farmers of that day had no poor, the thing was done; and now what is the consequence? Why

although Marston land is some of the very best dairy-land in England, there have been four sales of dairy cows within twelve months from this day, and two sold under executions from the Sheriff of the county; and I might say the dairymen's family have been known as dairymen of note for ages back; one was the lord of the manor but a few years since, and the other his own brother.

It is for the want of money in the farmers and tradesmen's pockets which is the cause of so many poor people; for how can they live, if they have no labour except it be by relief or by plunder; but as we do not see the tax-gatherer every day collecting the sixty millions out of us, we attribute our distresses to many causes but the right one, and turn round to screw those who are under us, not daring to say a word to the rich tax-eaters above us; so as good Father O'Callagan said, "Usury begets taxes, taxes beget ruin and distress, distress begets famine and convulsions." But hoping there are good men enough left to save the nation, and that you will live to see us free men instead of slave-

I remain,
your humble and obedient servant,
JOHN ARKELL.

P.S. Look in the above newspaper, and you will see that the people are altogether by the ears in Farringdon, Berkshire, about the Contract Poor-house system. Really, I think if the Tory people be wise, they will join the Radicals, and stay this Whig revolution, for I know that the partisans of the Whigs have great power in the persons of the Farringdon bankers.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

METIVIER, J. and C. H., Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothiers.

BANKRUPTS.

BEECRAFT, E. A., Curzon-street, Mayfair, embroiderer.

DAVIES, J. J., Newbury, Berkshire, upholsterer.

GOLDRING, F., Brighton, builder.

GOOD, D., Surrey-caual-basin, Albany-road, Camberwell, timber-merchant.

JEVES, F. T., Wotton, near Northampton, maltster.

JONES, J., Monythusloyne, Monmouthshire, miller.

MARCH, M., sen., Gosport, Hampshire, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

BROWN, W., Ayr, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CHILTON, J., Trinity-terrace, Southwark, boarding-house-keeper.

ROHRS, G. W., and F. W. Jacobs, Mark-lane, corn-factors.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CHANNON, J., Piccadilly, and Park-street, Grosvenor-square, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BAILEY, G., Rudge, Shropshire, victualler.

BRETTARGH, H., Manchester, hat-manufacturer.

JOSEPH, B. and H., Bristol, jewellers.

ROOKS, C. O., Eagle-wharf, Montague-close, Southwark, c al-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 31.—Though the supplies of Wheat have considerably increased since Wednesday, yet the number of samples offering at to-day's market was moderate, which is attributable to some of the bulks from the more distant counties proving large, and others having gone direct into the hands of the millers. The market was thinly attended, which is usual on Easter Monday, but the finer descriptions of Wheat moved off steadily at the prices of this day se'night, while the secondary and inferior qualities continued heavy of disposal. In bonded we heard of no transactions.

Fine Malting Barley realized the rates of this day se'night, say from 29s. to 30s.; fine, 31s. Chevalier qualities find purchasers in the Maltsters at from 32s. to 33s. Distilling samples experienced a very limited sale at former quotations; but for giinding sorts there was little inquiry.

Malt continues dull, but unaltered in price.

The show of Oats was large, particularly of Irish quality, as upwards of 14,000 qrs. have been received since the last market day. The article experienced a slow sale at barely so good prices as last week.

Beans met with little attention, and prices nominally the same.

White Peas dull, and grey and maple ir limited request, the quotations remaining un altered.

The Flour trade continues to rule dull, and 45s. may be taken as the top quotation of the town-made article, though 46s. and 48s. is still nominally quoted. Ships' qualities are being sold at from 34s. to 36s. per sack.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Boilers | 30s. to 31s. |
| — Grey | 30s. to 33s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potato | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 47s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 95s. to 100s. |
| — Mess, new | 55s. to 57s. per barl. |
| Butter, Belfast | 66s. to 76s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow | 50s. to 76s. |
| — Cork | 62s. to 64s. |
| — Limerick .. | 60s. to 62s. |
| — Waterford .. | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Dublin | 50s. to 52s. |

SMITHFIELD, March 31.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was, for that of a holiday market, moderately good; its supply of Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was with prime Lamb and Veal, somewhat brisk; with the middling and inferior kinds, as also Beet, Mutton, and Pork, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; with, perhaps, 200 home-breds, as many Herefords, about fifty Town's-end Cows, as many Irish beasts, a few Staffords, Sussex beasts, &c.

From a moiety to three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Downs and white-faced crosses; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 600, which is considered to be a short supply for an Easter Monday, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South-Downs, Downish half-breds, new white-faced Leicesters, and Dorsets, with a few small Rylands, Scotch Lambs, &c.

About 1,600 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots and Norfolk home-breds, the remainder about equal numbers of short-

horns and Devons, with a few Herefords and Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly short horns, Devons, and runts, from Leicester, Lincolnshire, &c.; about 120, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about fifty, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, Welsh runts, and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 4.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices remain the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

[Vol. 84.—No. 2]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 12th, 1834.

[Price 1s 2d.]



LIFE OF JACKSON.

I STATED last week, that there would be a frontispiece with a portrait. I think it right here to state, for the gratification of those who may never see the book, that we have taken the portrait as we find it in the American book; then, above it, we have endeavoured to exhibit the city of New Orleans; Jackson's rampart and his parapet of cotton-bags and flour and sugar-barrels; we have exhibited the columns of Pakenham swept down and strewn over the plain; and have by no means forgotten to exhibit Pakenham himself tumbling headlong from his horse, shot dead by the Tennessee riflemen. In short, we have endeavoured to exhibit a defeat and a *déroute* as complete as any ever experienced in this world. In the background of this compartment, that other companion of Cockburn, I mean Cuchrane, is seen making off with his two hundred ships and boats, to go home and tell Johnny Bull of the success of his enterprise in pursuit of "booty and beauty."

The lower compartment of the frontispiece, exhibits on the left hand side, hanging on a gibbet, a Creek Indian; one of the tens of thousands hired to shed the blood of the American people, and punished and subdued and completely subjected for ever, by Jackson, who, in the Indian campaigns alone, performed more admirable exploits than were ever even ascribed to the impudent fellows who cost us, during the late wars so many millions and millions of money. This Indian leaves his tomahawk and

his scalping knife at his feet, upon the ground, having brought them, as things most dear to him, to the foot of the gallows.

On the other side of this compartment hangs a personage of great consideration for another gibbet; namely, a paper-money maker, who is, at the same time, Jew, either in religion or character, or both. The moment the reader shall cast his eyes on this part of the picture, he will exclaim, "God, thou art just!" This must be the end, in America, of this nefarious crew, unless they manfully give way. The people there perceive, that they have as much right to put them to death as they have to put mad dogs to death. America has suffered so severely from this at once audacious and roguish crew, that they must be punished, and in the most exemplary manner.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE LIFE OF JACKSON.

I thought I had, in the dedication or the preface, done justice to the Irish people, relative to the deeds of this famous man, who sprang from amongst them. But, having since looked into the peerage of PAKENHAM, and finding what he was; what honours had been heaped upon him, who died in the midst of disgrace unparalleled: for, all the disgrace was his, as all the honour would have been his. The valour that takes a man up to an entrenchment, or makes him the first to enter a breach, is of a character not a thousandth part equal to that of a bull-dog. Many hundreds of his soldiers went nearer to the mouths of the American muskets than he did: it is the valour which discovers itself in cool moments and day-after-day reflections, and comes, at last, to conclusions, such as are in so many, many instances, recorded of this famous American General.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake;

secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents. The circumstances stated by me relative to this matter are very striking; but, until I saw the peerage of the antagonist whom he laid sprawling upon the ground; until I saw this peerage; this bragging, this boasting peerage, I had not the means of making the contrast so striking as it ought to have been made. Let us take him, then, as he is described by the heralds, of his family, copied from the peerage itself. It is a thing for eternal laughter; a thing which every democrat should have about him, and when he has read it, he will not forget to exclaim: All this was smashed to pieces in a moment by the son of poor Irish emigrant parents, the mother of whom had urged this son to avenge the cause of Ireland.

I will now insert from the peerage, and when I have done that, I shall have some remarks to add:

"*William de Pakenham* was resident "at Pakenham, co. Suffolk, *temp.* Edward I.; his eldest son, sir Edmund Pakenham, *m.*, *temp.* Edward II., "Rose, daughter and co-heir of Robert "de Valines, from whom descended sir "Hugh Pakenham, who *d. temp.* Henry "VII., leaving issue, 1. sir John Pakenham, whose only daughter and sole "heir, Constance, carried the estate of "Lordington, co. Sussex, to her husband "sir Geoffry de la Pole, *knt.*, 2d son of "sir Richard de la Pole, *K.G.*, by Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, only daughter of George, duke "of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.; "2. *Nicholas*, ancestor of the *earls of Longford*; 3. Anne, *m.* sir William Sydney, knight banneret, by whom "she was mother of Sir Henry Sydney, "*K.G.*, lord deputy of Ireland. Sir "Edward Pakenham, *knt.*, grandson of "Nicholas, accompanied his cousin, sir "Henry Sydney, to Ireland, 1576, whose "grandson, Henry Pakenham, was "seated at Pakenham Hall, co. West-

"meath, *temp.* Charles II., and was "father of sir Thomas Pakenham, *knt.* "of Pakenham Hall, prime serjeant at "law, 1695, whose son and heir, Edward Pakenham, of Pakenham Hall, "knight of the shire co. Westmeath, "1713, was father of

"*Thomas Pakenham*, 1st lord, *b.* "May 1713, *m.*, March 5, 1739, Elizabeth, sole heirress of Michael Cuffe, "esq., nephew and heir of Ambrose "Aungier, last earl of Longford, and in "right of his wife was created, 1756, "baron of *Longford*, and had issue by "her (who was created July 5, 1785, "countess of *Longford*), 1. *Edward-Michael*, 2d lord; 2. Robert, in the "army, who *d. unm.*, 1775; 3. William, "*d.* young; 4. Thomas, *b.* 1757, an "admiral of the white, *m.* 1785. Louisa, "daughter of the right hon. John Staples, and has issue 6 sons and 4 "daughters; 5. Elizabeth, *b.* 1742; 6. Frances, *m.*, June 1776, John Ormsby Vandeleur, esq., and *d.* 1779, leaving "issue; 7. Helena, *m.* June 1768, William Sherlock, of Sherlocks-town, esq., "and *d.* 1774, leaving issue by him " (who *d.* 1788), Mary, *m.* 1770, "Thomas Fortescue, esq., and *d.* 1775, "leaving issue. His lordship *d.* April "20, 1776, and was succeeded by his "son,

"*Edward-Michael*, 2d lord, *b.* April "1, 1743, *m.*, June 25, 1768, Catharine, "2d daughter of the right hon. Hercules-Longford Rowley, by Elizabeth, viscountess Longford, and by her (who "*d.* March 12, 1816) had issue, 1. *Thomas*, present earl 2. *sir Edward-Michael*, *G. C. B.*, major-general in "the army, and colonel 6th West India "regiment, who, Nov. 8. 1813, *received the unanimous thanks of both Houses of Parliament*, for the valour, steadiness, and exertion, so successfully displayed by him, in repelling the repeated "attacks made on the positions of the "allied army by the whole of the French "force under the command of marshal "Soult, between the 25th of July, and "1st of August: *b.* March 19, 1778, "killed in action near New Orleans, in "America, Jan. 8, 1815, to whose "memory a monument is erected in the

"*cathedral of Saint Paul*, at the public
 "expense; 3. Hercules-Robert, C. B.,
 "b. Sept. 29, 1781, lieutenant-colonel in the
 "army, severely wounded at Badajos,
 "1812, m., Dec. 1817, Emily Stapleton,
 "daughter of Thomas, lord Le De-
 "spencer; 4. William, b. Sept. 20,
 "1782, captain R. N., who was unfortu-
 "nately drowned in his majesty's frigate
 "Saldana, near Lough Swilly, Ireland,
 "Dec. 4, 1811; 5. Henry, in holy
 "orders, b. Aug. 23, 1787; 6. Eliza-
 "beth, b. Sept. 1769, m. Henry Stewart,
 "esq.; 7. Mary, d. 1787; 8. Catharine,
 "m., April 10, 1806, field-marshal, Ar-
 "thur, duke of Wellington, K. G.,
 "K. T. S., and K. F., brother to Richard,
 "marquis of Wellesley, K. G., K. C., and
 "K. L. S. (See *Duke of Wellington*, in
 "the *Peerage of England*, and *Marquis*
 "of *Wellesley*, in the *Peerage of Ir-*
 "land); 9. Helen; 10. Caroline-Pe-
 "nelope His lordship d. June 3, 1792,
 "when his son,

"Thomas, succeeded to the barony;
 "and on the death of his grandmother,
 "Jan. 1794, he succeeded to the earldom,
 "and is the present peer.

"*Heur-apparent*—Lord PAKENHAM,
 "the earl's only son.

"*Creations*—Baron Pakenham, 1756;
 "Earl, June 20, 1785.

"*Motto*—*Gloria virtutis umbra*—
 "Glory is the shadow of virtue.

Here is a pretty story here is a rig-
 marole: this is the sort of way in which
 the base part of mankind are held in
 subjection. Here is as great a piece of
 work in recording the lineage of this
 gang of people, as if each individual of
 them had performed exploits equal to
 those of Jackson. Why, it must give
 one pleasure; it must fill one with de-
 light, to see such contemptible rubbish
 brought to the test, and to be proved to
 be not worth a straw. We see here that
 our particular hero had received the *un-*
animous thanks of the House of Commons.
 And, for what was it? For his valour, &c.,
 in repelling repeated attacks made on
 the positions of the allied army. This is
 a very unsatisfactory description. Here
 is no deed done; no strong place cap-
 tured; no army beaten, but merely at-
 tacks repelled. Very doubtful words;

and a pretty House of Commons it must
 have been, to have voted its unanimous
 thanks to a man upon grounds so very
 equivocal; and, indeed, who does not
 perceive, that if he had been the son of
 a common man, he would have had no
 thanks at all? Yes, yes: the "*French*
force"; he could do very well with the
French force; but, it was another
 matter when he came to do with an
 American force, though it was only about
 a seventh part of his own.

Mark, too, the curious way in which
 his death is mentioned: "*Killed in ac-*
tion, near New Orleans, in America,
 "January 8th, 1815, to whose memory
 "a monument is erected in the cath-
 "edral of St. Paul, at the public ex-
 "pense." Now, observe, first, that you
 do not know whether he was com-
 manding or not; second, whether those
 on his side were the victors or not;
 third, whether it was a battle fought for
 the purpose of taking New Orleans or
 for defending it, or whether it was for
 any other object: but, taking into view
 the fact immediately following, that he
 had a monument erected immediately to
 his memory in St. Paul's, at the public
 expense; and is there one single man in
 this world, who, being unacquainted
 with the facts, would not believe that he
 lost his life in the arms of victory in a
 battle which happened to take place
 near the city of New Orleans, in Amer-
 ica. Thus it is that the people of Eng-
 land have been basely betrayed and in-
 sulted and cheated. Not one man in
 ten thousand or in fifty thousand, knows
 to this day that this Pakenham was
selected for this enterprise; that the
 army and the navy were all ready, long
 before his arrival; that they waited for
 that arrival, to begin operations; that
 the force was so great, the supplies so
 large; so superabundant in every re-
 spect; an outfit costing *more than a*
million of money, and this for the double
 object of carrying the city, and of puff-
 ing Pakenham into a lord. And, what
 did he do when he got there? The
 very things that Jackson wanted
 him to do; and, at last, after having
 given Jackson one specimen of his abili-
 ty at *assaulting*, he really put all to the

hazard of an assault; but, curious to relate, not one hour before Jackson was perfectly ready for him. He had intelligence constantly from the city: he knew precisely the situation of Jackson: he knew that his whole force, his whole alliance was but about three thousand men, armed with muskets and rifles. He was duly apprized that these men were stationed behind a parapet of bags of cotton and of barrels of sugar and of flour, but particularly the former: he could see, with his glasses, the cotton-bales, as plainly as I can see this paper: he knew that rifles were behind them; and he had the stupidity to believe, that the Yankees would run away at the approach of his glittering army, and leave that army to vault over the cotton-bags. Common-sense dictated to him to erect batteries, and to tare away at the parapet; to annoy, to fatigue, to exhaust; to take the chances of successful rebellion against Jackson; at any rate, there was one thing which was down-right madness, and that was what he did. To march up in columns, close to the cotton-bags, carry scaling-ladders to climb up with, and to imagine, that he was, in the face of those Yankees, thus going to get over those cotton-bags. Every man of common-sense must have known, that certain death would come pouring over those cotton-bags. When the columns approached, all was still on Jackson's side of the cotton-bags: not a shot was fired; not the smallest demonstration of resistance shown: the columns marched up to within a few yards of the edge of the ditch: then came the bullets: then came the buck-shot: then came the destructive contents of the rifles; and the plain was instantly covered with the dead. Jackson had more men than he had rifles and muskets. Those who had no arms loaded for those who had arms; so that, the fire was one incessant volley; and, out of the four generals, the chief fell dead, and two others were dangerously wounded. I dare say, that the moment Jackson saw those columns, marching over the plain, to come up to his parapet, he felt as sure of the result, as he did after it had taken place. This was a

something to make the nation pay for a monument for this man, and in St. Paul's, too. But, it is no matter: if a commander belongs to any of these people, beaten or not beaten, so that he die, he is sure to have a monument to his memory at the people's expense, in order to keep up the blaze of these families. It was well for this poor fellow that he was killed: if he could have made shift to hobble off with his beating, I have no question that he would have had the thanks of the House of Commons, as I believe Cockburn had, for his work on the coast of Virginia.

Burke called nobility "the cheap defence of nations." Look at our half-pay lot; look at our pension-list; look at the retired-allowance list; look at this very family of Pakenham. We find that this man had nine brothers and sisters; one a lieutenant-colonel in the army; one a captain in the navy; one in the church: so far for the men; and, as to the women, I could be bound to find them all out if I had time; but, we know that one of them was the wife of Wellington. A pretty dearish defence of nations, I should think, all this! But, not to waste any more words upon the subject, here we have all this swaggering nobility, this hunting down, from "*William de Pakenham*," in the time of Edward the First, to the present time; and only think of their public-hung their mottoes: "*Gloria virtutis umbra*," that is to say, "*Gloria is the shadow of virtue*"; a saying which we can hardly understand the meaning of; but, the more senseless, the more it excites the cogitating wonderment of stupid and base people. When a public robber gets into a carriage, with three or four Latin words written on it, and with the other insignia which he chooses to have put, all the base part of the people, and that is not a small part, look upon him as something or other a wonderful deal better than themselves. Now, unless this feeling be changed: unless the people be cured of this baseness, nothing that can be done by men, even the most able and industrious and zealous, will ever render them better off than they now are. However, that which I have

here exhibited, will do real good in America; it will make the people there resolve to guard against all the crafty and subtle approaches of aristocracy, which has always been begun by suffering wealth to be drawn into a small number of hands. When once that is done, then the tiding work begins; and then come all the curses under which we are now labouring. I shall be told that I have always been an advocate for a government of king, lords, and commons, and for bishops, seated amongst the lords. Now, this is very true; and, my argument always has been that those things could not be had in their nature, along with which co-existed such wise and just laws; so much freedom, so much power, possessed by so comparatively small a country; and such an immense mass of national resources of all sorts, together with a degree of reputation for integrity, frankness and all public virtue, never surpassed by any other nation, and, indeed, never any thing like equalled.

Well, then, ought you not to cherish these orders now? Are they not what they always were? Have we not still dukes, marquises, earls, just as in the time of? Stop: yes, my friend, we have dukes, marquises, earls, and so forth still; but those that we have now are no more like those in former times, than a French crab is like a Newtown pippin; or than a Catherine peach (many degrees baser than a white turnip) is like a *French mignon* or an early *Montauban*. A peach is a peach; and, as words, mere words, are quite sufficient for the more numerous and baser part of mankind, to keep the word is all that has been thought necessary.

Well, but *in what* do the present lords differ from the lords of former times? *In every thing*; except in the shape of their bodies, and the manner of receiving their nutriment, though even in this latter I do not know that I am not admitting too much. The people of England, when called out in the wars, and especially in defence of their country, were commanded by the lords; and, observe, the lords found them their arms,

and their clothing, and their provisions, and their money for the service, out of their own pockets and estates. It was the business of the lords, *each one to protect his people from wrong*; to see that they had fair play; they were their advocates in courts of justice; pleading their causes in their persons; and *always for nothing*. There was no such thing as a tax for a poor or working man to pay, nor ever heard of to pay, of any sort or kind. The bishops and abbots were in Parliament to take care that the poor were not plundered of their patrimony; and *thus it was that nobility was "the cheap defence of nations."*

What do we behold now? Every great family, as it is called, not paying for warriors to come forth to defend the country; *but making the people pay them*, men, women, and children, to the amount of thousands, and thousands upon thousands! In short, it is a prodigious band of spongers, living upon the labour of the industrious part of the community, and making the people pay them, and men that they enlist; the object of having such men in pay and armed with bayonets, can be hidden from nobody in this world but an idiot. a nobility, not paying the people to come out, and furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and clothing them, to defend the country; but a nobility, actually living upon the sweat of the people, and passing laws at the same time, to transport the very same people, if caught in pursuit of pheasant, partridge, or hare! While (oh, gracious God!) these same people, still calling themselves nobility, breeding those wild animals for the purpose of feeding the wretches in London whom they support in the demanding and the receiving of the fruit of three days' work instead of one!

However, either the people of England see all this, or they do not; if the latter, they are too blind to have the character of humanity imputed to them; they are absolutely brutes; for brutes, any treatment is good enough, so that it does not lacerate, starve or knock on the head. If the people of England do see it in its true light; and yet, if they think nothing of these things, compared

with corn-bill nonsense, or HEDDEKA SHUN; if this be their taste, if they throw away the substance to amuse themselves with the shadow, and will elect captain swallow-pension and reject a man that scorns to deceive them then let them suffer; and my consolation is, that *I will not suffer along with them!*

WM. COBBETT.

LOCUST WOOD.

I HAVE always insisted that there would be no wear and tear of *hop-poles* if made of this wood, or, rather, the poles being of this tree. I have a thousand times said, that one *poing* would last a hop-garden for thirty years at the least, without even any *new pointing* of the pole. That is to say, a duration ten times as long as that of any other wood. Major Wayth, (as sensible and public-spirited a man as I have ever known), who lives amidst the hop-gardens of Kent, seems to have had a promise from a friend, about the year 1813, that he would put up one locust-pole in his hop-garden, and have it taken care of. This it appears he did, until last hopping season, when one of those monstrously careless and lazy villains, whom I would condemn to live upon potatoes all their lives, broke this pole, which he must have done for the express purpose, having apparently been cautioned not to do so. I wish I knew that fellow, that I might go down into Kent, to procure him a horse-whipping, legally if possible, and, if not, illegally. The pole had stood, observe, twenty years without ever having been new pointed, any more than if it had been made of iron; and this precious villain sends his master back twenty years to begin the experiment again. Common highway robbery or common theft, or even arson, is inferior in point of moral infamy to this. A man that would do this, would, if he had the courage, cut say throat without remorse. I here insert Major Wayth's letter, thanking him very much for taking the trouble

to make the communication upon the subject, because it has verified all my opinions and assertions upon the subject.

"DEAR SIR,—Believing that the real worth of the locust plants is but little understood in this country when used as hop-poles, I beg to send for your perusal the copy of a letter I have received from a highly respectable hop-grower, whose residence is not far distant from the county town of Kent.

"It may be needless for me to say, that I most fully believe this gentleman's statement; I had heard of the circumstance he relates. I wrote to him on the subject, which gave rise to the annexed answer.

"I have not his permission to make his name public; but I have no objection to send you his name and address privately, should you desire it.

"I think the matter of so much consequence to hop-planters in general, that I trouble you with this communication.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"very obediently yours,

"C. WAYTH.

"*Bearsted-house, 7. April, 1834.*"

"EXTRACT

"Of a letter or note from Mr. ——— to Major Wayth, dated March 31, 1834.

"Mr. ——— assures Major Wayth that the 18-foot locust hop-pole was put up in his hop-ground in 1813, and was set up every season till 1832, without fresh pointing, when by some unfair means it was broke in the middle during hopping. Mr. ——— always put it up to a strong hill; and one year he picked two bushels of hops from it."

I MUST say one more word about locust-poles. A gentleman has informed me (and I have forgotten his name) that he bought some seed of me five years ago; that he cut the poles eighteen feet long, at the end of five years, on the sowing; that he now is buy-

ing some more seed, in larger quantity, and expects poles again from that, at the end of five years. If cut down, that is to say, the stems being left when you cut your poles, they will send up shoots again; and every stem will send up two poles, and you will have these poles at the end of four years. Yet, in the face of these facts, in the face of demonstration, exhibited in examination on the spot, have I seen a brute, *not knowing* any thing about "theas here locusses;" knowing what "eysh be," he plants the "eysh," though it takes him twelve years to get a pole, and though that pole will, at most, last him five years instead of twenty! However, it is all as it should be: stupidity, folly, fear of losing a shilling, have their reward in the subdued and abased situation of the pealty: there is no reason why a fool or a niggard should possess these things, which belong to sense and to real liberality.

SWEDISH TURNIPS.

I BEG the reader, not for my sake, but for his own, if he be a farmer, to read the following letter. I do not know the gentleman; but am not at all surprised at the facts which he states. He gives me an account of Swedish turnips, producing a prodigious crop, and of some turnips weighing fourteen pounds each. Mr. William Martin, at his farm near Birmingham, has had one turnip this year, which weighed nineteen pounds! He has sent the turnip to me. It is sound and good in every part. I have never heard of such turnips, raised from any other seed than my own. I have had hundreds of letters, eulogizing my seed, and I do believe, that it is the very best that ever was grown in England. In a whole field of ten acres, you will not see one single plant that has the smallest appearance of not being true to its kind. I here insert Mr. Stable's letter, repeating that I do not know him; but that I am very much obliged to him for the pains that he has taken upon the subject. It is never worth while for gen-

tlemen to worry their friends and their neighbours, and especially to be angry with them on account of their not attending to their advice, and using my seed. I have never done this in my life, but have always suffered my friends and neighbours to follow their own fancy. Time, which always ought to have enlightened them, has not always done it; and they have persevered, and been rewarded with rubbish for their pains. There is no harm in this; it is their affair and not mine. I would rather see them have good crops than bad ones; but, I am not to quarrel with them, because they will not have good crops.

*"Foston, near Driffild, Yorkshire,
"March 31, 1834.*

"DEAR SIR,—A friend of mine in this parish, in the year 1832, purchased a book of yours, entitled 'A Year's Residence in America,' from which he learned to transplant the Swedish turnip. Having had a fancy to try that system of husbandry, he desired one of his friends to call at your shop, to get him some of your Swedish turnip seed, and to send it down to him at this place, which was accordingly done; after sowing it and transplanting the plants, he had in rows, three feet apart from each other (not four), and one foot apart in the row (the land being only of middling quality for raising turnips), *twenty-four tons on the statute-acre*. Being in the possession of that invaluable work, entitled 'Toll's Horse-hoeing Husbandry,' with your introduction to it, I am desirous to have some of your Swedish turnip seed, that I may be enabled to let my friends see some such fine turnips as my friends did in the year 1832; some of which weighed fourteen pounds each. I will thank you to be so kind as to send me down (by the steam packet that sails to Hull) four stones of your Swedish turnip seed, directed for James Stables, Foston, near Driffild, to be left at Messrs. Rhodes and Rutherford's, Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire. By an early completion of the

"above order, you will very much oblige one who cannot be exceeded by any one of your stanch friends, in wishing well to you and your family.

"I am, Sir,

"your most humble servant,

"JAMES STABLES.

"P. S. I hope I shall never be backward in acknowledging my gratitude to any man from whom I may receive benefit; but, to you, sir, my thanks are particularly due, as it is from your writings I have derived so much information; information which has been, and which must continue to be, of so much service to me."

MANGEL-WURZEL.

THIS also is the best and soundest of the kind, that I ever saw in my life; and the plant is a precious one, if judiciously used. It is quite surprising, what difference is made in the state of a farm, by having a good stock of this root for the winter. Twenty head of horn-cattle, and seventy hogs, besides twenty or thirty pigs, has been my stock to keep this last winter. This is, with the exception of cabbage-plants, the backwardest spring and the severest season that I recollect ever to have known. The grass, except in extremely sheltered spots, has no more of growth in it than there is in the bricks of a wall; the heath which I have known in brilliant bloom at this time of the year, looks just as sterile as it did in the month of January, if not more so. In short, so sharp and severe a season, I do not recollect. In the midst of all this, however, my cattle, ten milch cows, seven yearlings, two bulls, and four weaning calves of this spring, are in the most beautiful condition that it is possible to conceive. A trifle does not stop their throats, particularly I include the hogs, (a couple of dozen of breeding sows and a good part of their progeny for the last ten months), each of which has eaten pretty nearly the third part of that which is eaten by a cow. Our stock was, about, four acres of Scotch turnips, three acres of Swedes, and six acres of mangel-wurzel. We began upon

the Scotch turnips, or rather, upon the mangel-wurzel *ups* in November; then came to the Scotch turnips; then to the mangel-wurzel roots and Swedes, together, reserving more of the mangel-wurzel than of the Swedes. Probably, we may have sixty or seventy tons of the mangel-wurzel left now, quite enough to carry us along in to the month of June, if necessary, and thereby enable us to suffer the meadows to go quietly on for hay, without a head of cattle turned into them, since November. In the meanwhile, the cattle, not excepting the yearlings, are absolutely fat, though the cows have been milked all the winter; the whey proceeding from which (so much better than butter-milk) has reared up pigs more numerous and better than I was ever able to do it before, at this time of the year.

TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Normandy Farm, 9. April, 1834.

You remember my suffering greatly from a cough and from hoarseness, when I was in the north, one time. I have now, as bad a cough, and pretty nearly as bad a hoarseness, as I ever had in my life. I stood a shutting-up in London for just seventeen months, and was very well all the time, until the day the Parliament was adjourned for the holidays. By the carelessness of the servant and my own inattention, the room was suffered to become excessively hot. In order to relieve myself from the heat, I went to the window, which was against the north; it was a very warm day; it was raining, and the wind was coming from the north-west. I hung up the sash, and put my body, without my hat on, out of the window, in order to enjoy the breeze. "What a precious fool!" you will exclaim: yes; foolish enough, with all my heart; but not exceeding in demerit, the punishment that I am receiving for it. I am in great anxiety just at this time, very much wishing to be back in my place as quickly as possible, which I

have been able to be in, more constantly than in any other man in Parliament, the clerks and the Speaker excepted. I give you this notification, my friends, lest there should be the appearance of negligence in my conduct, which I should be very sorry to have ascribed to me.

I am,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS.

THREE men are, it seems, sent out of the country, notwithstanding the exertions which the people have so promptly made. In addition to the petition which I received from OLDHAM last week, I have received one from CHORROV, and another from WATERHAM, both of which I have forwarded to Lord MANSFORD. The following is the answer to that I have received to the OLDHAM petition. I have no time for further remark this week, except to add, that the whole country seems to be upon the move upon this subject.

"Whitehall, 5. April, 1834.

"SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Melbourne to acquaint you, that the petition which accompanied your letter of the 2nd instant, in favour of James Baire and five others, who were convicted at the last assizes for the county of Dorset, of administering unlawful oaths, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, has been duly laid before the King; and that his Majesty has not been pleased to signify any commands thereupon.

"I have the honour to be,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"HOWICK."

"William Cobbett, Esq., M.P.

"Barr-court."

TO W COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

Shanganagh, 7. April, 1834.

SIR,—In a late *Register* you inform your readers that you believe the end of the paper-money system is at hand.

I hope you may be right in this opinion; for from the time I read *Paine on the English Funding System*, I felt convinced that it was as he said, all *negation*; strength in the beginning, weakness in the end. *Paper against Gold* would have removed all doubts, had I had any; and for which book you deserve a *plaxton*, though there are many who would reward you with some hundred lashes for it, laid on your back by the drummer of the nearest regiment. This paper-money thing will be upheld to the last, unless the honesty and firmness of Andrew Jackson put an end to it all over Europe and America.

But my object in now addressing you is in the hope and request that you will publish the following case as illustrative of this *beautiful* machinery.

You are aware that there are all over England and Ireland what are called savings banks; I have heard that old George Rose was the father of this progeny, but I believe your friend the Old Lady in Threadneedle-street is certainly the mother; yet, in justice to the Old Lady, if her children misbehaved it may not be her fault. But to my case. A poor woman, by name Mary Ann Butler, who lived as a servant five years in my family, contrived to save up in many years, in her different services, a sum of about seventy pounds, as she says for her *old* days: this money she lodged regularly at different times in a savings' bank in Dublin. She kept her own secret, and had her bank book as it is called; but unfortunately lost it in November last, and being sent to an hospital in that month, did not give any notice of her loss, or did she actually know it till she recovered her illness; and she then found that all her money had been taken out of this bank on the 24. of December, or at all events, *was told so*, and saw an entry of said payment in *their books*. But although in their printed rules it is stated that if any person has fifty pounds or upwards in bank it cannot be drawn out unless the depositor appears in person, and brings a witness; and if the depositor dies, letters of administration must be *produced*. This young pig bank (as

you will call it), however, paid the money without this *procuration*, and have neither her bank book, receipt, or any voucher for it, but their own entry. I have looked into the various savings-bank acts, and I find abundant care taken of the trustees and all concerned in administering them, but very little indeed for the depositors, I suppose I dare not call them *fools*; still, if this poor woman is to lose her money, you and I will be justified in calling all who deposit in them in future worse than fools. As to myself, I never liked these young pig banks, or gave them any encouragement by word or deed, advising all who were afraid to keep their own money, to go, at all events, to head-quarters and deposit their cash with the Old Lady in Threadneedle-street, or the Young Lady in College-green; in preference to these minor shops. As the Cuffe-street bank refuses to pay this poor woman, I have directed an attorney to commence an action against the trustees. The facts are as I have stated, and can be clearly proved; and if the poor woman is to go without redress we shall have another proof of the wisdom of our laws, and how they ought to be envied and admired by surrounding nations.

I am, dear sir,
your most obedient servant,
GEO. COCKBURN.

DUKY YORK

AND

MOTHER CLARKE.

So the statue of this "*hero*" is, at last, placed upon a column, in imitation, they say, of that of the great Roman general! I never could believe that there was baseness enough in the nation to produce men to do this thing. The expense is said to be defrayed by the "*sister-services*," having four hundred and fifty generals and two hundred odd admirals at their head, and the half-pay and allowance and pension-people of which swallow up five millions of pounds sterling a year. The Government is mean and stupid and blind enough, in all conscience, to give its

countenance to such a thing; and it will have to repent of it, however safe it may look upon itself as being. The sister-services have thus, however, characterized themselves by sticking up this fellow as their leader: like master like men: I do verily believe, that the far greater part of them, ninety-nine out of every hundred, *have as much merit*; and of precisely the same sort, as that which was possessed by this darling of mother Clarke. I shall be glad to know the fact, however, whether it be the sister-services or not, that have stuck up this statue to insult the English nation. At any rate, there is damnable injustice in the thing; for, if the fellow were to be stuck up thus, MOLL NAX ought to have been stuck up along-side of him. Here is another of those signs which have always preceded the fall of states.

When this fellow died, and the infamous London press was setting up a howl of lamentation, which must have set all hell in an uproar, I gave a sketch of the history of the merits of the fellow; particularly his military merits. I was determined he should not sink into the grave, without some portion of the nation being made acquainted with the deeds of his life. I repeat this account now; and, in due time, I will furnish the sister-services with an *EPITAPH*, to be put up on the pedestal of his monument.

"They flattered him with their mouth and lied."—PSALM lxxviii. 36.

Seeing the situation of public affairs of this country at this time; seeing how many subjects there are of great and pressing public interest; seeing, in short, that those of us who are alive, cannot, in a much greater proportion than one out of twenty, say that he has the fair means of decent existence within his reach; seeing that every man of considerable property, if he be also a man of sense, is, and must be, in a continual state of anxiety with regard to the fate of that property, and with regard to children and other dependents, for whom that property is intended to provide, seeing these things, I have

felt, and I still feel, the greatest reluctance to occupy my pages, and the time of my readers, by observations relative to the dead. But, there are occasions, when it is absolutely necessary, for the sake of the survivors, to speak of those who are no more. One of these occasions now presents itself, and extorts from me that which I am about to write. If that which is said of the dead, could do no mischief to the living, if it be not calculated to give a wrong bias to men's minds; in such case, as that which is said of the dead can do no harm to the living, these latter may well pass it by without notice. But, when the contrary is manifestly the case; when that which is said of the dead is clearly calculated to mislead the mass of the nation; to make it believe that which is not true; to induce men to trust to some other means of obtaining high character, than the means to be found in their integrity, valour, public spirit, and other virtues; when that which is said of the dead, naturally tends to make men disregard the use of the only means by which high character ought to be maintained; when that which is said of the dead has a natural and inevitable tendency to make the mass of mankind believe, that it signifies not what you do during your life; that you are sure of posthumous fame, if you do but so act, as to be sure to provide yourself with eulogists after your death; when that which is said of the dead has and must have this tendency, then the man, who is so situated as to be able to make a probably successful effort, in counteracting that which is said of the dead, may, perhaps, if he hold his peace, be neither knave nor coward; but, it would be full as well for his country if he were both.

Therefore, clear as it is to me, that that which has been said, written, and published, relative to the late Duke of York, has, and inevitably must have, this mischievous tendency, I should be ashamed of myself, if I did not, at any rate, make an effort to counteract it.

I am not disposed to criticise any part of the Duke's character or conduct, in a

manner which could possibly merit the epithet severe. But, justice demands, that I expose the baseness of the flatterers of his memory, without, however, insinuating, that he himself would have approved by anticipation of such immeasurable baseness. The newspapers of England are, unquestionably, the vilest of all human productions; but, in this case, they have been more vile even than usual. They have gone beyond the settled infamy of their character. Their columns are always open for sale, and the reptiles who have filled them in this case have been dealers, to a greater extent, than perhaps was ever before known in the whole of the history of this species of traffic. They have represented the object of their eulogiums as *every thing perfect in man*; particularly as a *saint* and a *hero*. They have represented him as the most humane, the most upright, the most industrious, the most public-spirited of mortal men. These base flatterers think, that they know very well what they are about: they think to imitate the innkeepers of Oxford; that is to say, "*make the living pay for the dead*." They ought certainly not to succeed in so villainous an enterprise, but, their success or their failure, is a mere trifle, compared with the mischievous effect, that their base and lying praises are calculated to have upon the nation at large, and particularly upon those young men, who are now coming upon the stage, and whose opinions and principles must eventually have so great an effect on the happiness or misery of the nation. If these praises of the Duke of York be suffered to pass without comment, who shall say that a young man will do wrong, if he endeavour, or permit himself to imitate the life and actions of the Duke of York? If these praises be proper, then the Duke is a model for all men to imitate. Would it, then, be a good thing, if all men were to imitate the Duke of York? All men, literally speaking, cannot; for all men are not dukes; nor are they in many other situations in which this Duke was. But all men have dealings and contracts with their

fellow-subjects; and would it be good for all men to imitate his ROYAL HIGHNESS in this capacity? I do not pretend to say, what the DUKE's debts are or are not. I copy the following paragraph from the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day.

"We are sorry to learn that the affairs of the Duke of York are likely to turn out very indifferent as respects the simple contract creditors—hardly one shilling in the pound being likely to fall to their share. This has not arisen from any failure in the sales of property that have taken place, which have realized full as much as was expected, but from the immense amount of liens on that property, and of *bona fide* bond securities, all of which must be satisfied before the other creditors are paid a farthing. These bonds, it is said, exceed two hundred thousand pounds!"

This may be false; and, as I find it in a newspaper, it is but fair to suppose that it is; but, if it be but a nineteenth-twentieth part of the truth, let me ask whether this is an *example* to hold up to the nation, the debtor having had, constantly, during his whole lifetime, an income so great, that it is impossible for common men to conceive, by what means it could be expended. Here were no mischances, no accidents, no failure in mercantile enterprise, no event to drive the debtor from the regular receipt of his enormous income, the amount of which he always knew, and always was sure regularly to receive. What excuse, therefore, for debt at all; and what answer to give to those numerous persons who must be sufferers from such debt?

All men are not princes and military commanders, but all men are, or are liable to be, *husbands*; and, would it be a good thing if, in that capacity, all men were to imitate the Duke of York? I will allude to no *rumours*; I will proceed upon no scandalous stories, nothing like what shall mark what I have to say of the Duke of York; but, when I hear these profligate, these most mercenary ruffians of the press

proclaim him to the nation as a sort of saint, shall I not refer my readers to the evidence taken before the House of Commons in the year 1809? Shall I not bid them read that evidence? Shall I not bid them look at the proof relative to the open, the undisguised connexion with MOTHER CLARKE, while the DUKE had living a wife, the daughter of a king, the sister of a king, a woman of unimpeachable character in all respects; a woman remarkable for the gentleness of her manners, and for all those qualities and characteristics which made it cruel to the last degree, to inflict a sting in her bosom. Had she been otherwise than strictly virtuous; had she been a virago; had she been a notorious squanderer, wasting the substance of her husband: had she been any of these, less, and much less would have been said on the subject. She was none of them, and her gentleness, and regard for her husband's character and feelings was so great, that she made it a point of appearing in public with him, at a moment when all the world were turning their backs upon him, though the cause of his disgrace was that very connexion which was calculated to inspire her with the most anxious desire to obtain revenge. One cannot tell any thing about the *mere personal* attachments in such case; but the Duchess of York had to bear the *pity*, not only of this nation, but of a great part of the civilized world; and *pity* is a thing which we do not endure very patiently, particularly when we are in situations, where the very existence of it implies that we are in a fallen state. I scorn, as I always did scorn, cant, upon the subject of MOTHER CLARKE; but, let the eulogists of the Duke of York tell us plainly, if they dare, that the man who was the subject of the investigation of 1809, and the subject of the votes of the House of Commons in that year; let those eulogists tell us, if they dare, that it would be a good thing, for all men to imitate the Duke of York as a husband; which, be it observed, is one, at any rate, of the great capacities of human life.

Perhaps those eulogists are of opi-

nion, that to pursue that which is generally called *gaming*, has nothing amiss in it. Certainly the thing is common enough, and all that we have heard, relative to this subject, as far as the Duke was concerned, may possibly be false. If so, however, these eulogists have shown themselves to be very stupid or very insincere friends; for, they have made no attempt to wipe from his memory, that which was by no means an object of admiration with the wise and virtuous part of the people. They seem to me to have been sensible they were writing a romance, or they would, at any rate, have attempted to palliate the practice so generally imputed to the Duke. The newspaper ruffians are, generally speaking, addicted to this practice themselves, as far as their means will allow them: it is a practice congenial with the natural turn of their minds: they are penned up amidst swarms of men, and they naturally resort to stimulants of this kind. But, this is not the case with the nation at large: this is not the case with a far greater part of persons in the middle rank of life, nor is it the case with the far greater part of those who move in a higher sphere. These eulogists, then, these lavish of indiscriminating praise, must, to be consistent, boldly assert, that it would be a good thing, if every one followed the example of the Duke in this practice, so generally, whether justly or unjustly, imputed to him.

For my part, I can discover nothing "tangible" in this praise bestowed upon the Duke. CHARLES YORKE very indiscreetly called upon WARDLE to bring forward his charges against the Duke in a "tangible shape." That worthy ex-Secretary of State and present sinecure placeman soon found the shape tangible enough. I have endeavoured to find something equally tangible in the praises bestowed upon the Duke, but have been enabled to find nothing of the kind. A monstrous deal about his filial affection, forgetting, I suppose, that he had a grant of 10,000*l.* a year (in addition to all his other sources of enormous income), merely for the trouble of visiting his aged father once

in a week or ten days! How much better it would have been if these injudicious friends had been sensible and honest: if, by way of apology or excuse for the taking of this great sum from the nation they had said, that the Duke stood in need of the money, and that (which I really suppose to be the truth, because it is against nature to suppose the contrary), if he had no money at all for doing it, he would have watched over his father (who, by-the-by, had been most particularly kind and good to him), as cheerfully and diligently as if he had been allowed for his trouble a million a year. At any rate, however, he did receive the 10,000*l.* a year, until the death of his father; and, be it remarked, that the amount so received by him, now makes part of that enormous debt, which is pressing this people to the earth, which makes millions rise every morning not knowing how or where to breakfast; which threatens with beggary even the most wealthy of the community, which renders all men's affairs so uncertain; which, in numerous instances, makes life a burden; and which, let the military gentlemen think what they may, puts every institution in jeopardy.

To talk of the Duke's *generosity*, therefore, to suppose that we have all our memories, or, that those memories have become so short, that they do not carry us back beyond the space of five or six years. The great burden of praise is, however, the surprising kindness of the Duke. He did so many "*kind things*," which word "*kind*" these whiskered, pigeon-cropped and shoulder-padded eulogists pronounce in an accent, partaking of a puke and a lisp. They make me sick, at any rate. He was so "*kind* a soul"! Not so very "*kind*" to poor Queen Caroline, at any rate, though one would have thought, that there were, in the history of his own life, several incidents, that might have induced so singularly a "*kind*" hearted man, to judge her with great lenity, even though he had believed her fully guilty of every thing laid to her charge. Having mentioned the late unfortunate Queen, I will also mention

a letter which I have received from a lady, in consequence of the intimation of my resolution, to notice this shameless praise heaped upon the Duke of York. She mentions, amongst other things, the fate which has befallen the most conspicuous enemies of that unfortunate Queen. She notices that the triumph (if triumph it were) arising from her death, was of short duration in the case of Castleknagh, she notices, also, the short-lived honours of Gifford, and she does not forget, that it is not yet seven years since Lord Liverpool ordered her body to be carried round the New-road. This is the way in which a lady, writing in a manner as elegant as I ever saw, views the occurrences relating to the men who stood most prominent of all, in the prosecution of the unfortunate Queen. The Duke of York did not take a very prominent part upon that occasion. There was nothing peculiarly bitter in his hostility, but, a very large part of the nation will say, let the vile newspapers publish what they will, that that was an occasion, on which for him to show that tender feeling, that genuine humanity, that gallant generosity which set self at defiance, and of all which these eulogists pretend the Duke had a store so prodigious.

To return, however, to his excessive "*kindness*," I have, when I was able to overcome the effect of the compound *puke* and *lisp*, when I have been able to overcome the disgust excited by the sound of this word, which is pronounced by a drawing down of the under jaw and by a gape, nearly wide enough to show you the root of an ugly tongue; when I have been able to overcome the disgust excited by this sound and this sight, I have sometimes asked, "Do tell me what are your proofs of this *kindness*." "Oh! he did so many *kind* things, he gave so many *merciful* persons good posts, got a regulation to enable old half-pay officers to sell their commissions to young ones; to enable half-pay officers to become parsons, to submit to a '*tail*' to take upon them the care of souls, and to keep their half-pay at

the same time; he was so *good*! made so many families happy; made them so comfortably off!"

In short, I always found, that the Duke was "*kind*" to excess to every body, but to those toiling millions who have to pay the taxes. His "*kindness*" consisted, in fact, in enabling idlers to live well upon the toil of embarrassed farmers and tradesmen and half-starving journeymen and labourers. Now, mind, I do not accuse the Duke of doing this wilfully. On the contrary, I am quite convinced he was not doing it at all! I am quite convinced, that he never, in the whole course of his life, bestowed a thought on the effect or taxation; that he never reflected, and never thought it his duty to reflect, whence the money came, and that he thought, that if he, as far as related to himself and his office, distributed it pretty fairly, that was all he had to do with the matter. I am ready to acknowledge, that, from what I have heard, it always appeared to be his natural disposition to relieve the distresses of the military people, and to gratify the wishes of any, or all of them, who made their application to him. But, what great price is this, when no part of the millions came out of his own pocket?

It is said, that he greatly improved the discipline of the English army. Had the Duke been a friend of mine, I should have preferred to say of him, that he greatly reduced the numbers of the English army. England did very well for a *thousand years*, without such a thing as a standing army being known, or so much as thought of. It is said, that, the state of the world is altered, and that, if other nations have standing armies, England must have them too. Those who say this, appear to forget that the other nations of Europe had all of them standing armies; that France, for instance, had a thundering standing army, over which so many victories were gained by the raw levies raised in England by the Norman kings.

It is only since the Duke of York became Commander-in-Chief that there has appeared a settled design to have a great standing army always in England,

with all the dresses and manners of a continental army. If you call it an improvement in discipline, to do every thing that can possibly be done to make the hired soldiers a body, *wholly distinct from the people*; to *dissimilate* the two as much as possible; to create an army, which shall be precisely the reverse of what Judge Blackstone says is congenial to the English constitution; if you call this an improvement of the discipline of the army, then the Duke of York has been as great an improver as ever lived. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that all the items of this system of improvement originated in heads widely different from his. I am far from believing that he was the *inventor* of that *military academy*, which is stuck upon a wild heath, cut off from all communication with towns and villages, and in which you see little boys of *ten or twelve* years of age, dressed in military uniform, to be *trained to be officers in the army*, to be kept in a sort of military discipline all the while, to be thus kept *distinct from the mass of the people*, to have no notion of any sort of obedience, except that due to a military chief, and thus to be made, to all intents and purposes, precisely that description of soldier, which Blackstone describes as wholly incompatible with civil liberty. "In a land of liberty," says he, "it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. In absolute monarchies, this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of *governing by fear*: but, in free states, the profession of a soldier, taken singly, and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen, when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would *wish to continue so*, that he makes himself for a while a soldier. The laws, therefore, and constitution of these kingdoms, know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, *bred up to no other profession but that of war*; and

"it was not until the reign of Henry VII. that the kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons." "Nothing ought to be more guarded against in a free state, than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, *a body too distinct from the people*." LIKE OURS, therefore, "it should wholly be composed of *natural subjects*; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; *the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people*; no separate camp, NO BARRACKS, no inland fortresses, should be allowed. And perhaps it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together." — *Blackstone's Commentaries, Book I. Chap. 13.*

These are the principles which were inculcated by a lawyer, not at all enthusiastic in the cause of freedom. He was Solicitor-General to the late Queen. Of course he was a thorough-paced courtier; yet, only fifty-seven years ago, these were the principles inculcated by him. Precisely the contrary of these principles, have been the organization, the management, the discipline, the control over, the uses made of, and the whole of the circumstances connected with the army and its character, ever since the Duke of York became Commander-in-Chief of that army. Here we are told, that it is dangerous to public liberty to make the profession of arms a distinct profession, and, that the making of it a distinct profession, is grounded on the principle of the necessity of *governing by fear*. Here we are told, that the happy constitution of England knows of no such state as that of a soldier *bred up to no other station but that of war*. And England now beholds the military profession made a distinct and a most distinct order; and she beholds a most expensive and palatial academy or college, or whatever else they may call it, stuck up in the midst of a wild and barren heath, to hold little

boys who very soon after the clouts are taken from them, are dressed in military uniform, put under a species of military discipline, kept almost as distinct from the people as if they were monks of La Trappe; "bred up to no other profession than that of war"; and thus hurling contemptuous defiance in the teeth of what Blackstone tells us to look upon as the essential principles of the constitution. In this book of our laws we are told, that the army should *never be a body too distinct from the people*; that it should *contain no foreigners*; that the soldiers should *live intermixed with the people*; that there ought to be no **BARRACKS**, and none of those crafty devices, which are calculated to keep the soldiers and the people in a constant state of jealousy of each other. Since the Duke of YORK became Commander-in-Chief, every possible device seems to have been practised to keep the soldiers distinct from the people; and, as to foreigners, the law itself has, in innumerable instances, been wholly disregarded by giving them commissions in our army of natives.

As I said before, I am far from imputing the *invention* of this change to the Duke of YORK, but it be he not to have this invention imputed to him, he is to have nothing imputed to him relative to the army. If by *military discipline* be meant a separating of the soldiers from the people; dressing them out in a manner to make them as unlike the people as possible; introducing amongst them every thing in imitation of the armies of the *despots* of the Continent; if this be to improve the discipline of the army; then it has been improved, and greatly improved, under the Duke of YORK; but if improvement of discipline mean an addition made to those qualities of the soldier which render him more efficient for the purposes of war and more *infectious* and less dangerous to public liberty, when at home and not engaged in war; then I say that, the Duke of YORK has not improved the discipline of the English army. It is pretty impudent to be sure; not more impudent perhaps, not more insulting to the common sense of the

nation, than any one of a dozen other things which these base flatterers have said of the Duke of YORK; not more impudent and insolent perhaps, but, certainly, nothing can well equal in impudence and insolence, the barefaced falsehood, the stupid lie, that the victories obtained by the English army during the late war, are to be ascribed to the discipline taught by the Duke of YORK! However, these base flatterers seem to forget that the victories, as they are called (and for which we are now paying most dearly), were occasionally interspersed with defeats, or, as they were called about seven-and-twenty years ago, "negative successes," an appellation to which the *achievement* of this same great commander actually gave rise. I shall, by-and-by, have to speak somewhat at length of these achievements, and then those who were born after the date of the achievements will have a full explanation, a practical and frequently repeated illustration of the phrase "*negative success*," in the obtaining of success of which sort, his Royal Highness certainly surpassed any commander from the days of the Moabites to those of the Dutch.

But, as to the merit of these "*victories*," gained by our army during the late war; I believe that there would be a pretty fair balance (*leaving out the American war*) between the successes and "*negative successes*." As to the battle of Waterloo; as to the surrender of Paris, as to the defeat, as it is called, of Buonaparte; as to all these, they were achieved principally, not by the *arms* but by the *bank notes* of England. And, I have no scruple to say, that in the restoration of the Bourbons and of the ancient order of things, the Bank directors had a thousand times more influence than all our armies, all our ships, and all our commanders put together. Nor did the Bank directors seem to be blind to their merits in this respect, for they, in a representation to the Ministers made in 1819, distinctly observed, that, while they joined the rest of the nation in applauding the conduct of our fleets and armies, bare justice to *themselves* compelled them to

assert their ~~name~~ claim to a large share of the applause due to the successful transactions of the war. I expressed my approbation of the claim at the time when it was made. I said then, that the names of the Bank directors, the picture of the Old Lady, ought to be inscribed on the triumphal columns, which it was then proposed to build, and I do hope that the "Great Captain" will suffer the Bank directors to be put upon some part or other of the triumphal arches, which are now being built, apparently for him and the King.

The victories, as they are called, were generally things purchased with money. It was observed, by the various parcels of Germans and Russians which we hired, that it was very curious, that when they gained a victory in company with us, we always claimed it as *wholly belonging to us*, and that, when they got beaten along with us, we always gave them the greatest share of the "no, vive success." Yes, very "curious perhaps," but, certainly by no means unjust; for we paid for the whole of the victory when we got one, and, when the success was of the negative kind, we might surely let our huelings bear their portion of the honour. The Bank directors were right, to a certainty a very large share of the merits of the war and of all its consequences, assuredly belongs to them; and, if I could have my will of every man-jack of them, or, if dead, the heirs and successors of every man-jack of them, should receive in the most ample degree, a reward suitable to those merits! Some people seem to despair of seeing that day of justice arrive for my part, I do not, and I trust that I shall live to record the event.

Besides, however, this sharing on the part of the Bank directors, we must set the defeats against the victories, if we will be base enough, or, rather, so beastly stupid as to ascribe the victories to the Duke of York. It would be the most monstrous absurdity, that ever disgraced the lips of man, to ascribe the victories to him without ascribing to him the defeats also; and, if we do this, my real opinion is, that, including his *own* ~~former~~ wars, of which I shall presently

speak, our army was present, and took part in, if we include the war against America, *three* defeats to every two victories. So that, the argument, founded on the victories, would be worth very little to his Royal Grace. The victories are taken to be a proof of the excellence of his Commander-in-Chiefship; but, if the defeats exceed the victories in number, which I am sure is the fact; and if the victories themselves were purchased, AND REMAIN YET TO BE PAID FOR: if this should turn out to be the case, what then becomes of this proof of the excellence of the discipline taught by the Duke of York; and, who will not be ready to repeat the words of my motto, "*they did flatter him with their mouth, and lied*"

These wondrous parasites either forgot, or they never knew any thing about the history of the late wars. Some of them, indeed, may not have been born at the time when the Duke was in the field himself; to such it will be a treat, "especially if they be addicted to rathubing," it will be quite a treat to be introduced into that field, from which I shall not now, thank God, have much longer to detain them. But though some of the nauseous parasites may not have been born at the time of the memorable achievements of Dunkirk and the Helder, they must all have been born (or they have begun the trade of parasite at a very early age) at the time of the battles of CHIPPYVAULT, PLATONHOUGH, the retreat before BARRIKOKE, and the ever-memorable battle of NEW ORLEANS, which exhibited to the world, in the bravery and conduct of General JACKSON and his volunteers, the finest instance of courage, of love of country, of devotion to justice, truth and honour, that ever, as far as I have witnessed, was known since man was man. There may have been, in the history of the world, instances of these virtues equal to these, but it is impossible for human nature to produce any thing to surpass it. There must have been some of the parasites who were born at the time when that memorable battle took place; yet, perhaps, there is this excuse for them, that that affair was so completely

smothered up in England; so completely shut out of the Gazette, as to all its main features, and passed over with such profound silence in Parliament, that this deluded, this wilfully blind and humbugged nation, scarcely ever knew that such a battle had ever taken place, though it decided for ever the character of the combatants of both sides, though it read to mankind this useful, this important, this heart-cheering lesson, that all the arts of war; all the perfections of military discipline; all the inventions of military science; all the vaunted rockets of CONGREVE, all the tactics taught by Prussia, Austria, and France; all the stimulants of ribbons, medals, stars and military titles, are as dust in the balance, when weighed against the arms, the simple and rude arms of freedom, animated with the resolution to preserve their country against the unhallowed invasions of its enemies. Some of the parasites, however, must have known something of the American war; and, therefore, if they ascribed to the Duke of YORK's teaching so large a part of what they called the victories of the army, they surely ought to have ascribed to him a share as large of the disgraceful defeats of that war. Leaving out this war, however, why did the parasites stop at the transactions in Spain and France, into neither of which the English army ever entered, until they had *more than one half of the people on their side*? This was the case, observe, or else we were told the most abominable lies. As to Spain, it is notoriously true, that the people were for us almost to a man, and France was not entered, until, in fact, the tyrant who ruled it, had so harassed and disgusted the people, as to make them hail us as their *allies*.

Good reason, therefore, as we are now going to see, was there for the parasites to go no further back, than what may be fairly called the fag-end of the war, and to leave wholly unnoticed the proceedings of the English army, when in the field against the French, and when the French, whatever might be the fact, were animated by what they deemed the love of freedom. The parasites had, however, more than

one good reason for this omission; for, the history of the early campaigns of the war, was a history of little more than the defeats of our army; and another, and a stronger reason was, that, in these early campaigns, the English army was *under the command of this very Duke of York in person*. One would have thought, that no parasite, however barefaced, however profligate, however strongly animated by the desire of making the living pay for the dead, would have wholly overlooked, wholly sunk, this by far the most interesting part of the life of this hero! The office of Commander-in-Chief *at home*, was a thing of trifling importance, compared to the office of Commander-in-Chief *abroad*. The tactics, practised at the Horse-guards, the marches and counter-marches from PLYMOUTH to HARWICH, and from CHATHAM to LONDON; and then going by *sea on the canal* from BRENTFORD to MANCHESTER and BLACKBURN: these are things easily carried on; they require very little skill; not much more than one could purchase in the shape of a couple of clerks for eight or nine score pounds a year. But, when it comes to commanding an army in the field; when it comes to the facing of brave enemies, and particularly such as are animated by the love of liberty; when it comes to a struggle against such armies as France poured forth during the first ten years of her late wars, then the military merit of the opponent is *put to the test*. The Duke's merit was put to this test; and, let us, then, taking for our guide the page, not of *impartial* history, but of history most partial on his side: taking this history for our guide, advancing no fact as from ourselves, and drawing no conclusion other than the conclusion which evidently proceeds from the premises; taking, in short, for our guide, a statement of those facts, which even parasites could not smother, and that too, at a time, when it was almost to be guilty of treason to publish any fact contrary to the wishes of those who had the guiding of all things in the nation; when it was dangerous to be even suspected of a desire

to make disagreeable truths known to the public: taking for our guide, I say, the cowed-down ANNUAL REGISTER of those times, let us try the military merits of the Duke of YORK even by this test.

In the year 1793, war having been begun against the French, the English army, one of the finest and best appointed that the English ever sent forth, furnished, as our armies always are, even to prodigality, was sent forth under the Duke of YORK, to join the Imperial, and other German armies, with a view of attacking and putting down the French revolution. It is curious enough, that the Prince of SAXE-COBURG, the father of him, to whom we have now the honour to pay 50,000*l.* a year, commanded the Austrian army upon this occasion. All these armies united, had taken, in August, 1793, the town of VALENCIENNES, on the confines of France; and all was rejoicing in England, the men got drunk with toasting the Duke of YORK, while their wives ran them in debt, to vie with their neighbours in sticking up candles to demonstrate their loyalty, and, as was the fashion of that day, their attachment to their "GOD AND THEIR KING," I being by no means certain, that they did not put the King first. The Duke, though intent enough, perhaps, on putting down "republicanism" and "atheism," did not altogether forget the *shop*. He knew that DUNKIRK was a famous place for trafficking; and, therefore, in the way of gratitude, I suppose, for the praises which he had received, on account of the conquest of VALENCIENNES, which, by-the-by, was, according to the principle above laid down, ascribed wholly to the Duke; in gratitude, I suppose, for this, his ROYAL HIGHNESS wished to do some signal service to the *shop*; and, therefore, knowing that the *shop* would be very much pleased, to possess such a trafficking place as DUNKIRK, he quitted his loving allies (all but the HANOVERIANS, whom he took with him) in order to capture this town. Which capture was deemed to be so certain a result of his undertaking, that *handker-*

chiefs, celebrating the event, and representing the Duke with a crown of laurel on his head, had been actually printed at that hell-hole MANCHESTER, before the news arrived of his having been driven from before the place, with a flea so loudly buzzing in his ear, that the HANOVERIAN GENERAL and our Duke of CAMBRIDGE "were, for a short time, in possession of the enemy"! In other words, they were prisoners, till a General of the name of WALMODEN came suddenly and unexpectedly to their aid and rescued them. The historian says that the Duke saved his MILITARY CHEST, took care of the money, but was compelled to abandon his heavy artillery, camp equipage, ammunition, and of course all the rest of the things, to an enormous amount, so necessary to the efficiency of his army. There appears hardly ever to have been a more hasty or helter-skelter retreat; and, which is curious enough, so little were the French Convention satisfied with General HOUCCARD, and who, they insisted, ought to have *flung the Duke of York and his army into the sea*; that they brought him to trial, condemned him to *die, and put him to death*. Now, though the French Convention consisted of violent men, they would not have put a General to death, unless there had been some ground for the accusation against him. In short, we must believe that HOUCCARD did not do his duty; and, then we must ask, what would have been the fate of the English army if he had done his duty; and that will suggest to us to ask further, what must have been the judgment of him who undertook, and what the conduct of him who had the execution of this enterprise.

After this affair, the Duke rejoined the Austrians; and the first step was to settle a point of *vast importance*, namely, whether the Duke should or should *not be under the command of the Austrian General*! A grand council of war was held to settle this point; but it was of such importance that it could not be settled without a negotiation between the Courts of LONDON and VIENNA, by whom it was finally agreed that the

DUKE should not be under an Austria commander unless the Emperor came to command in person. While these high-blooded gentry were settling this point, the French were preparing for a furious attack upon the whole of them. During the former part of the year 1794, the war was carried on in Flanders, the parties having for them, sometimes victory and sometimes defeat; but the latter generally fell to the lot of the allies, of which the English army formed a part, arising, the historians observe, in some part, at least, from the before-mentioned dispute about precedence. At last VALENCIENNES was abandoned, though fortified anew by the Austrians, and with it such immense quantities of stores and provisions of every sort, that were hardly before ever seen in one fortress. Besides these, an immense military chest fell into the hands of the French, who now pressed the allied army with so much vigour, that they compelled them finally to separate, each army seeking its own safety in retreat, or rather in hasty helter-skelter flight. The Duke of York and his army now hastened away towards Holland, sustaining defeat after defeat, routing after routing, loss after loss, hunted from fortress to fortress, and from some which had never before opened their gates to an enemy, and were till now deemed to be impregnable. Winter was coming on apace, the climate was cold, the inhabitants hostile in their hearts, when the English army took shelter in the celebrated fortress of NIMUEGEN. Here, however, in a fortress which had always been deemed fit to stand a siege for a year, this unhappy army found no safety. The indefatigable and implacable republicans soon came up, with the view to besiege and take the whole of them. Leaving behind them a large part of the remnant of their heavy stores and implements of war, they traversed the Dutch territories, with the French close at their heels, and, at last, reached the Duchy of Bremen; whence they embarked, or, rather, the remnant of them embarked, and, after being pelted about by the waves, in the bitter cold month of January,

landed on the banks of the Humber, and at other places, whither they had been driven, and where, like Job's messengers, they told their dismal tale.

Never have I read of the sufferings of any thing that bore the name of army, to equal the sufferings of this body of men. Without food, without drink, without scarcely a rag to cover them or a shoe to their foot; their backs constantly exposed to the bullets of the French, and suffering every privation that imagination can conceive, frozen to death by thousands, their women and children left dead strewn by the sides of the road, these unhappy creatures came home to England to tell their dismal tale and to put upon record upon the minds of all who heard them, one consequence, at least, of an undertaking bottomed, as we all well know, in an avowed desire to prevent those which were called French principles from penetrating into England! In other words, to prevent those changes, those very changes which must even now come, or which must leave their place to be supplied by events beyond all measure more dreadful than those which could possibly have arisen, if even that had taken place for which the reformers are accused of having wished.

But, it may be said by the parasites, and by those who have sold their columns to the parasites, that there might be no fault in the Duke of York; that an army may suffer defeat after defeat, and run before an enemy from fortress to fortress, as a rabbit runs from burrow to burrow before a weazel or a ferret that takes a grip at her at every resting place, and that still the Commander-in-Chief may be a very good Commander-in-Chief. Mark, however, how this works: if there be no *demi* in such a series of defeat, under every variety of time and place, there can be, under no circumstances whatever, any merit in victory. Say that the Duke of York might be a very good *General*, though his army (who were the finest, mind, and best appointed that the world ever saw) got thus hunted about, hacked and ridden to pieces: say that all this might happen, and that the Commu-

der-in-Chief might be *still a very good General*; and then let me ask these "*keind*" parasites, where they will find the evidence to prove, that any man upon earth can by possibility be a *bad General*.

It would be fortunate, however, for the memory of this greatly enlarged *Commander-in-Chief*, if the history of this campaign stopped here. It does not stop here: common justice will not let it stop here; but will add will tell that enojed public, in whose ears the lofty praises of this Duke have been rung, that **HE DID NOT REMAIN TO PARTAKE OF THE DANGERS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE UNFORTUNATE ARMY!** The reader of the present day will hardly believe the fact: the men who have been born within the last thirty years, and who have been stunted by the bawlings of the parasites, will hardly think it possible, but the fact is, that when the cold weather was coming on, and when there could appear a chance of nothing but bare escape, and, that, too, by the terrible exertions of hardihood and valour, which this remnant of this army afterwards displayed; when that moment arrived, he who had caused two Governments to negotiate, rather than yield a point of punctilio as to the right of command, quitted that army, of the command of which he had been, and not unjustly, so proud, and left them under a *FOREIGN COMMANDER*, to be led to the water's edge, and thence to escape, after every species of suffering, mental as well as bodily, of which human beings are capable. Seriously, I say, that when I think of what he must have felt, while sitting in a double-doored, double-windowed, carpeted and cushioned room in *London*, when I think of what his thoughts must have been, what his feelings must have been, while sitting in such room, and reading of the dreadful sufferings of the remnant of his army, of their lacerated bodies, their frozen extremities, their hungry stomachs, and of here a comrade leaving his comrade to perish behind him, here a husband leaving his wife, here a mother leaving her child, which was the case in hun-

dreds of hundreds of instances; when I reflect upon what his feelings must have been, I sincerely say, *that that would have been enough*; but, the parasites, provoke an answer, justice to the country demands it, circumstances have given me the power, and duty to my country commands me to exert that power.

If there should be found a parasite so completely destitute of all shame, so wonderfully gifted in the way of impudence and of profligate sycophancy as to say, that the Duke was, at the time here referred to, a young man, and that it was his first essay, I answer, that he was pretty nearly *thirty years of age*, and that he had been studying the art of war all his lifetime, having lived several years in Prussia, which was looked upon as the school of military commanders. However, the history of the Duke's wars, unfortunately for his parasites, furnish an answer, and a most complete answer, to this miserable excuse; for, in 1799, the Duke had another army put under his command, another English army, appointed and provided in the best possible manner, which was to be joined by a Russian and a Hanoverian army for the purpose of driving the French out of Holland, and for restoring the Stadtholder to his country. The Duke was *Commander-in-Chief* of this army. In the month of September, the fighting began. The Duke had under him generals Abercrombie and Dundas, and many others whom the base newspapers of that day called the "*flower of the English nobility*." There was a maritime expedition accompanied this, which was intended to *get possession of the Dutch fleet*. This latter object was easily effected, for the Dutch fleet surrendered without striking a blow, and came over as quietly as pussey, and were safely moored, I believe it was, at *Torhay*! But, to drive the devils of republicans out of Holland was another man's matter, and that matter the Duke had to manage. It is useless to waste time in a detail of the battles that ensued: the *result* being the only thing of any interest, and that result was,

that, at the end of about *thirty* days from the commencement of the military operations, in spite of the flower of the "*English nobility*," the Duke and his army were compelled to retreat to the edge of the land, and that he there signed a capitulation, by which he rescued the bodies of that army from capture, at the least, and, perhaps, from total destruction. The conditions of this capitulation were very simple: the Duke agreed that there should be **SURRENDERED TO THE FRENCH EIGHT THOUSAND OF THE SEAMEN, WHETHER FRENCH OR DUTCH, WHO WERE PRISONERS IN ENGLAND**, and that, on that condition, the Duke's army, should be permitted to go out of Holland, safe in body, and as cheerful in mind as circumstances might admit of! Thus ended this celebrated campaign of our late Commander-in-Chief. If any thing could have added; if there had been a possibility of adding to the humiliation of the *Duke* and his "*flower of English nobility*," that humiliation was at hand in the curious and interesting fact, that, the Duke and the "*flower*," he a prince of the blood royal, and the "*flower*" having amongst them **PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER**, were defeated by, and the *Duke* capitulated with, the French General **BRUNE**, who had been apprenticed to a **PRINTER** at **LIMOGES**, and the Dutch General **DANDAELLS**, who had been apprenticed to a **BAKER** at *Amsterdam*. All I shall say more is this, that his **MAJESTY**, in the order, appointing the Duke of **WELLINGTON** Commander-in-Chief to the army, has told us, that *he best merits that post who has led that army to glory*. If I approved of standing armies and Commander-in-Chief, I should agree in this sentiment of his **MAJESTY**; as the thing is, I leave the parasites up to the chins in that dilemma in which this sentiment of his Majesty has placed them; and thus I take my leave of this subject.

WM. CORBETT.

P.S. If the reader should happen to know Sir **HERBERT TAYLOR**, who has, in his history of the Duke's last illness,

discovered such a profound sense of religion; if the reader should happen to know this gentleman, I should be obliged to him just to ask him, what were the **BOOKS**, which chiefly composed the library of his late Royal Patron! That the *Whole Duty of Man*, that **BAXTER's Call**, and **TAYLOR's** (perhaps Sir **HERBERT's** father) *Holy Living and Dying*; that these works, and other such evidences of the piety of the deceased, made part of the Duke's library, is to be supposed as a matter of course. But, a correspondent has informed me that there were **OTHER** books, in greater number and variety, than in the collection of any man in England! As to **PRINTS**, there were, I am told, a **VAST VARIETY** in all shapes and sizes, and representing, too, other things beside the Crucifixion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Birth of Jesus Christ, the Descent of the Dove, and so forth; these the Royal and pious personage had of course; but I am told that there was a *great* number of others, which, if Sir **HERBERT** will be pleased to add a list of them, to that of the books, would form a pretty little *tail-piece* to his history.

I beg the reader's attention to the following article, which I take from the *Morning Herald*; and to bear in mind the punishment inflicted on the poor labourers of Dorsetshire.

It often happens that the decisions both of judges and juries excite more surprise than satisfaction. So many accessories, however, are necessary to the formation of a just judgment, and so many to the just estimation of that judgment by those who try it over again in a sort of court of opinion, the laws of which, it must be confessed, are exceedingly indefinite and arbitrary, that we should be at all times slow in condemning what it is possible we may not very clearly understand. In cases where the feeling of surprise is excited, the feeling itself is a sort of involuntary comment, not always to be rejected.

though it should certainly be submitted to examination as the result of an impulse too sudden and inconsiderate to be depended on as a practical guide. But there is something in its very suddenness that argues in its favour. Appearances must be strongly marked when they strike the mind with emotion, and appearances do not always deceive. Let any man read the case of manslaughter tried at the Chester Assizes, and reported in our paper, and if he do not experience an instantaneous thrill of astonishment when he comes to the verdict and the sentence, he must have stronger nerves or more deliberative faculties than fall to the lot of most people. We allude to the case of James Walker, who was indicted for killing a factory child, named Sarah Stubbs, at Macclesfield. The killing was proved in evidence, as appears from the report. The verdict was—Guilty, with a recommendation to mercy. The sentence was imprisonment for two months! It is well known that we are no sticklers for severity of punishment, but we cannot say that the lenity of this sentence is to our taste. Here was a child, only eleven years of age, beaten with a strap about the head, and so injured that she died of the effects in two days after. What was there in this case to call for a recommendation of the prisoner, the convicted prisoner, to mercy? There is nothing stated in the report to account for it, except a good character given of him by his employer and another person in the very teeth of the evidence upon which the jury brought in their verdict. Now this is to us most extraordinary, that the same jury should find him guilty of killing a child, and yet consider him deserving of a good character—for what—for humanity! and furthermore deserving of a recommendation to mercy! not such mercy as he showed to the poor child, but the mercy which steps in between the law and its victim to make justice more respected and complete. Is it calculated to do so in the instance we have been contemplating? The judge, too, no doubt from the best of motives, attended to

the recommendation of the jury, and sentenced the prisoner to two months' imprisonment. Two months for killing a child! We repeat that there was nothing in the evidence, as reported, to account for this. Verily James Walker is a fortunate man. If, instead of killing a factory child, he had killed a *pheasant or a hare, six or twelve months would have been a light punishment*. We do not say that there might not have been some mitigating circumstances in the case to account for the extraordinary mildness of the sentence, but we do say that none such appear from the report; and we will add that if any such there be, they ought not to be kept secret. It is, we should think, impossible but that this case must lead to some inquiry. We have described the feeling of the public merely as astonishment, but there is a more inculpatory term which would better signify its real nature. Let the opponents of Mr. Sadler's bill, let the reformed Ministry, and the reformed House of Commons, by whom it was rejected, look steadfastly at this case, and if they do not see in it any reason for regretting the course they have pursued with respect to the Factory Bill, let them at least acknowledge that they find enough to make them hesitate as to the wisdom which prompted the rejection of that measure.

I TAKE the following letter of General COCKBURN from the *Dublin Evening Post*. The writer of this letter gives a frightful picture of the state of things in Ireland; but I have no doubt of its truth. My readers will perceive that the general is for coming to NORFOLK PETITION. It will soon be too late for that. The Ministers and the Reformed House seem determined to let the thing *run out*, without attempting a real change in the system.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN EVENING POST.

26. March, 1834.

Sir—We appear to be going to the devil as fast as we can. But, not to

frighten the sanctified part of your readers by the word devil, I mean it figuratively, and as expressive of all being as wrong—everything in the state as much disordered, &c. &c., as if the devil had actually come on earth to embroil the whole world in strife, discontent, and agitation.

The entire frame of society is disorganized, and every day becoming worse.

Let us take a rapid view of things as they are. First, Europe; whether we look to the North, the East, to Spain and Portugal, to Switzerland, to Italy, or Germany, all is discontent, and either in civil war, or on the point of it.

Then, as to France, can any man but a downright fool believe that France is in a settled state?

France has no longer any liberty—the French *coercion* bill just passed is ten times more despotic and worse than any of the edicts of Charles X.

The French are, after all, an extraordinary people. Could any one suppose that the men of July, 1830, would submit to the despotism of the Doctrinaires? That such a majority in the Chambers should welcome the return of tyranny; or that the barricades against Charles X. were to establish a worse Government? If they will have despotism, why not restore the elder branch, and, at all events, get rid of Louis-Phil.?

But I must remind you, Mr. Conway, that I foretold all this in some of our conversations in 1830; and when I witnessed the absurd anxiety for the *dear Bourbons*, and the fate of Charles the Tenth, and the Polignac Ministers, and the dreadful fright lest they should be consigned to the guillotine: poor dear *French Ministers*!!! by persons ready enough to cut down or cut up *Reformers*, I told you (and I am sure you will recollect it), that if the French did not, at all events, let the law take its course (which was the *guillotine*) as to the Ministers, the saving the lives of these guilty persons would occasion the loss of thousands of other lives.

No, no! said I, this foolish humanity will cause torrents of blood. Well, soon after we had a tolerable quantity spilt in the streets of Paris, in an ill-got-up-

attempt to overthrow Louis-Philippe; and I now tell you he will be overthrown, not by an emente, but when things are ready—in the words of M. Lundy—"nous lui livrerons bataille." As Louis-Philippe understands English perfectly, he would do well to read the following remarks made by honest president Jefferson:—

"The light which has been shed on mankind by the art of printing has eminently changed the condition of the world. As yet it has only dawned on the middle classes in Europe. The kings and the rabble have not yet received its rays, but it spreads rapidly, and can no more recede than the sun return on its course. A first, second, third, or fourth attempt to recover right may fail; but as a younger and more instructed race comes on, a fourth, a fifth, or some subsequent one of the ever-renewed attempts must succeed.

"In France the first effort was defeated by Robespierre, the second by Buonaparte, and the third by Louis XVIII. and the Holy Allies. Another is yet to come; all Europe has caught the spirit, and all will obtain representative Governments."

Belgium and Holland are in the same broil as three years ago. The ridiculous and costly siege of Antwerp gave us merely a pantomime, or an interlude, or *ballet*, in this European tragedy, now performing. Look to the East; the Turkish Empire nearly overthrown by Russia. Lord Palmerston admitting that the Turks applied to England for assistance, which could not be granted, and talking of Russian good faith, when every schoolboy almost must see that her object is that of Catherine, and to shove us out of the Mediterranean and India, in time, if they can; and, what is most incredible, (and, I think, must be a mistake of the reporters), the absence of our Ambassador from Constantinople at a most critical time. Accounted for; hear it! Oh! hear! hear! By what? Why, detained at Naples by 'bad weather, from May to November'! Oh, stuff! this is surely a mistake of the reporter, who ought to be dismissed for asking such liberty with Lord P,

Now as to our own country, England. The first question is, what have we gained by the famous reform? by the patriotic Whigs? or even your friends the agitators? I am very unwilling to write any thing offensive, but considering the management, or rather mismanagement of the concern, since the Whigs came into office, I am obliged to join with Mr. Cobbett, who has often said—"Were a man to stand at Charing cross, and take the first twelve men that passed by who could read and write, and bore good characters as to strict honesty, sobriety, early rising and industry; if they did not make a better Ministry than either our Tories or Whigs, at all events they could not blunder the affairs of the nation more than the pretty gentlemen of Whitehall, whether as to our domestic affairs, or our foreign relations and policy." Let me remind you of the words of Junius, viz :

"The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its Government, that to be acquainted with the merit of a Ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities, and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the Government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt."

In England we find growing discontent—fires, crime to a frightful degree; corruption greater than ever; taxation so heavy as to be almost unbearable; poor-laws and tithe-laws resisted, and all sorts of schemes to get rid of them. The entire law system a mass of — I dare not say what—not wishing to be prosecuted for a libel, although it would be perfectly true.

Justice, however, from its expense, is out of the reach of the poor, and almost

of the rich. The black catalogue of law abuses, so ably and so fairly stated by Lord Brougham, unredressed, unreformed, and suffered to remain, though he has been three years in office.

Possibly Lord B. finds that he cannot carry these necessary reforms; for principle is so often sacrificed to party, to ambition, or selfish views, that he may not be able to do what he desires.

Excessive taxation has demoralized all ranks, and while the debt, the taxes, and the paper-money, exist, an inordinate desire to get wealth, rank, or distinction, will also prevail, and must cause an abominable abandonment of public probity.

Next comes to our assistance the march of intellect—the schoolmaster, and education as it is called, and all the Utopian schemes of "the system and spirit of the age." Thus, instead of wholesome regulations as to necessary evils, almost unqualified abolitions are proposed. The most dangerous crime, forgery,* is no longer to be punished with death, though it might involve an entire family in ruin; murderers are no longer to be dissected, but are put on a par, as to punishment, with a sheep-stealer or a shoplifter; and though in this country we know that Paddy would prefer being hanged three times (were it possible) to being dissected once, still the march of intellect interferes with the murderer's punishment. Again, in the tenderness of the age, and in all our new light, flogging in the army and navy is sought to be abolished. Verily, this looks like a plot to dissolve both.

Regulation is one thing—abolition another. But I, who always detested the lash, and never inflicted it where possible to avoid it, say—and I call on my brethren officers of army and navy to speak out—I say Parliament may as well disband army and navy at once, as to pass such a law.

It has been regulated, though I allow not yet sufficiently, but under regulation, it is absolutely necessary, or farewell to all discipline in our army and navy.

The French, it is true, never allowed

it; but they are a very different people: a high sense of military honour is the leading feature of every Frenchman; and they are not such a drunken people as ours; nine-tenths of the punishments in the British army come from drunkenness.

The French are not immaculate from crime or irregularity; but instead of flogging they shoot, and they degrade, and send offenders to the galleys.

I saw several lately degraded in Place Vendome at Paris, and I would bet ten to one, that if a British regiment had been drawn up there to witness the ceremony, nine out of ten of our men would infinitely prefer 300 lashes.

Our next dandyism or stupidism of the age is, to abolish the old prerogative of the Crown as to the impressment of seamen, in a time of war or of urgent necessity—another absurdity!!! Is not a militia man pressed?—what is it to him whether taken from his parents and friends by ballot or by a sergeant and some soldiers, per force, had they the power? And why not press a seaman, which is placing him, *de facto*, in a better situation than he is taken from? His business is to live on the seas; and he is certainly better in a man of war than in a merchant ship; in truth, their only objection is, the wholesome discipline, and which is, in fact, very good for them.

The mania for diffusing among the working people an education altogether unsuited to their station in society is amongst the evils of the age. We find crime to have made most alarming progress, hand in hand, with education and taxation. In the last twenty years commitments in England have increased from 6,500 to 20,800. The true education for those who must earn their bread by labour, would be to discard the schoolmaster, but make the parson do his duty, teach the children their catechism, to try and bring them up with good morals and strict truth, and then as to the *herd-education*, as Mr. Cobbett wisely proposes, let them be suited to the intended line of life. Send boys to sea in fishing-boats, let them learn to steer, to heave the log, and reef a top-sail. The

farming boy's education should be in the stable; in the fields, and following the plough, in short, all that belongs to that employment; young girls to be clean, orderly, to sew, to milk, to wash, make bread, &c. &c. &c. This is real, useful education for two-thirds of the people, and then in all the useful arts and trades skill and expertness are what we want, and neither Latin, Greek, nor *faelo-sophy*.

The intemperate impatience under taxation, as the late Lord Castlereagh called it, is increasing hourly, not that I call it intemperate, but we ought to be just. What can the Whigs do as to this?

Men are so absurd as to torment Ministers on the subject, but without offering them any support. They call out for repeal of malt-tax, of window and house tax, of assessed ditto, of probate duty, but at the same time they want the impossibility, public faith, all vested interests, all sorts of extravagances to be adhered to. Then how can taxes be repealed! Other foolish people must have twenty millions to give freedom to black slaves, overlooking all the white slaves in England.

Why don't these petitioners tell Ministers that they will support them against the aristocracy, but for whose benefit and greediness many taxes might be taken off; why not accompany these petitions with the advice of the Norfolk petition, and why not advise the Minister to give up half of our worthless (except for patronage) Colonies. Surely the East Indian patronage might satisfy them. Another misfortune of the times is the impatience of all classes and professions to make fortunes or obtain rank in a hop, step, and a jump, and and this when the market is so overstocked with aspirants in every profession. Men in trade, and others, are every day ruined by speculation, which is positive gambling, and the public purse has been burdened by retirement pensions and brevets, which in many cases remove good colonels to make indifferent generals. It is stated that in the last Naval and Military Journal, that Lord Fitzroy Somerset said, before

the committee on army and navy appointment, that at least two-thirds of the general officers of the present day were unfit for service from age, wounds, or decayed health. Whether his lordship said so or not, I have no other evidence, but if he did, I think him greatly mistaken; one half may be so, and also unwilling to enter into active life again, but there are at all events, one-half of the generals perfectly fit, and perfectly willing to serve. Moreover, there are many stations where the fire of youth is not so necessary as experience, temper, and steadiness. Such as all our Military Colonial Governments. On looking over the list of generals of all ranks, I find eighty that no one could possibly object to, being perfectly fit for any service.

The entire number of generals in our service employed in all parts of the world is forty-four, including the West India governors. Therefore, we certainly must agree fully with the anxious hope of the committee, that no addition should be made to this list, except on very strong grounds of public necessity. Though such a recommendation may not be very agreeable to the views of the aristocracy, or the young aspirants who think only of themselves, or of the Horse-guard patronage.

Now, for dear Ireland, though last mentioned, not of the least importance. What a state are we in! when a Catholic bishop, of the highest character and universally respected, does not hesitate to say, he despairs!!!

I believe you know, Mr. Conway, that I have long despaired. We become more unhinged every day. In your post of the 20. inst. you state, and not as an ordinary *on dit*, but as a fact, that resistance to the payment of rents has commenced in Tipperary and the south—and, alas! as to myself, I have an estate in the civilized county Down, and though not by any open resistance, by what we may call tacit resistance, I have more than two years rent due to me, and for land let forty years ago, and under its then value. But I have long expected this. Every man who thinks of the ruffianized system now in operation, the murders

and the intimidation, must allow, that if not speedily put down it will (as you say) plunge the country into a barbarism worse than even its own history can parallel; and then, when the great English and other landlords, and the numerous well-disposed gentry and yeomanry have their eyes opened, it is more than probable that England will be obliged to exert her power, and will have to reconquer Ireland; or, at all events, it will cost her millions of money, and thousands of lives, to overthrow the anarchy; for, as to supposing that when things do come to the worst (as they are fast doing) none but madmen, or downright irreclaimable fools, can believe that England will give up Ireland, and submit to what, if she did, would very soon ensure her own destruction.

I have heard many of those who abuse Mr. O'Connell right and left, say, he was once bribed, as to some part of the emancipation. I certainly did not believe it; but I now begin to fear (I hope he will pardon me) that we are all in error, and as there has been a good deal of humbug in the reform, there must be another and a very deep humbug going on.

I begin to believe that Dan has been bribed, and by the Whigs, to bring about the repeal. It is quite clear to me (I may be mistaken) that they are the true repealers, out-and-out, and also for the total overthrow of the Protestant church. If I am wrong in this supposition, they must have another and a deeper plot, namely, to re-establish the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, and to separate the countries; for, unless one or other of the above is their scheme, how could they introduce such a bill as the tithe-bill - a bill which merely changes the name from tithe to land-tax; and this, after a Minister declaring that tithes ought to be abolished; a bill which, if possible to carry, would make landlords proctors to the parsons, and which, as far as I can understand it (for it is really very difficult to do so), it will be next to impossible to put in force. The objections are too numerous to state here, but I call it a most silly and most mischievous bill, and one that will

unite all Ireland to demand repeal. Moreover (and this is strong circumstantial evidence of some ulterior object), it is notorious, that after expending thousands of pounds, and loading mail-coaches with Exchequer writs, &c.; and when the people were positively coming in and paying the tithes as fast as the parsons could receive them; and numbers who had been arrested and thrown into prison, and not liking their abode, were beginning to pay, what was to be done? The prison doors were opened and all the writs and Exchequers stopped! and, of course, Paddy stopped paying; and an ass he would have been, if he had not so stopped.

A clergyman of the best character, a man quite incapable of falsehood, called on me this morning, and he assured me, that he had two years' tithe due to him in the county Tipperary, and that just before the prison doors were opened, and all Government assistance suddenly stopped, the parishioners came in and told him they had the money, and would pay him, as they thought it useless to resist longer, and to have his receipts ready next day, when unfortunately the tithe, or the Whig wind, changed, and then they laughed at him, and said they would now keep the money. No government ever was guilty of such an act of indiscretion and weakness.

But, pray do not suppose from this that I am so unjust or absurd as to believe that there ever can, ever will, or ever ought to be quiet in Ireland while seven millions and a half of Catholics and Dissenters are forced to pay for the religion of half a million of Protestants. No such thing I assure you; but I say this, that when passions are up men do not reason. They forget that if tithes were unconditionally abolished to-morrow, that in a few years they would merge into the landlord's rent, and in point of actual relief, there would not be any, but merely the idea, or that at all events, the Catholic tenant was not paying the priest of another religion.

It is folly to flinch now; wise Ministers would meet the question wisely. They had actually gained the victory,

and they gave up the field and ran away. Now they want another fight.

I think this great question might be amicably and equitably settled, and I shall tell you how in another letter.

I wrote you some letters from Paris last year, and I told you that Nicholas was a Repealer, and that Pozzo di Borgo was neither idle nor stupid. There is, something mysterious as to the three or five millions which our Whigs gave to Russia, and also in their conduct as to Poland, Turkey, and even Don Miguel. Whether they have, after all, a different plan, and that the Repeal, or the United Irish plans, are only a means for a particular end, is beyond my comprehension; but when we consider the union which exists between Louis-Philippe and his French *Doctrinaire* Whigs and ours, the prosecution of the press in both countries, and all the pretensions of Lord Palmerston, old Talleyrand, and Pozzo di Borgo, may not this be a Holy Alliance trap, and, when all is ready, to try, at least, to put down liberty in France, crush *la jeune Italie*, dictate to Spain, Portugal, and Germany, and then send 100,000 Russians, Prussians, and Germans, to reconquer Ireland. You will call this nonsense; yet consider that for years after the peace the yeomanry were kept up at great expense when all was quiet, and the present Ministers actually issued new arms to them; but now, when the outrages of the country and the deplorable and daily violation of all law, and the threatened destruction of all property is notorious, they disband the yeomanry, as if inviting the people to open rebellion! Come, come, Mr. Conway, do not support the Whigs any longer; it is not clear that they are either for repeal or separation; and to throw the poor parsons overboard entirely, without even securing their life interests; otherwise how account for all this weak, vacillating, senseless conduct?

We have but one way, and after all I believe it is the true solution of it.

They are afraid to look the difficulties of the country in the face, and to boldly apply the necessary remedies. They have much to contend with and against, and

have not mind or pluck for the times. They see all going to ruin, and, no doubt, are sorry for it; but they hope the thing may be kept up some how or other for their time; and they are ardently fond of place, patronage, and power—three very fascinating allurements I admit; but at their outset their grand error was a mean truckling to enemies that never will forgive them, and neglect of old friends, who could have been useful, but who are now disgusted.

On recollection I must, and do, beg pardon of the Whigs, for calling this Ministry such. I doubt if there are four of the old genuine Whigs in the Administration, including the Cabinet and those not of it. More than two-thirds of this reputed Whig Ministry are either non-descripts in politics (or, like the French *Jacobins* animals), for themselves only, or downright renegade Tories—and see what a pretty mess they make of it. The people are also unreasonable. They want public faith as I have before mentioned, without well understanding it. They must also have, or do not object to a large army, a large fleet, terrific ordinance expenses in profound peace, colonies and places without end, civil and military pensions, whether deserved or not, monopolies to be supported, and paper-money extended—and, poor fools, all this to be kept up without taxes!

The system is for every man to get what he can, and part with nothing he can keep, and I think I cannot describe our situation better than in the words of Livy, as applied to Rome—" *Dum ad hec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, pervenimus.*"

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
G. COCKBURN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

SEQUERRA, S., Tenterground, Goodman's-fields, commission-agent.

BANKRUPTS.

BLACKBURN, R., Basinghall-street, surgeon.
DOUGHTY, J., Bristol, tavern-keeper.
GLOVER, J., Wigau, Lancashire, draper.
HARRIS, S., and D. Reeve, Minorities, linen-drappers.
HICKLING, J., Warwick, brickmaker.
METIVIER, J. and C. H., Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothiers.
POYNTON, J., Covent Garden-market, victualler.
SNELSON, M., New Sucleiton, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.
STATHAM, G., Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, tailor.
STEBER, D., Dover, watchmaker.
WRAGG, G., Sheffield, table-knife-manufacturer.
YOUNGMAN, P., Chatham, bookseller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BROADFOOT, C., Tradeston, Glasgow, builder.
JACKSON, J. and Co., Glasgow, clothiers.
MURDOCH, J., jun., Ayr, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

BATTIE, W., Sheffield, silver-plater.
BOYS, W., Eastbourne, Sussex, wine-merchant.
BRIGGS, J., Lawrence-lane, Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.
GEOFF, R., Birmingham, tea-dealer.
MOFFITT, R., Hoxlydown-lane, Shad Thames, Surrey, iron-man.
MORPHEW, D., Dover, chemist.
PADLEY, T., Gamstorough, Lincoln, victualler.
PINCAS, D., Devonport, silversmith.
RICHARDSON, J. A., Cannon-row, Westminster, bill-broker.
ROBBS, G. W., and T. W. Jacobs, Mark-lane, corn-factors.
SHARP, E., Lincoln, merchant.
SMART, L., Ryedges street, Covent-garden, shell-fishmonger.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 7.—The supplies fresh up to this morning's market were moderate from Essex and Suffolk, and very limited from Kent. The millers were reluctant buyers of any qualities but the best, when supported the currency of this day seemed to other descriptions met with little or no inquiry, and prices are almost become nominal. Nothing transpiring in bonded corn.

The maltsters being well stocked with Bar-

ley, added to the languid trade in Malt, checked the demand for malting descriptions, and rice in consequence reeded 1s. per qr.; distilling and grinding sorts also participated in the decline, and the business transacting in either was extremely limited.

The arrival of Oats this morning was moderate, and as the market was tolerably well attended by purchasers, a fair sale was experienced for the article on the terms of last Monday.

Beans were more in request, and better prices were realized. Owing to the Government contract for 500 qrs. of Peas, white boiling qualities improved in value, as the stock is short, and must be noted full 1s. per qr. dearer; in grey and maple no alteration.

As the weather is becoming warmer, holders have evinced more anxiety to quit their stocks of Flour, and as several lots are becoming heated, sales of such have been effected at very low terms, while good fresh qualities remained steady in value.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Boilers | 30s. to 31s. |
| — Grey | 30s. to 33s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potato | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 47s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 55s. to 100s. |
| — Mess, new | 55s. to 57s. per barrel. |
| Butter, Belfast | 66s. to 76s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow | 50s. to 76s. |
| — Cork | 62s. to 64s. |
| — Limerick | 60s. to 62s. |
| — Waterford | 50s. to 70s. |
| Dublin | 50s. to 52s. |

SMITHFIELD, April 7.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Beasts, was, both as to numbers and quality, moderately good, its supply of Calves and Porks, but limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With Veal at a depression of 2d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the beasts were Scots and short-horns; a full fourth of them in about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts; and the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords and Irish, with about sixty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About two-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs, the same number new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, and the remaining fifth

about equal number of Kents, Kentish half-breeds, old Leicesters, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincoln, horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 4,000, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, Dorsets and South-Downs, with a few Kentish half-bred, &c.

About 2,000 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots and Norfolk home-breeds, about 1,700 of them short-horns, and the rest about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 130, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 140, chiefly Devons, with some Herefords, runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 120, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-fedders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 11.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices are full as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| |
|--|
| 1 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tu. s. Wed. Th. |
| Cons. Ann. } 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ 91 91 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ 91 $\frac{3}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ |

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| | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------|
| 1.....of.... | £16 000..... | £16 000 |
| 1..... | 10,000..... | 10,000 |
| 1..... | 3,000..... | 3,000 |
| 1..... | 2,000..... | 2,000 |
| 1..... | 1,600..... | 1,600 |
| 1..... | 1,500..... | 1,500 |
| 2..... | 1,400..... | 2,800 |
| 1..... | 1,100..... | 1,100 |
| &c. &c. &c. | | |

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 85.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 19TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



INTENSE HUMBUG.

IN whatever department the Irish are extravagant and wild, they are more extravagant and wild than any other people, the Yankee only excepted; but, then, this species of half madness comes to the Yankees rarely, while it is apt to take hold of the Irish very frequently. A Yankee, when he turns speculator, thinks no more of millions of any thing, than a sober-minded man would think of units. Our Irish brethren are not quite so extravagant; so outrageously careless of consequences; but they are quite sufficiently so when they take this turn. I say this in the way of preface to the noticing of one of the maddest schemes that ever came into the head of mortal man, under the name of the "NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND," the detail of which scheme I insert below. When I have inserted it I will make a remark or two.

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3. That the shares be allotted to the several towns in Ireland, in respective proportions.
4. That the towns be divided into first, second, and third classes.
5. That residents near be considered as belonging to such towns.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

6. That no individual to hold more than 300 shares, nor no family more than 600 shares.

7. Every shareholder to have one vote, to be given by ballot.

8. Application for shares to be made for the present to the solicitors of the company, in writing.

9. In first-class towns, when applicants shall amount to 30, and in shares to 1,000, a branch shall be formed by calling a meeting of the shareholders, and electing four directors into whose hands the first instalments of ten shillings per share, and one shilling per share for expenses, shall be paid. The directors to sit twice a week to forward such branch, and report to Dublin.

10. In the second-class towns, number of shares required to form a branch, 600; applicants, 15.

11. Third class; number of applicants, 12; number of shares, 400; to be organized in the same manner.

12. Provides for the re-election of permanent directors at the end of two months.

13. Provides that the directors shall assemble at Dublin to form a conference.

14. That the assembled directors shall proceed to consider the laws in detail.

15. That as the institution extends, the branches shall be divided into districts, each district to contain within it a first-class town, the other branches to correspond with this head.

16. First-class towns to have greater accommodation; more accountants, clerks, &c.

17. Provides for directors of district.

18. Provides for a court of directors in Dublin of seven or twelve of the largest shareholders, to have supreme control.

19. Provides for the election of a secretary, who must be a large shareholder.

20. Provides that all bank notes be signed by five authorities before issue.

21. Provides for travelling accountants, who shall perpetually traverse the branches.

22. Provides that no proprietor or other bank stock can be a director or other officer of this bank, though he may hold shares.

23. Regulates how all persons are to open accounts with the bank.

24. Provides for the allotment of the million shares to all towns in Ireland.

25. Stipulations regarding sale or transfer of shares.

26. Empowers the court to create new shares for particular districts.

27. Provides for the creation of provident shares to be purchased by small monthly or weekly payments.

28. Provides for the protection of provident shareholders; and if a mechanic or working tradesman authorizes the directors to open a cash account for double his subscribed amount, if continued five years previous.

29. All investments of surplus capital to be made in well-circumstanced landed estates, either by purchase or mortgage.

30. Authorizes the law agent of the company to see after landed property coming into the market, with a view to make either purchases or investments.

31. That in case of a disagreement between the superior authorities of the bank, the matter to be settled by a reference to the directors at large both Dublin and provincial.

32. That the shares be subscribed for in instalments of ten shillings, the first on the election of provisional directors, the second two months after, the remainder when called for, of which 60 days' notice will be given by the directors.

33. Profits to be divided half yearly.

34. That the laws can only be changed by consent of the majority of the proprietors.

35. Periodical reports of the whole transactions of the Company to be published in the newspapers.

Application for shares to be for the present as follows:—from parties stating real name and business, the leading trades of the town, market days, &c.

NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

Messrs. William Bailey Wallace and Sons, Solicitors, No. 12, North Great George's-street, Dublin.

All letters must be post-paid.

No applicant will be bound by any act of this Company until he shall sign the deed of co-partnership.

Any gentleman can have a copy of the project through the post-office for a single postage, by applying as above, or at the office of this paper.

Now, if this be not madness, it is so little short of it, that one ought not to be restrained from using the word as applicable to it. First, five millions of money, divided into five-pound shares, require a million of men in Ireland, each of whom has five pounds to spare! There are eight millions of people in the country: one half of these are females: one half of the males are boys under age: there are two millions left, and of these two millions, one million are to have each of them five pounds to spare; though it is notorious that nine-tenths of them have not the means of buying a bit of meat or bread. But his absurdity, arising from the mere numerical representation of the state of the people, is not the great thing to be observed upon; the great, the gross, the monstrous delusion is, that an establishment of this sort, if it could succeed, would be a benefit to the country itself. Mark! if you please; it would make every man of any property a banker; it is proposed that he shall *gain* something by being a banker; *and whom is he to gain from?* Why, from himself, to be sure! He is to lend money to himself, and to put the interest into his own pocket. When a certain small portion of the community become bankers, and receive real money, or goods, as interest for the paper that costs them nothing, there is sense; there is roguery, there is deception, there is fraud; but there is sense. But, for the whole of the money-owners of a country to GAIN by making paper-money and lending it to themselves, an idea that must have been born in eddlam; though it is got over to

Dublin, it must have gone from ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS. Here are ten of us, for instance, all equal in point of property; we have five pounds a-piece to spare. We make a common stock of it, and set to work in grinding paper-money to three times the amount, or no matter what. We then lend the paper-money to ourselves; and we pay the discount to ourselves! Poh! this is nonsense; but nonsense as it is, it is upon a level with the scheme of Mr. HUME, who actually recommended to the Government that it should issue paper-money, and *give the profit to the people!* Oh! God Almighty, do let me live to see this nonsense extirpated from the mind of man! Just as if a people could profit from *gains made out of themselves.* We often talk of the "improvements of the age," of the "spirit of the age," and God knows what; but, if our forefathers had not had more sense than we have, this kingdom would have been a desert, instead of being what it is. Oh, no! There cannot be men so mad as to have invented this scheme for the *benefit of the public*; they mean, to be sure, to get, somehow or other, the means together to set up a SCOTCH BANK, by which a comparatively few persons shall gain at the expense of the community at large, as they do in Scotland, where *tradesmen* and *farmers* are little better than the mere *bailiffs* and *shopmen* of these combinations of cunning paper-money makers; where the property of the *active traders* is all made over to, and is in fact the property of, the bank-paper people.

But, there is another view of this matter, which must be taken. The idea is, that money will be made *more plenty* by this scheme. That is impossible, without producing a *blow up*, not only of this scheme, but of all the paper-money in Ireland. No, no! The right to demand gold in England is the bridle in the mouths of all these projectors; and, in spite of Lord ALTHORP's legal tender, which is to come into force directly, it will be impossible to get out a greater quantity of paper, without producing a *panic*.

But, do these projectors shut their

eyes with regard to the United States of America? Do they know nothing of the blow which their glorious countryman, JACKSON, is giving to the whole system of paper-money all over the world? And do they not blush on reflecting, that it is owing to the good sense and the virtue of "*the Irish*" in the United States, that the President is enabled to pull down the monsters of paper-money in that country? Can they read the resolutions, the sensible resolutions, of their industrious countrymen at New YORK, showing how it is that paper-money robs the working man, and declaring their resolution to extirpate it altogether; can they read these resolutions, and not be ashamed of the promulgation of this plundering scheme in Ireland itself? Are these the sort of measures by which the rights of labour are to be asserted and maintained, and by which Ireland is to be brought to a state of justice, peace, and happiness? Doubtless Ireland has suffered from other causes, which, possibly, might have been removed; but from all the other causes put together she has not, within the last fifty years, suffered so much as from this one cause. And, is this accursed cause to be now added to, amidst all her other troubles and afflictions? I am never in haste to cast blame on the Government for the calamities of Ireland; because, having put the question to myself, what I would do, if I had it in my power to do what I liked, I have never been able to give myself a satisfactory answer. The Government of England started badly in the reign of ELIZABETH, with regard to Ireland. All the *alleged* causes do not account for the state of that at once fine and wretched country: but, at any rate, we have an indubitable proof of the fact, that the paper-money has been one great cause of the sufferings of that country. We know that hundreds of thousands of families have been totally ruined by it: we know that there was a time when a man with bank-notes to the amount of a thousand pounds in his pocket, could not get a leg of mutton at COCK; and, with the recollection of these things in their minds, will the industrious part of

the Irish people listen to a project like this?

It has long been my wish to go to Ireland to see things with my own eyes. I have seen every other part of the kingdom more in detail than any other man alive. Ireland, the greatest sphere in this world for the exercise of those faculties of discernment and of judgment which ought to be exercised very diligently by every man who meddles at all with public affairs in this kingdom; this Ireland I have never seen: I ought to see it; for, in such a case, you cannot *know* without seeing with your own eyes. I intended to go at the close of this session of Parliament; but I hesitated: this banking scheme has decided me: I am determined to go to the spot, and challenge the projectors to meet me face to face. It is possible that measures may be suggested to make Ireland as happy as it is fruitful; but all the wisdom in the world can never suggest good to it so long as it is afflicted with this damnable scourge, which these projectors would make greater than it ever was before. It is, in fact, an effort to counteract any good that the Government might otherwise be able to do for Ireland. As such I consider it; as such I will treat it: as such I will speak of it in the faces of the projectors themselves, if they dare to meet me. I say, that tithes, that church-rates, that all other things are as nothing, compared with the want of a *metallic currency*, and of a *just provision for those who labour*. These are my opinions, and these opinions I will maintain, if I live, in the hearing of the Irish themselves.

WM. COBBETT.

CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.

FIRST of all I ought to give my readers a *narrative* of this embroiled and embroiling transaction. On the 1. of July, the Ministry seemed to have been reorganized, after the secession of Mr. STANLEY and Sir JAMES GRAHAM. I heard, indeed, a whisper on that day that Lord GREY was about to resign. Regarding this as a matter in which I, as a Member of Parliament, had no sort

of concern, I paid very little attention to it, and was, indeed, inclined to disbelieve it. After this those transactions took place of which the following is, I believe, a correct statement.

That, on the THIRD of July, Mr. O'CONNELL disclosed that Mr. LITTLETON, had told him, that Lord ALTHORP and some other portion of the cabinet disapproved of some part of the Coercion Bill, and that he himself also disapproved of that part of it; that in the course of a dispute upon this subject, Lord ALTHORP declared, on the same day, that *now* all the cabinet were of accord as to the whole measure.

That, however, it now appears that, on the NINTH of July, Lord ALTHORP sent his resignation to Lord GREY; whereupon this latter resigned also; and that both of them, in the separate Houses of Parliament, announced their resignations on the evening of that day.

That what has since been said or done by Lord BROUGHAM, by Lord MELBOURNE, or by any body else; and how the matter may terminate; who may at last be the Ministers; these are matters of very little consequence to the people, compared with the *real cause of the resignation of Lord ALTHORP*, which resignation is by no means satisfactorily accounted for upon the ground of the dispute about the Coercion Bill; for, observe, Lord ALTHORP, on the 2. of July, said that the cabinet were all of a mind with regard to it. Mr. LITTLETON had committed a blunder in making the communication to Mr. O'CONNELL. But how often have Ministers *laughed off* such adventures as that! Mr. LITTLETON was *cheered by the House*. There he was triumphant. What reason was there, then, for the resignation of Lord ALTHORP; as to Lord GREY, he says that he resigned *because* Lord ALTHORP did; and that was sensible and sincere, for he could not have gone on without him; he knew that the House of Commons had, in fact, supported, not the *measures of* Lord GREY, but the person of Lord ALTHORP. To how many persons have I said, in the House and out of it, that it was Lord ALTHORP *alone* that upheld the Minis-

try. Indeed, it was he, and he alone that enabled Lord GREY to form a Ministry at first: it was his character, very justly possessed, that gave the country confidence that something would be done towards relieving it of its burdens. There was great confidence in the integrity of Lord GREY; and the conduct of his whole life warranted that confidence; but he was in the other House the other was the manager of the purse; and he was able to do that which could never have been accomplished by any other man at that time, that I have any knowledge of; and it is quite impossible that I should have been in the House of Commons, without perceiving that that House was under the control of its unshaken reliance on the judgment and on the integrity of that one man.

Therefore, Lord GREY, who knew this better than any man living could know it, had too much sense to think of remaining in place without Lord ALTHORP. What, then, was the real cause of the resignation of Lord ALTHORP? This is the question of interest to the country; because, on the solution of this question turns another and still greater question; namely, *whether any Ministry will be able to carry on this system any longer.*

Let the reader remember then, that, on the 7. of July, five days after the dispute between Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. LITTLETON; five days after Lord ALTHORP had said that the cabinet were of one accord as to the Coercion Bill; five days after Mr. LITTLETON was *cheered* and remained *triumphant (in the House)* over Mr. O'CONNELL; five days after this, Lord CHANDOS made a motion, very much to his honour, which pledged the House to a *reduction of the burdens on agriculture*. The minister opposed this motion, the House divided upon it, and there appeared 171 for it, 187 against it, leaving Lord ALTHORP with a majority of *sixteen*, which, deducting the Treasury bench, and other persons *in office* (exclusive of pensioners and dead-weight people), and there was Lord ALTHORP in a MINORITY of not less than forty, in a House containing

three hundred and fifty-eight members! It was impossible for him not to perceive *who* were his supporters, and *who* were his opponents. The Tories were a mere handful; the great-town members were generally with him; and this thumping minority consisted chiefly of those very men, without whose support he well knew that he could not carry on the affairs of the Government in that House; yet, his duty, the bounden duties of his office; his engagement to his colleagues, compelled him to oppose this motion, and to do his utmost to prevent its being carried; my opinion is, that his real failure in this case was the immediate cause of his resignation.

If any doubt had existed in my mind on this subject it would have been removed by the speech of Lord ALTHORP of the 9. of July, which speech I will here insert, word for word, as reported in the *Times* newspaper.

" Lord ALTHORP (NINTH July) rose and said—Sir, having been placed in a position which renders it necessary that I should state to the House the reasons which have governed my conduct, I asked for and obtained his Majesty's permission to make that statement to the House. When the renewal of the Coercion Bill was first brought under the consideration of the cabinet, I felt it my duty to concur in the renewal of it, with the omission only of those clauses of it relating to courts-martial. I hope I need not say that I did so with the greatest reluctance, and that nothing would have induced me to do so but my conviction of the absolute necessity of the case. Afterwards private and confidential communications, however, from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to individual members of the Government brought the subject again under the consideration of the cabinet in the week before last. I may as well say that it was at this time that my right hon. friend the Secretary for Ireland suggested to me the propriety of telling the hon. and learned gentleman opposite that the question was not yet finally decided, and that the bill was still under consideration.

"I saw no harm in this if it proceeded no further (hear), and I am bound to say in my own justification that I begged my right hon. friend to use extreme caution in his communication, and by no means to commit himself in what he said. As I have said, these private and confidential communications from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to an individual member of the cabinet brought the subject again before the cabinet the week before last. From the nature of these communications I was led to believe that the three first clauses of the act—those, I mean, which refer to meetings in the parts of Ireland not proclaimed, were not essentially necessary, and that they might be omitted from the new bill without endangering the peace of Ireland. Under this impression I objected to the renewal of those clauses. ('Hear, hear,' especially from the Irish members). My right hon. friends the members for Inverness, for Cambridge, for Edinburgh, and for Coventry, coincided with me in taking that course, and in making that objection. I need not state to the House that we were in a minority in the cabinet. The cabinet decided against us, and we had to consider whether we would acquiesce in this decision, or whether we would break up the Government. We decided that it was our duty to acquiesce. Upon the most careful consideration which I have been enabled to give the point since, after considering carefully the course which we then pursued, I am prepared to say now, as then, that I am convinced that with the imperfect information we then had of what had occurred we were right in taking that course. (Hear, hear). I do not mean to disguise from the House that I felt in coming to that decision that I might be, under such circumstances, placed in a situation of great difficulty and embarrassment in conducting the measure through this House. But when, on *Thursday* (THIRD July) last, I heard the statement of my right hon. friend the Secretary for

Ireland, and then for the first time was made aware of the nature and extent of the communication which he had made to the hon. and learned gentleman, I certainly thought that it was most probable the difficulties and embarrassments which I should have to encounter would prove to be insuperable. The debate on *Monday* (SEVENTH July) night on the motion of the hon. and learned gentleman proved to me that they were so, and convinced me that I could no longer conduct that bill or the general business of Government in this House with credit to myself or with advantage to the public. (Hear, hear). I accordingly wrote that night to Lord Grey, and requested him to tender my resignation to his Majesty, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept. I am authorized by my right hon. friends to whom I have already alluded, to say that they approve of, and concur in, the step which I have taken. (Hear, hear). I have stated to the House the reasons which induced my right hon. friends and myself to take that course. I should be extremely sorry if the course which I and my right hon. friends have pursued on this occasion should not be approved by my fellow countrymen (cheers); but I should be still more grieved if it should not be approved of by that large body of gentlemen in this House who have reposed so much confidence in me, and who, by their handsome and steady support, have enabled me to maintain a position for which my abilities would otherwise have so little qualified me. (Cheering). I should be deeply grieved indeed if those gentlemen did not approve of my conduct. (Cheers). Having made this statement to the House, I have nothing further to add, but that I hold my office until my successor is appointed, and that until that is the case I shall feel it my duty to conduct the ordinary business of the Government in this House."

Now, mark! on the 3. of July he thought that his difficulties would be

insuperable, in consequence of the communication made by Mr. LITTLETON to Mr. O'CONNELL. But still he had no idea of quitting office; on the contrary, he sustained Mr. LITTLETON, and said, that there was the most perfect concurrence between the Irish Government and the Government here, with regard to the renewal of the Coercion Bill; and he also said, that Mr. LITTLETON had tendered his resignation, but would hold his office at the request of Lord GREY and his Majesty's Government, "who were anxious to retain him, and who would not lose him upon any such grounds." This was said during the debate on a motion of Mr. O'CONNELL for the production of papers relative to the Coercion Bill. This motion Mr. O'CONNELL lost by a majority of a hundred and fifty-six against seventy-three. This was on the 7., observe; and here was Lord ALTHORP with a stifling majority on hand against Mr. O'CONNELL on that night; and he on that very night saying, that the whole of the Government were of one accord with regard to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. Yet that very night, or rather early in the morning, he goes home from the House at a quarter past three o'clock, and at once sits down and writes his resignation and sends it to Lord GREY! Why, this was the act of a madman.

Oh, no! This was not the cause. After the debate on the Coercion Bill, the motion of Lord CHANDOS came on. His speech upon that motion was such as to prove that he was greatly embarrassed, and in great fear of the division: he endeavoured to prevail upon Lord CHANDOS to withdraw his motion. It was impossible for him not to be ashamed of the silly stuff that was uttered by others in support of him. The division convinced him, that he could no longer go on in the manner that he had done; and it was *this division*, and not the division that took place on Mr. O'CONNELL's motion, which made him, *that very night*, send in his resignation.

Once more, mark, that it was on the *7th* of July, that Mr. O'CONNELL made the exposure relative to the communication made to him by Mr. LITTLETON.

He then thought that the difficulties which this communication would occasion him would be insuperable; but that night he boldly said that the whole of the Ministers were of accord as to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. He seemed perfectly confident, notwithstanding the exposure made by Mr. O'CONNELL. On the *seventh*, when Mr. O'CONNELL stirred up the subject again by a motion for papers relative to the Coercion Bill, he spoke with equal confidence; put a direct negative on the motion, and beat Mr. O'CONNELL by a majority of more than two to one. How could this cause him to resign? But after this came the motion of Lord CHANDOS. There he was, in fact, left in a minority, having, speakers on his side, Messrs. HUME, HAWES, Major KEPPEL, and some others. It was this, and this only, that was the immediate cause of his resignation, unless we were to conclude that he was bereft of his senses, which was very far from being the case.

His office never could have been a thing to his taste. He wished for a parliamentary reform, and he wished for a great change in the state of the country; and my opinion is, that when Lord GREY's administration was formed, he made it a positive condition that Lord ALTHORP should be Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that he would undertake to be Minister on no other condition. I never was told this; never heard any one say it; but I have always believed it; and I am very sure, that even the Reform Bill would not have been carried, had not this one man had the management of carrying it through.

For a long while I have been quite satisfied in my own mind, that he was weary of his office; that he was doing many things, and leaving many things undone, contrary to the bend of his own mind; that he was using arguments, suggested by the necessities arising out of the duties of his office and his engagements. Many indications must, long ago, have convinced him that the best and staunchest of his supporters adhered to him from respect to himself, and not from approbation of his measures. These appearances had been

gradually increasing for some time; and the result of Lord CHANDOS's motion must have convinced him that it was impossible for him to carry on the taxing system to the present amount, any longer, without a change in the value of money, or without an undisguised resort to the bayonet. Neither of these could he screw up his mind to: his engagements compelled him to maintain the taxes; and he, therefore, resolved to release himself from those engagements.

I by no means accuse him of deceit or hypocrisy in resigning upon the ground of the Coercion Bill. That was ground sufficient, if he disapproved of any part of the bill. It was ground quite sufficient; and he had not only a right to avail himself of it; but, perhaps, it was his duty to do it; for, if he found himself incapable of supporting the present system of taxation, he might fairly consider it unjust towards his colleagues, and towards the King, to denounce that system, and thus render it impossible for his successor to carry it on.

The conclusion is, then, or, at least, it is my conclusion, that this is the great source of all the difficulties that harass the Ministry, who seem entirely to have forgotten, that the people had not prayed for a reformed Parliament, that it might supply them with *new projects*; they had asked for a reformed Parliament that it might put a stop to new projects: they had not called for new and improved laws; they had called for a *restoration to the old laws*; they had not called for any change in corporations, in church affairs, in local courts; in the forms or declarations in pleadings: it was nothing of this sort that they called for; they had called for a reduction of their burdens. They had not called for an augmentation of the army, but for a reduction of it: it was not Lord GAZER's early-promised rigour that they called for; but for mild and just government, such as their forefathers had left them; they had not called for new barracks built like palaces; but for a sale of the old ones: they had not called for a police esta-

blishment, terrific to behold: they had not called for a subversion of the poor-laws, stripping the natural magistrate of all his power, and abrogating all those local governments, without which real freedom cannot exist. They had, in short, called loudly for a reform of the Parliament, that it might take off the malt-tax, the hop-tax, the soap-tax; that it might release small properties from the grasp of the stamp-tax; or, at least, put them upon a level with large properties; and they soon found, that the Ministers had no intention of making the reform efficient for the purposes for which the people wanted it.

The Ministry was formed upon the basis of a hope, that it was possible to carry on a system such as had been before carried on with regard to taxing and expenditure; and with merely making changes in matter of form, in conformity, as Lord GAZER expressed it, "with the advancing spirit of the age." Alas! the people did not pester themselves about the spirit of the age; but, if the "spirit of the age" required a standing army of a hundred thousand men in time of peace, demanded a barrack like a palace near every great town; demanded two hundred per cent. tax upon the labourer's beer, and only a twenty per cent. tax upon the Champagne wine, drunk by the nobility, gentry, and parsons; if the "spirit of the age" demanded that the landed estates should be exempt from the enormous duties on legacies, and on descents; if "the spirit of the age" demanded that the money-monger should receive three bushels of wheat for one, while the weaver was reduced to water-porridge, and the labourers to potatoes and salt; then the "spirit of the age" would not do for the people. And, no Ministry could carry on that system. Had the malt, hop, and soap taxes been repealed, that alone would have given the Ministers quiet and security, and would have saved the Attorney-General the trouble of innovations on the common law, and Lord ALTHORP the toil, vexation, and embarrassment of being compelled to support the Scotch project for altering the poor-laws.

These are my opinions respecting the cause of the resignation of Lord ALTHORP. He has led the House of Commons to do many things that I disapproved of, and some that I detested; but, he has not been an arrogant man, and has performed, as far as I recollect, no act of incivility towards any one but myself; and, though I could not approve of these acts, all the effect which they produced upon my mind was, a feeling of satisfaction that I had never been placed in a situation to compel me to act a similar part. To say that he is an "honest man," would be saying very little of a man whose only private trouble must be, how he shall make shift to get rid of his income, far surpassing the annual worth of the "*kingdom of HANOVER*." But, I know him to be a clever man, to possess great experience in public affairs; I believe him to wish well to all his fellow-subjects, and to be anxious for their happiness; and I say all this with the perfect knowledge that he was in favour of prosecuting me in 1831, which I could not believe at the time, otherwise I would have subpoenaed him to take his share of the basting which I gave to his colleagues. I am afraid that the Scotch scelosofers have been suffered to ding into his ears, their Malthusian doctrine, till they have half converted him into an opinion that "*civilization*," "*concentration*," "*centralization*," "*surplus-population*," "*accumulation*," "*immigration*," and all the other "*ations*," not excepting "*damnation*," are absolutely necessary to the improved spirit of the age; and that nothing in the world, even to the very door-posts, ought to remain, if they be more than about nine months old. I am afraid of this; but this I know very well, that these doctrines will be much less dangerous when supported by any other man.

The newspapers tell me that it is likely he *will go back into his office*, at the request of certain members of the House of Commons. *I do not believe this*: it would give the lie to all that has been said in favour of his excellent character. In the first place, it would have the possible construction

of his having resorted to a sham resignation, in order to get rid of Lord GREY; a construction which it would not be easy to get rid of, seeing that Lord GREY has retired upon the ground of *old age*, as well as upon that of the secession of Lord ALTHORP. A return to office would be, besides, so childish a thing, over and above the thousand other difficulties which this temporary resignation will have created. Members of Parliament do not like to devote themselves to the support of a man who is in the habit of resigning, and leaving them, poor dears, to shift for themselves. They do not like this; and, therefore, if he were to come again, he would not be precisely the same man. If, therefore, I had been asked to sign the requisition to him to come back to his office, I should have refused upon three grounds: first, that it was suggesting to him to do a childish and dishonourable thing, and especially if he came without Lord GREY; second, that it was a most impudent interference with the undoubted prerogative of the King, by assuming, that a man might be a Minister, if he would, if that House chose that he should be a Minister: but, third, and a ground still more important, it would be an endeavour to keep him in his place, when I know that my duty to my constituents ought to make me endeavour to keep him out of it; because their interest requires that taxes to a large amount should be abolished; and because I am convinced that he has more power than any other man to prevent taxes from being abolished.

Let me now turn to the occurrences of Monday, the 14. of July. The papers of Tuesday morning bring me an account of the statement of Lord MELBOURNE in the House of Lords on Monday, which statement is reported to be as follows:

"Viscount MELBOURNE said, it was
 "almost unnecessary for him to state to
 "their lordships what must already be
 "known to their lordships from report,
 "namely, that on the dissolution of the
 "late Government, he was desired by
 "his Majesty to attend him for the

“ purpose of advising and consulting on
 “ the formation of a new administration. As soon as that wish was expressed by his Sovereign, he of course obeyed it; and the respect which he owed to their lordships would induce him, when the business had assumed a proper shape, to lay the necessary information before their lordships. (Hear, hear). He trusted their lordships would feel, as no declaration had been made on the subject up to the present moment, that the arrangements were not yet in such a state as would justify him in making any communication to the House. He had already stated, that his Majesty had honoured him with his commands to lay before him a plan for the formation of a new Ministry, such a Ministry as should appear to him to be competent to carry on the business of the country efficiently at the present important crisis. He had undertaken the task; but as it was not concluded, their lordships could not expect him to make any disclosure on the subject. (Hear, hear). He might, however, be allowed to observe, that he should not discharge the duty which had been confided to him without securing the co-operation of his noble friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the sanction and approbation of his noble friend who was lately at the head of the Government. He had nothing further to add, except to assure their lordships that it was impossible for them to be more sensible of the incapacity of the individual to whom this difficult and delicate task was intrusted than he was himself. Nothing but the deep feeling which he entertained of gratitude and duty towards his Sovereign, and a knowledge of the extreme difficulty in which both his Sovereign and the country were now placed, could have induced him to act on this occasion. (Hear, hear).”

The House of Commons having adjourned until Thursday the 17., it is likely that we shall hear nothing, for a certainty, respecting the new Ministers,

until Friday, when it is my intention to be in the House. But, though we do not know who the King may choose for his servants, we do know that, be they who they may, they cannot carry on this system for any length of time. They must pull down the ancient institutions; they must carry on their government by military force; or they must reduce the taxes to a less sum than thirty millions a year, wheat being at six shillings a bushel. It is the pressure of the taxes which is producing all the difficulties which the Ministers have to experience: the riots, the fires, the poisoning of cattle, the ham-stringing of cows and of sheep; all these new and horrid deeds; all the new jails, all the tread-mills, all the new and severe laws; and in the face of all these, the fearful increase of crime: all these proceed from the pressure of taxation, taking up the resources of the country, impoverishing the towns and villages, sending the wealth to be expended in places of fashionable resort, or out of the kingdom; diminishing the means of the middle class, and reducing the working class to a state of half starvation. Were there only the bare fact, that seventy thousand pounds have been permitted to be expended on one gate-way to a palace, it would be enough to convince any man that this system cannot be suffered to go on; but, when we are brazenly told, that it is just and necessary for us to have four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty admirals in our pay; and that it is proper for us to pay the people who never pretended to render any service at all, more money than would be necessary to carry on the whole Government of the country; when we are brazenly told this, are we still to wish for a Minister whose weight in the House of Commons is calculated to give longer durability to such a system? I say, no! to such a proposition: for this reason I am glad that Lord ALTHORP has ceased to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Our business, and almost our sole business, is, to prevail upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give up taxes; and the stronger he is, the less likely are we to

prevail upon him to make the surrender. It is nothing to my constituents what is the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or whence he came, or what is his character; but it is a great deal to them whether their ale be sixpence a pot, or only three halfpence. They will surely be for the three-halfpenny Chancellor of the Exchequer; and it is my duty, as well as my inclination, to be for him too. And I do pray God, most fervently, that no Ministry will be found to last one lunar month, who will endeavour to prevent the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap taxes; and this, I think, will very soon be found to be the case.

The *Morning Chronicle*, which is pleading most desperately for the preservation of a Whig administration, tells us, "that no Ministry can stand *without the people at its back*"; but, being in the hands, and perhaps the property, of some of those who live upon the taxes, the poor old superannuated soul does not tell us *how* a Ministry is to get the people to be at its back; and I will tell the old creature that it is not by appointing a score of commissioners, consisting of all the gossiping mare's-tail riff-raff from all the inns of court, and enabling them to know the taste of different sorts of wine, and to swagger about in frilled shirts and new coats, instead of being blacking shoes, or weeding in the corn, or hop-picking; that it is not the giving of *pis-aller* PARKES eighteen hundred pounds a year, for the devil knows only what; that it is not by continuing to give a pension of £131. a year to the REV. THOMAS PERUSSE, who has two livings in the church, and who has had this pension for twenty-one years, under the pretence of his having been, for five months, chargé d'affaires at Florence, in the absence of the envoy, who was one of the WYNDHAMS, to whose children he was tutor at the time; it is not by continuing to do things like these that the people are brought to the back of a Ministry; it is not by charging those with "*ungentlemanly feeling*," who want to know upon what grounds pensions have been granted to

swarms of women and children, belonging to the nobility, gentry, and parsons; while it is asserted, that we are to "*listen to no feeling at all*," while we are discussing a bill relative to the treatment of the poor, who till the land, make the clothes, make the houses, and who cause to come all that we enjoy.

This is not the way for a Ministry to have the *people at its back*. The people are not to be brought to the back of a Ministry even by measures for breaking up the church. We may like it well enough; not be sorry for it at any rate; but it is not easy for Lord ALTHORP to persuade us, that the landlords would not get what the parsons get now, and that we should get nothing by the change; but, when he comes to tell us, that it would benefit us by taking from us, in case of necessity, all parochial relief, and giving the amount of the poor-rates to the landlords, we laugh in his face. It is difficult, too, to make us see how we shall be the fatter, by giving the dissenting ministers a share in the honours and emoluments of the two universities, or how we should be made better off by dissenters being buried in church-yards, or by their being married by their own priests. All these are, I suppose, in conformity with the "spirit of the age"; but being an eating and drinking people, these things are too high and refined for us: one penny taken off from the pot of beer, or even one farthing, would bring more people to the back of the Ministers than all the "concentrations," and all the "*liberalities*" in the world.

But this mode of bringing the people to the back of the Ministers is the last thing that the *pis-aller Chronicle* thinks of. PARKES now, for instance; and WOOD, emphatically called JOHN, would delight exceedingly at seeing the people at the back of the Ministers; because it is back after back: the people back the Ministers, and the Ministers back *pis-aller* PARKES and WOOD, emphatically called JOHN; but the perverse people will not come, as long as the malt-tax remains; and if the malt-tax be taken off, the *pis-aller* and the empha-

tical *John* must do what the Irishman in *Phoenix-park* told the lady he must do if she did not give him three shillings, and which made him shudder with horror but to think of; that is to say, **GO TO WORK**. But there are different sorts of work: cracking stones and raking the kennel may, indeed, make delicate persons shudder but to think of. *Haymaking* now; keeping birds off cabbage-seed. Oh! what would I give for roaring *Rushton's* voice at this moment! A plot of savoy-seed, and a plot of early cabbage-seed, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from one another, occupy from daylight till dark two little urchins, whose voices are hardly sufficient to make a finch balance before he fixes on his prey. If I had *Rushton*, he would drive them all away, if there were a patch of seed in every field on the farm. Get him upon a bank, and turn him round now and then, and all my seed would be safe; and as to the sight of him, if dressed in his robes and his wig, let me see the rook bold enough to come within two miles of the place. For the want of such a person I am driven to all sorts of expedients; to bring the seed and hang it up in bunches to dry at the side of the house and the barn; for these devils begin upon it before it be ripe; and if you pull it up too soon, the seed is not so good. During the day and the evening boys can keep them off; but you cannot get them out of their beds before daylight, and it is the moment that the day dawns that the birds begin their ravages. When *Rushton* considers all these things, and especially the humanity he would display in preventing these little things from being bundled out by their cruel fathers at daylight, and kept from those schools where their minds might receive cultivation, and be stored with intellect; when he considers these things, I am not without hope that he will, as soon as the corporation-commission can spare him, come to my assistance. If, in the meanwhile, he would send me his wig, that, put upon the top of a well-dressed shoy-hoy, would be of very great service.

We are very apt to generalize and "beat about the bush," as it is vulgarly called, when we dare not utter that which we know to be the fact: accordingly, the poor old *Chronicle* in the midst of its alarms, talks about every thing but the real thing. It has dismal forebodings: it talks about the people coming to the back of the Ministers: it recommends a "*liberal policy*"; it says that there must be "*no half-measures*"; and it runs on with a string of qualifications and of doings, but *not one word does it say about the taking off of taxes*; and yet without that, nothing will be done to please the people; nothing will be done to bring the people to the back of a Minister; the difficulties will be just as great as they have been: there will be change after change, till at last nobody will be found to expose themselves to the odium and the danger of carrying on a system of taxation and of expenditure so wholly incompatible with the well-being and the tranquillity of the country.

If we wanted any proof of this, what more do we want than that which we have in the conduct of the Tories at this moment? They could come into office directly if they would. But they could do nothing there, unless they resolved to obey the voice of the people, which demands a reduction of taxes. They know that, to make that reduction would overturn their whole system; and, therefore, they stand aloof from those offices which are open to receive them.

LORD GREY'S DEFENCE.

I SHALL here put upon record Lord *Grey's* speech of the 9. of July when he announced his resignation to the House of Lords. I wish to be understood as asserting to the correctness of no part of it. I do not wish to say any thing ill-natured of him, but I agree with the Duke of *Wellington*, that more severe punishment has been inflicted under this administration, than under any one that has existed for many years. It has been four years of

punishments of the people. He began by threatening us with "rigour," and "rigorous" enough has he been. I hear a great deal of indignation expressed against the Duke of WELLINGTON for his want of compassion towards Lord GREY on account of the *age* of the latter. A man should not be Minister if he be too old for it; besides, Lord ALTHORP told us that we were to divest ourselves of all feeling when we were discussing the Poor-Law Bill; that *reason*, and not feeling, was to be our guide. There are divers parts of this speech of Lord GREY which must be commented upon and exposed. At present I shall merely insert it along with that of the Duke of WELLINGTON, and that of Lord BROUGHAM, in order that I may have them to refer to, and in order that my readers may read them at their leisure, and in order that they may see what is likely to happen by the difficulties with which they see these men beset.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 9. July, 1834.

Earl GREY rose, and, in a low tone of voice, proceeded to read the title of a paper which he held in his hand, and which he laid upon the table. It was, as we understood, a copy of the treaty between France, Spain, Portugal, and this country. It was ordered to lie on the table.

The order of the day was then generally called for, it having been read, for bringing up the report on the Irish Coercion Bill.

Earl GREY again rose. The noble earl was evidently labouring under considerable emotion. After a pause he began:—"I rise, my lords."—Another pause succeeded, which was broken by cheers from the opposition benches, intended to give confidence to the noble earl. His lordship then occupied himself in arranging his papers on the table, and, after endeavouring in vain to collect himself and regain self-possession, at length, at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, who came to his succour, resumed his seat. The opposition lords cheered several times during this interval.

The Duke of WELLINGTON then rose and presented about forty petitions from places in Ireland, praying protection to the established church.

Nearly ten minutes having elapsed,

Earl GREY again rose, still labouring under strong emotion, and spoke as follows:—"My lords, I really feel quite ashamed (cheering) at the sort of weakness I have shown upon this occasion. (Renewed cheering). I have very recently been honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and the personal kindness I experienced, my lords, has quite overpowered me. (Cheers). I have, however, a duty to perform; and, whatever my present incapacity, I will to the utmost of my ability discharge it; and in rising to propose that you should agree to the report which has just been brought up, I have to state that I no longer do so as a minister of the crown, but as an individual member of the legislature, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing the Act, in order to invest the Government of Ireland, into whatever hands it may fall, with a power which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of law and order in that country. (Loud cheers). My lords, I should be unworthy of a seat in your lordships' house if I were not to take upon myself the discharge of what I consider an imperative duty, notwithstanding the distressing circumstances of my position at this moment, even at the risk of any representation that may be made against me, at the risk of any obloquy. (Hear, hear, hear). I should be unworthy of the situation I have held in the councils of his Majesty if I were to shrink, on account of the circumstances that have taken place towards myself, from proposing to your lordships to permit this bill to proceed to its further stages, a bill I have already stated to your lordships to be essential, and absolutely necessary for the safety and peace of Ireland. The ground upon which that opinion is founded I have before had opportunities of stating to your lordships. Reflection has confirmed me in that opinion, and it has been, I can assure your lordships, most painfully wrung from me by a ge-

neral consideration of all the circumstances connected with the situation of Ireland, as they have come before me by public dispatches for the Lord-Lieutenant, by communications made from different quarters, and by those documents, my lords, which have been laid on the table of the House; and the result, upon the whole, is a sincere conviction on my part that Ireland cannot be safely left to the ordinary protection of the law, but that Government must be armed with some extraordinary powers. (Cries of hear). My lords, having gained your assent to this opinion on a former occasion, it cannot be necessary for me to add anything more upon this part of the subject, more especially as at the time I introduced the bill I went into a statement at considerable length of all the circumstances which appeared to me material. But, my lords, on this occasion it will be naturally expected by your lordships that I should enter into some explanation of the circumstances which have occurred, and which have produced the new situation in which I now stand. (Hear). It cannot be necessary that I should recall your lordships' recollections to what passed very lately in this House upon certain questions put and answers given. (Hear, hear). I was asked, my lords, whether in any communications that had taken place upon this subject with a person known for the strong part he has taken in the affairs of Ireland; I do not wish to use any other terms with respect to that individual; he must be sufficiently known to your lordships; I was asked whether I had been any party to those communications. I stated then, and I repeat it now, that those communications were not only made without my concurrence (cheers), but without my knowledge. (Loud cries of hear, hear). And had I been previously apprized of them, there is no power or interest which I possessed that would not have been exerted to have prevented them from taking place; for well knowing as I did, as events have since proved, that no communication, not even the slightest, could be held by any person connected

with his Majesty's Government with that quarter, (cheers); impressed as I was with that opinion, I never could have given my consent to the holding of such communications, or have omitted any effort to prevent them. What I have next to state, my lords, having already repeated to you my opinion of the necessity of the measure now on your table, my real statement is that from the time that that opinion of the necessity of this measure was formed, founded upon the grounds I have detailed, it never for one moment has undergone the slightest change. (Loud cheers). Up to the 23. of June I had no reason to believe that a doubt as to its necessity did or could exist anywhere. It was the opinion of myself and my colleagues, in consequence of all the previous communications that had been made to us, that the renovation of that act was indispensably required. (Cries of hear, hear). I had myself given instructions to the Attorney-General to frame a bill for its renewal, which is now on your lordships' table. But on the 23. of June a new state of things took place. My lords, it is painful to me to go into a statement of circumstances which never ought to have been heard; but, my lords, the fault is not mine, and if by imprudence those circumstances have been brought before the public, and have produced the results which they have produced, it is necessary that I, standing here, charged with an imperative duty to my Sovereign and my country, and for my own character's sake, should state to you in the clearest manner and without disguise every thing that has taken place. My lords, on the 23. of June I received a letter from the Lord-Lieutenant, a private and confidential letter, which I never would have mentioned out of the cabinet had I not been obliged to do so by the necessity of the circumstances in which I am placed, and which did appear to me to give a new view to the subject, and which I felt it to be my duty to lay before my colleagues in office. My lords, that letter appeared to have been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious

person, of whom I cannot speak too highly, and who, in this part of the transaction, as well as in every other, I am certain, acted from the most conscientious desire to discharge his public duty—that letter, my lords, I say, appeared to have been produced not so much by the original view of that illustrious person of the state of Ireland, as by certain considerations which had been suggested to him by others, (cheers); without my knowledge and without my privity, affecting the political state of this country, rather than referring to the state of Ireland. (Cheers). My lords, I certainly thought the view that had been suggested upon that matter to the Lord-Lieutenant was completely erroneous. (Hear, hear). I immediately, without the loss of a single post, wrote to him to desire him to reconsider the matter. Subsequent letters arrived, and the result of the whole undoubtedly was, that the noble marquis did express an opinion that, if it would promote other objects here, the three clauses of the bill in question might be dispensed with, as not essential for the safety of Ireland, and more particularly if, by that omission, an extension of the term could be effected. My lords, from that view, which I beg to say the noble marquis submitted for consideration, but which he did not offer as a recommendation, I certainly did feel myself compelled to dissent. It became the subject of much deliberation in the cabinet, and I now, my lords, come to circumstances which ought never to have been made known. There has been, I must admit it, it cannot be concealed, a considerable difference of opinion; but ultimately we all agreed that the bill should be introduced in that form in which I introduced it, and this determination has since received the full sanction and concurrence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. So far the case is clear. There has now been adopted a new practice, a new circumstance which has never before occurred in the political annals of this country. (Hear, hear). Questions have arisen, and disclosures have been called for, of what had passed between the confidential advisers of the

crown and the subordinate officers of the Government. With the result alone of such communications had Parliament or the public to do. But to ask what was the course of the discussions in the cabinet (hear); what particular opinion was entertained by each particular member of the cabinet (hear, hear); what were the different views that prevailed at different times, and under different circumstances, among the members of the Government, the adoption of such a practice would be at any time fraught with difficulties, but at the present time rendered it absolutely impossible to carry on the Government. (Cheers). It was with considerable pain and surprise that I heard it stated by those who I think ought to be anxious above all party considerations, to preserve the peace of Ireland, anxious to preserve the privileges of the Government; it was with the greatest astonishment that I heard them, in support of a motion of an hon. member of the other House, call for the production of documents which were not of a nature to be laid before the House. The letters in question were not addressed to me as a Minister of the crown, but were of a secret and confidential nature; and, whatever may have transpired respecting these communications, I do not think that the nature of them was such that the production of them could properly be called for. I have already stated to your lordships that the communications made to a particular individual were made without my knowledge. The making of those communications was an extreme of imprudence which it was hardly possible for any one to anticipate; but I am compelled to acknowledge that such communications were held. The effect of them was this:—A member of the other House, having come by these means to the knowledge of these secret and confidential letters, brought a charge against Government upon the non-production of these documents, stating that the production of them was absolutely necessary before the House could be called upon to pass the bill, and charging a member of the Government with a breach of faith, vacillation, and incon-

sistency, contrary to all precedents and the ordinary course of proceedings in that House. The consequence of this has been that my noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (I have the permission of his Majesty to state these facts), who has the conduct of the affairs of Government in the other House, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and who felt how much of the ground upon which this bill was proposed was swept from under him by these disclosures, felt, in consequence of what had passed in the other House, that he could not with satisfaction to himself, or benefit to the public, continue in the situation which he then held. The consequence was that yesterday morning I received a letter from my noble Friend containing his resignation, and, in a personal interview with him having ascertained that his resolution was final, I submitted his resignation to his Majesty. It then became necessary for me to consider what I should do. I had long felt the increasing difficulties of the situation in which I was placed become so painful, and so much above the remaining strength and energy which I possess, that I have long wished to retire from office. My friends, both my late and present colleagues, well know that I expressed this wish most anxiously at the close of the last session of Parliament. ("Hear, hear" from the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon). They knew that it was my most earnest desire to withdraw, not from any desire to shrink from the laborious and painful duties of office, but because I felt that my remaining energies, if they were ever equal to them, were no longer so. (Hear, hear, hear). I gave up this determination in consequence of the strong and united representations of my colleagues, who represented that my retirement would occasion the immediate dissolution of Government, and might place his Majesty in a painful situation. I met the present Parliament at the commencement of this session as first Minister of the crown, anxious to carry into effect those further measures of improvement which

the country required. Since that an event of importance has occurred, and some of the most powerful members of the Government have separated from it. This was most painful to me, on personal as well as public grounds, and, feeling how inadequate I was to discharge the duties of my office, I felt anxious to retire. That resolution was so decidedly taken that I thought nothing could have diverted me from it. I was induced, on the representation of my remaining colleagues, to depart from it; as also in consequence of an application of a great number of the members of the House of Commons, as well as from our anxious desire to carry through those measures which were in progress, and which were essential to the true interests of the country. I also felt how unjust it would be to his Majesty to resign at such a period of the session. The resolution which I then formed, would, in my opinion, have been perfectly justified by the circumstances which had induced me to come to it. In March last, I completed my seventieth year, and at that time, though I might be able to discharge the ordinary duties of office, yet I felt it was impossible, that it would be too much for the strength of any man, at least of mine, blessed though I am with health and the absence of all disorder, to contend against increasing difficulties. (Hear, hear). I felt, however, in the difficult circumstances in which I was placed, that I should have been justified in retiring from office. That intention I abandoned. The places of those who then left the Ministry were filled up, and I had hopes that we could have gone on at least till the measures then before Parliament were completed. Then arose this new circumstance which has deprived me of the assistance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the leading member of Government in the House of Commons, on whom my whole confidence rested, whom I considered as the right arm of the Government, and without whom I felt it was impossible that Government could go on. Former reaches had weakened it. This new reach has placed me in a situation in

which I cannot hope to any useful purpose to continue in the situation which I hold. Receiving my noble friend's resignation I felt myself impelled by necessity, there was no alternative left, but to tender at the same time my own resignation. Those resignations have been accepted by his Majesty, and I now discharge the duties of my office only till such time as his Majesty can supply my place. I trust that in this last scene of my political life I shall receive the candid and impartial consideration of your lordships. It is my wish to lay all circumstances before you without disguise, to submit myself to your censure, if in aught I have been guilty of error, which I cannot doubt; to throw myself upon your indulgence, if my errors have been such as will admit of excuse; to call upon your sense of justice, and even appeal to your kind consideration to make allowance for the difficult circumstances in which I have been placed. (Cheers). My lords, I call upon you to recollect that I came into power at a season of great difficulty and peril. I never would, under any consideration, have accepted my present situation had I foreseen the difficulties I have had to encounter. I never should have been in this situation if I could have persuaded my noble friend near me (the Marquis of Lansdowne) to accept it. I took it only as a matter of duty, in order to obviate, as I thought I might, the difficulties which threatened the peace and safety of the country. The duties of my situation I have endeavoured to discharge to the best of my abilities. When I became the first Minister of the crown, I stated in this House the principles upon which I proposed conducting the Government of the country. I stated that the three great objects of the Government would be the reformation of Parliament, the maintenance of peace, and economical reform. I appeal to this House and the country whether these pledges have not been redeemed? I know that we are told that we have done nothing, that the whole of the present session has passed and nothing done. But I wish your lordships would attend to the

quarter from whence these complaints proceed, and you will find that they emanate from those very persons who have been the cause of delay, by occupying the House of Commons, night after night, with motions, the nature of which I will not describe (hear), to the exclusion of all business. The reformation of Parliament! has not that pledge been redeemed? We found the country surrounded by difficulties as to its foreign relations. All these difficulties have not yet disappeared. Many of them, however, have been removed, and the country is now, comparatively speaking, in a position of considerable advantage. The noble Marquis (Londonderry) shakes his head, but I shall be most happy to enter fully into the question with him at any time that he may bring it forward. We leave the peace of Europe, I maintain, with greater probabilities of its duration than have been for a length of time. We have reduced the expenses of all the establishments of the country; we have taken off four millions and a half from the taxation of the country; and we are the more entitled to praise for that because they succeeded the great meritorious reductions made by the noble duke opposite, and former governments, from whom I am not about to abstract an iota of praise. My lords, places to an enormous amount have been abolished. The patronage of the crown has been diminished to what many of your lordships may consider a most inconvenient state; and, as a minister of the crown, being now disposed to speak with truth and honesty, my only doubt is whether the principle has not been carried too far. (Loud cheers). With respect to the internal state of the country, your lordships must recollect in what state it was when we succeeded to office. My lords, we now leave it in good circumstances in every respect; trade in a sound and healthy state, the manufactories generally employed, the credit of the country greatly improved, the revenue increasing; and all, with the exception of one interest, the agricultural interest, and to them the landlords themselves must give relief by a reduction of the rents,

in a generally healthy and greatly-improved state. My lords, the Political and Trades' Unions of which we have lately heard so much have disappeared, and that without Government calling on the legislature for any new or extraordinary powers. Your lordships will recollect how much we have been reproached for a want of energy in not introducing new and extraordinary laws in order to put down the Trades' Unions. We resisted all those applications; we exerted the law as it stood with a firm hand; the result has been successful; and in that instance I will most confidently appeal to your lordships and the country whether there can be any truth in those charges which have been brought against the Government, of a wish or disposition to call for new or extraordinary powers to apply to this country? (Hear). Had such been our wish the opportunity was not wanting. This, then, my lords is the statement I have to submit to you of the reason of my resignation, and in my own vindication. I have stated to your lordships the reasons of my resignation, and I review with satisfaction all that I have done, and the success that has attended my endeavours, and the state of the country generally. My lords, it has been said, nay, it has often been repeated, that nothing has been done. To those who have been in the habit of throwing out such insinuations I would put the question, was the Reform of Parliament nothing? Did the settlement of that difficult question, the slave trade, amount to nothing? Was the settlement of the East India question and the opening of the trade of that country and its neighbours to the enterprise of the British merchant, nothing? Was the settlement of the Bank question, nothing? Were the various improvements in the law, the merit of all which belonged to the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, nothing? Was the reform in the Irish church to be called nothing? And, looking at the last I have mentioned, can it be said, with any degree of truth, that the affairs of Ireland, and the interests of the people of that country, have been in any way

neglected? I appeal confidently to the country, now that I am leaving the service of his most gracious Majesty, whether during the time I have served him, much has not been done; and the only regret I feel in leaving is, that those measures for the amendment of the poor-laws, and the settlement of the tithes in Ireland, have not been brought to a final conclusion. My lords, the latter bill, if suffered to pass, will, I firmly believe, do more towards the pacification of Ireland than any other measure that we have introduced. (Cheers). I leave the Government at least with the satisfaction of having done the best in my power for the purpose of carrying into effect those measures of reform and retrenchment which I have considered necessary for the peace of the country. (Hear). I have incurred every species of opposition. (Hear). The manner in which I have performed my duty is before your lordships and the country; and all I ask is an acknowledgment that I have not been idle or remiss in the discharge of the duties of my situation, and that I have not wanted firmness to do what I thought right. (Hear). I have been attacked for not going far enough on the one hand, and on the other for having gone too far. My situation has not been an enviable one, standing as I did in this House deprived of the natural support which a minister of the crown has a right to expect. I feel myself that in such a situation the Government has done as much for the redemption of their pledges as it was possible for men to do; in fact, we have done more in the short space of time that we have held the reins of Government than has ever been done before in the space of half a century for the improvement of all the social institutions, general power, and condition of the country. (Cheers). We have had to contend with evils which have been the growth of ages, and acquired strength in proportion. It is, then, under these circumstances, and under the pressure of those new difficulties that I have detailed to you, that it has not been in my power to avoid that which has taken place, viz., the re-

signation into his Majesty's hands o that trust with which he was graciously pleased to honour me. In so doing have acted under the belief that the difficulties of the country, and which do not disparage, would be increased rather than abated by my continuing in office. I have only one other topic to advert to. It has been urged against me that I, more than any other Minister, have used my patronage as a Minister of the crown for the benefit of my own family. (Hear, hear). The noble Earl here observed that it was imputed to him that many members of his family, even only distant relations, got appointments under the Government. Some indeed, did get appointments from other members of the Government, not from him. He left office with a moderate fortune, adequate, however, to his wants, and with a large family; but not a shilling of the public money remained in his pocket, or in the pocket of any member of his family. Some of his relatives were placed certainly by him in public situations, but they were not sinecures; they were laborious situations. They discharged all the duties attached to them, and he would appeal to their lordships whether he was not justified by circumstances in so acting (hear), whether the individuals were not in every respect qualified for the situations, and might not have been selected to fill them even though unconnected with him? He would appeal to the country, and he felt confident that, in justice, it would be said the individuals whom he had promoted were not unworthy of it, nor had he any occasion to disguise his conduct. Another topic which had been made a ground of charge against him was the measures he proposed in regard to the church, and which, as far as in him lay, he endeavoured to promote. All he should say was, that they were honestly directed to the security and support of the church itself, and to the improvement of the country. With respect to the manner in which his church patronage had been employed, he would appeal to the right reverend bench whether, in the disposal of it, his first object was not to ascertain

the fitness of the person, and to see that he was in every way qualified for the discharge of his duties? When he said that no relatives of his retained anything on his quitting office, he must except one who would still remain on the bench behind (his brother, the Bishop of Hereford). He would appeal, however, to those who knew him best, who observed his conduct, whether he was unworthy of the station? (Hear, hear). That appointment, however, was not his. When taking leave of his Sovereign, on quitting office in 1832, his Majesty, as a mark of the confidence he had been graciously pleased to repose in him, desired that his right reverend relation should accept the bishopric then vacant. It was not for him to refuse what was so graciously offered. To his was subsequently added a stall in Westminster, a thing not unusual when a bishopric was a small one. The same course was pursued, and for the same reason, with respect to another right reverend prelate behind him (the Bishop of Exeter). With both promotions the income of his right reverend relative was not more than 4,000*l.* a year. He felt conscious that, in quitting office, his conduct would stand unimpeachable both before the House and the public. He should continue in the discharge of his public duties as long as circumstances required it, and while his Majesty had occasion for his service. Their lordships, however, must see that with respect to the Irish Tithe Bill, and other measures relating to the church, it would be impossible to proceed with them at present. With respect also to the bill then before them, the Irish Correction Bill, their lordships must see that it would not be advisable to send it up to the other House of Parliament until such time as a new administration was formed. It was contended in the other House that they could not proceed in the bill without the production of further documents; and it would not be prudent to enact such powers as this measure gave without knowing into whose hands they were to fall. What he should propose to their lordships was, to agree to the report at present,

but not to proceed to the third reading until things were placed in such a state as might render it likely that it would pass the other House of Parliament. He had no hesitation in taking upon himself the responsibility of saying that it was necessary in the present state of Ireland. The Poor-Laws Amendment Bill was a question of a quite different nature. It was not a party question, but one which had been forced on the attention of Government by the circumstances of the country, and was recommended, after diligent inquiry, by a commission appointed for the purpose. His intention was to propose the second reading of it on Friday next, when he would, to the best of his power, urge on their lordships the expediency of adopting its provisions. He said before that this would be the last act of his public life. Errors and failings he did not claim to be exempt from more than other men; but he trusted that those who best knew him would not deny that he endeavoured honestly to act up to his principles and professions, and that his conduct in advancing them did not deviate from the manly straightforward course.

The Duke of WELLINGTON said the noble earl had explained very clearly those causes which had induced him to tender his resignation of his office; and had not the noble earl adverted in the course of his speech to various other topics, not necessarily connected with this explanation, he should not have felt himself called upon to trouble their lordships with any observations. If the noble earl had not adverted to previous discussions he should have remained silent, and would be happy to have been relieved from the necessity of saying a word upon the present occasion. The noble earl stated clearly enough the reasons which led him to resign his situation into the hands of his Sovereign; but he did not touch at all, he did not even allude to, the causes which induced his colleagues to resign. He must confess he felt somewhat surprised that the noble earl had not thought proper to advert to this very important point, and to give their lordships some explana-

tion of it; for he must say that, considering the circumstances of the country, if ever there were men in an absolute necessity of continuing in the service of their Sovereign, the noble earl and his colleagues were in that necessity. (Hear, hear). This was one reason which induced him to rise upon the present occasion, for he could not help regretting and feeling disappointed that the noble earl had entirely abstained from any allusion to the resignation of his colleagues. Another reason for troubling their lordships upon the present occasion was that the noble earl had referred to a passage in the speech of a right hon. friend of his (Sir R. Peel) in the other House of Parliament. He concurred in the observations made by the noble earl as to the impropriety of calling for the production of private and confidential papers relating to Parliamentary affairs; but he begged of their lordships to call to mind the circumstances that passed in reference to these papers. A right hon. gentleman in the other House of Parliament (Mr. Littleton) in the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland received certain communications from him on the subject of a bill about to be introduced into Parliament, and that right hon. gentleman, then in the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant, made communications to an hon. and learned gentleman, a member of the other House, with whom he should have never entered into conference. (Hear, hear). That right hon. gentleman stated, in his place in the other House, that the Coercion Bill ought to be proposed to Parliament without some of the clauses that were found in it as it passed in the last session. The correspondence laid upon the table proved very clearly to any person who read it that something more must have passed than appeared in that correspondence. The right hon. gentleman to whom he before alluded (Mr. Littleton) said there was some further correspondence which, though it might not bear out the assertion that the Lord-Lieutenant was of opinion that there were other clauses in the Coercion Bill that it would not be necessary to press,

still that such was a natural inference from the correspondence, and that though the Lord-Lieutenant had not drawn the inference, others might do so. Under such circumstances, and when so much had been already disclosed, Parliament had a right to know what were the opinions actually given, and not have the communications left in such a state as must render them unsatisfactory and unintelligible. Was it allowable that Ministers should enter into discussions on public affairs in the way of private correspondence, and then come forward and say to Parliament, "You may have part of this correspondence, but not so much as will enable you to understand clearly what the bearing of it is"? It was in such a state of circumstances that his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) required the production of further information, and he contended that he was perfectly justified in doing so. From what the noble Earl stated upon the present occasion it turned out that the correspondence was, in point of fact, what he suspected it to have been, and that the Lord-Lieutenant merely said, "If such and such should be the case, if such should be the circumstances in England, I will endeavour to do without these clauses in the Coercion Bill." They who objected to this bill, however, had a right to be informed of the peculiar circumstances which drew from the Lord-Lieutenant the expression of any such opinion. It was only fair that Parliament should have the whole correspondence before them when one right hon. Gentleman referred to it in defence of his own conduct, and another hon. Gentleman in support of the views he took in opposition to the measure. Up to this moment the matter was left in an unsatisfactory state. He repeated it, and would say again with confidence, that Ministers had hitherto stated no reasons that could justify his Majesty's servants in their resignation of office. He should have felt happy if the course of observation pursued by the noble Earl had been such as would have freed him from the necessity of entering into any discussion of points not imme-

diately connected with the explanation of the noble Earl; but the noble Earl, without any necessity that he could see, having entered into other matters, their lordships would allow him to trespass for a few minutes longer upon their attention. The noble Earl adverted to the circumstances of the country at the time he entered upon office in the year 1830, and the difficulties in which the country was then placed; but the noble Earl said nothing about the revolution which took place at that period in France and in Brussels. The noble Earl never had the grace to state in justice to those whom he succeeded why this country was then in such a state of difficulty. He must remind their Lordships and the noble Earl that this country was not in a satisfactory state even late in the last spring. Had they not then large bodies of men marching in regular array through the metropolis, at different times, to the great inconvenience and alarm of the peaceable inhabitants? (Hear, from Lord Holland). He ventured to say that more blood had been shed in England, more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects, during the three years and a half since the noble Earl and his colleagues came into office, than in any period of equal duration (as we understood) from 1780 up to the present time. The noble Earl said that one of their pledges on entering office was to preserve the peace of Europe, and that this pledge had been redeemed, that the peace of Europe was preserved. However the noble Earl might take credit to himself for his exertions to preserve peace, he would not hesitate to say, that after all he had done, or attempted to do, the peace of Europe was not a bit more secure at the present moment than it was on the day the noble Earl entered upon office. There was another promise made by the noble Earl when he took office, which the noble Earl upon this occasion seemed to have entirely forgotten. Upon that occasion the noble Earl said that, with respect to other nations, the principle on which the Government was determined to act was a principle of non-intervention. Of this the noble Earl

assured the House on the very first night that he entered upon office. Now how had this promise been kept by the noble Earl? (Hear, hear). Were there no allusions to the breach of this principle throughout the whole of their diplomatic intercourse? Were there not complaints from every portion of Europe of the intervention of this country; intervention too of the worst kind; of that kind most likely to prove injurious to their best interests, intervention in the domestic quarrels of nations (as we understood)? Even on that very evening papers were to be laid upon the table in which would be found stronger instances of intervention than were to be found, at any former period, with the affairs of any country in Europe, except in a time of war. The engagements into which the noble Earl and his colleagues had entered imposed upon this country the necessity of perpetual intervention in the affairs of countries with which they had no more to do than with any other countries in Europe. The noble Earl, in reviewing the measures of his Government, brought up again the question of West India slavery, and said that question, so long an insuperable difficulty, had been finally and satisfactorily settled. It was yet too early to say that it was a satisfactory, or would turn out a successful settlement of the question. It remained yet to be seen, whether the noble Earl was right or wrong, and whether, after an expenditure of twenty millions, the desired object would be obtained. He hoped to God the event would prove that the noble Earl was right; but it was too soon to boast of a final settlement of that great question until they had further time to see how it worked. He might make the same observation with respect to the charter of the East India Company, and the terms upon which it was renewed. The China trade was thrown open, and other important changes were made. Here also, as in the case of West India slavery, they must wait till they saw how the change worked before any person could pronounce confidently whether it was for good or for evil.

The noble Earl adverted to the settlement of the Bank question. That arrangement was effected in a great measure through a very voluminous and tedious correspondence, but it did not appear to have been so clearly arranged as to the terms of renewal as to exclude some doubts and serious difficulties. There was a difficulty arising out of one of the clauses of that very bill now under consideration. Had the noble Earl not adverted unnecessarily as he thought, to these points, it would have saved him the very unpleasant duty of making any observations upon them. The noble Earl in the course of his speech, made some observations upon the sort of opposition with which he had invariably been met upon all occasions in that House. For his own part he could conscientiously say that he never was disposed to oppose any measures of the noble Earl unless they were of such a nature that he could not, consistently with a sense of duty, give them his support. Some of them it was quite impossible he could approve of, and from others he differed in some important circumstances, though he might concur in others; but he was always happy to support the noble Earl when he could do so conscientiously. He supported him last session in one of his measures, and was prepared in the present session to support him in the Coercion Bill and the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, if not altered in such a way as he could not approve of. He never opposed the noble Earl's Government but with pain, and from an honest conviction that he was not pursuing the course he thought most conducive to the welfare of the country.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that after the extraordinary speech of the noble Duke who had just sat down, he must trespass upon the indulgence of their lordships for a few minutes. That he rose under the influence of feelings exceedingly different from those under which he laboured when his noble friend resumed his seat was a point which he should not attempt to disguise from the House. He partook of what he then supposed to be the universal feel-

ing, and what everything which had passed subsequently convinced him was the very general feeling of the House (hear); and that feeling would have indisposed him, indeed it would have deprived him of the capability to enter into a political contention, a party discussion on the merits of a speech which was an explanation merely, and not an attack. He felt surprised, but there was no accounting for taste,—he felt surprised that this occasion should have been selected for bringing forward such a discussion; and he was confident that if, by any means, the sense of their lordships could be taken on this subject, on this occasion at least he should find himself in a large majority. Nevertheless, the noble duke had dragged him by force into the discussion, unless indeed noble lords, who were judges, deemed it a part of justice that they should hear only one side, and that side the side of impeachment and attack—of impeachment against measures, and of attack against individual Ministers; and that they should dispense with the somewhat inconvenient task of hearing the other side. He had never heard a speech less calculated to excite angry feeling than that which had just been delivered by his noble friend, or less calculated to kindle and increase political animosity. (Hear). He had never heard an address more touching, in painting, more candid in pretension, more fair and open in disclosure—one in which blame against anybody, and more particularly against the noble duke, was more cautiously and carefully shunned. (Hear, hear). His noble friend had stated his reasons for his unhappy resolution—for so he (the Lord Chancellor) must call it—of retiring from office, a resolution which no man could deplore more sincerely than he did; and in taking leave of their lordships in his public capacity—in laying down his office—in stating the reasons why he laid down his official life—his noble friend by some slip of the tongue had called it his political life, but God forbid that his political life should yet close for many a long year. His noble friend, in laying down before their lordships his official

life in the House of Lords, in taking leave of his colleagues on the one side and his opponents on the other, did, he confessed it, and so too would his noble friend confess it, indulge in a retrospect of what he had done for his country, and of what he could trust to in his retirement for the continuance of his name in veneration among his friends and countrymen. (Loud cheers). His noble friend had taken the opportunity, much exasperated as he was by the foulest and falsest calumnies that public men had ever had to struggle against (hear, hear), to step aside and overwhelm his base and malignant calumniators, by telling to the world the simple truth, that he retired from office, he and his family, not only not richer, but absolutely poorer than he was was before his accession to power, albeit that for three years and upwards he had enjoyed the patronage of office. Was there anything so unusual in one so circumstanced taking a retrospect of his public life while in office? Was there any thing extraordinary in his noble Friend's casting a glance at the charges made by his accusers, which could be fairly said to call forth such comments as the noble Duke felt it his duty to make? But his noble Friend had been represented as making an attack, and as calling for a defence. The noble Duke seemed to think that this attack was made in the noble Earl's allusion to the state of the nation. But would that be said to be an attack which consisted only in his noble Friend's throwing out the challenge in his own manly manner to his accusers, and in an expression of his perfect readiness to meet those accusers on any day when they might bring forward any charges against any measure of his Government? But nevertheless this was the ground taken by the noble Duke for his comments, whether with good feeling or with bad feeling, or without any feeling of either kind, and the consequence was, that he (the Lord Chancellor), who had come down to that House, intending only to be a silent listener to an explanation, was dragged in as a party in a debate. Now on one point on which the noble

Duke had touched he fully concurred with him, and he would take leave to say, that of all men who had ever held office, the present Ministry would be the most without excuse if they could think of leaving the service of their King and their country unless through an unavoidable necessity. (Hear, hear) This had ever been his opinion since he came into office—it was his opinion to the present hour; and he felt that he should not discharge his duty if, at all sacrifice of his comfort—at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so it might be, of his own peace of mind, he did not stand by that gracious Monarch and that country whose support—whose cordial and hearty support—he had received during the three years and a half of which he had been a member of the Government. (Hear). After having said this, he need not add that he had not tendered his resignation. (This last sentence appeared to produce no slight sensation, and was followed by an audible titter along the opposition benches, several peers on which seemed to make it the subject of remark amongst each other. This was perceived by the noble and learned Lord, who went on to say)—Did their lordships think that there was anything very peculiarly merry or amusing in being a Minister at the present time? (Hear). If they did, he would invite them to take a part in the reconstruction of the Government. (“Hear,” and laughter). But he thought they knew better. If they were not aware of the annoyance which must attend such a situation, he was; and he would tell those noble Lords that such was his feeling with respect to office, that nothing but a sense of the most imperative duty could have kept him in office one hour after the resignation of his noble Friend. (Hear). His noble Friend had made out his own case; but, according to the opinion of the noble Duke, no sufficient explanation had been given of the resignation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He the (Lord Chancellor) would only say, that he differed widely from his noble Friend (Lord Althorp) as to his resignation. He did think that his noble

Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought not to have resigned. No man could admire more than he did the talent and integrity of his noble Friend, and he knew that he did but echo the opinion of the country when he said that a more honourable man in his public and private relations—that one more upright as a Minister, or more virtuous as a man, did not exist in these kingdoms. (Hear, hear). His noble friend had from an over-sense of high-feeling been induced to take a step which he (the Lord Chancellor) trusted his noble friend and the country would not see occasion to rue. He, however, cast no blame, he imputed none. He only said that he differed from his noble friend; but he could not follow his example. That example was not followed by any other member of the Government, save the noble earl at its head. These two were the only resignations which had been tendered. What he had thus said would, he hoped, be considered a sufficient explanation on these points. But the noble duke seemed to think that the noble earl (Grey) had attacked a right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel) in another place for having called for the production of certain private and confidential communications made to the Government as if they were *publici juris*. There was no attack, the fact only was stated, and that course was objected to by his noble friend, and most properly objected to. In speaking on this subject he (the Lord Chancellor) spoke not for one Government, but for all Governments, when he protested against the doctrine laid down by the noble duke in his friendly zeal for his right hon. friend in the other House. Was it, he would ask, to be endured that a Government, acting on its own responsibility, and getting its information from various sources, and amongst others from members of its own body, should be required to produce, not only the grounds on which they came to the conclusion as to a particular measure, but also the fact whether at any time any of them had held a different opinion before that conclusion was formed? Were they now to be told that the evidence furnished as

to the necessity of the renewal of the Coercion Bill, as it was called, was no sufficient, but that they must also have the fact whether, at any time, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had held a different opinion as to the necessity of the whole or of parts of that bill? If the opinions of individual members of the Government, secretly and confidentially communicated, were thus to be called for, there would be an end of all government. Supposing there had been two meetings of the cabinet on the subject, and that on the first it was a matter of doubt, but that on the next all doubts were removed, would it be a fair ground of objection to the measure to say that it could not be brought forward until the opinions of individuals on the first day were produced? "But then," said the objectors, "we must not only have the conclusion to which you as a Government came, but we must also know the opinions which some of you held on some particular day, before you came to that conclusion." This then was the opinion of those wise, those sensible, those logical statesmen, who by the way were prepared to go all the lengths with the bill from what they had heard of the decision of the Government on the Saturday, but who now stopped short, and called for the opinions which were held on the Friday. (Here some noble Lord expressed dissent). He would demonstrate it in a moment. They had the letter of the Lord-Lieutenant on one day, stating the necessity of the measure. Now what did it signify as to the bill itself what might have been said or done on a former day? It was just as absurd as to object to the conclusion to which the Government might have come on the Saturday, because it did not produce the opinions which might have been given on the Friday. The noble Duke had felt it necessary to enter into the question of foreign politics, though there was not a single sentence in all that his noble friend had said which referred to the situation of this country respecting its foreign relations. If the noble Duke had conceived that that one sentence had justified his reference to our foreign

policy, he wished him joy of the discovery. The noble Duke seemed to think that there was nothing in having kept at peace with all Europe in the last three years and a half. Now, what had been said by an hon. Gentleman, a member of the other House, to whose opinion he presumed the noble Duke would attach some weight? The hon. Member to whom he alluded had once been member for, he believed, Taunton. He did not know whether he still represented the same place, but if not he must suppose that he sat for some other borough, for he could not believe that with the peculiar opinions which he once held, he could be now a county member. His opinions were once so strong against the corn laws that he almost headed the mob against that measure in 1815. Of course he could not expect that the hon. Gentleman could now sit for a county, and still less for such a county as Essex; or that he could have influence enough to get returned for that county, and to defeat his noble Friend (Lord Western). But what said his hon. Friend, the hon. Member to whom he alluded, for he still called him his hon. Friend; they were still on habits of private friendship, though he differed from his hon. friend, or rather he should say that his hon. Friend differed from him, for he went away from those opinions which he had once held, but which he (the Lord Chancellor) still continued to hold, but what said his hon. Friend on the accession of the present administration? He remarked that if they kept the peace of Europe for three months it would be a miracle. Well, they had kept it now for three years — for three years and seven months; so that in fact they had three years and four months to spare, and yet they counted it no miracle, (hear, hear, and a laugh), and he (the Lord Chancellor) saw no chance of the peace of Europe being interrupted, unless something stepped in for which they were not prepared to mar the policy of the present administration. Unless some unforeseen interposition of that kind should occur, he would say that the peace of Europe was more secure at the

present moment than when they came into office; and he should consider it no slight praise to their successors in office, whoever they might be, to say in three years and a half hence that they had kept the peace of Europe as well as it was left on the 9th of July, 1834. That he thought would be doing something for which they would deserve well of their country. He did not think that he ought to trespass on the time of their lordships by any further remarks, but there was one point on which he would beg to offer one or two observations. He alluded to what had been sometimes said by a most able and intelligent individual, a member of the other House, out of whose book the noble Duke had taken a leaf on this occasion. In following the example of the hon. and learned person, to whom he alluded, the noble Duke made his remark, not of course in order to attack, not to accuse the Government of his noble Friend, but no doubt out of pure kindness, and as a proof of the disposition of which he spoke as existing at that (the opposition) side of the House to give every support to the Government of his noble Friend, or rather not to oppose it, except on conscientious grounds: that remark was, that since the days of Lord George Gordon's mob in 1780 more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects had not been shed in this country than since the accession of his noble Friend's administration. Now, if the noble Duke had complained, if he urged this as a matter of blame, as showing that the Government was cruel or sanguinary, or too severe or too harsh, the complaint would be understood; but it no doubt was not intended to be confined within the walls of that House, but that the echo of the charge should rebound beyond its walls, like some of the charges of the very eloquent orator to whom he had alluded, and whom the noble Duke himself had blamed for appealing to the excitable feelings of his countrymen in a way which he must know would soon be carried out of doors. He would say that the charge, taken by itself, was one of unmitigated blame, but taken in

connexion with the circumstances out of which it arose, no blame could attach to the Government. He would ask the noble Duke to point out any one case in which the law had been carried into execution to its extreme extent by which it had not been called for in the general feeling of judges and jury by whom the case had been tried, and then let the noble Duke say whether the Government deserved that blame which had been sneeringly cast upon it for too great severity, and for having shed more blood than all of its predecessors during more than ten times the period of its administration. His noble Friend the Lord Chief Justice of England was present to defend himself. He (Lord Denman) knew the pains that were taken by the cabinet, the hours they had sat in deliberation before the final execution of the law was ordered on any of the condemned parties, and he could bear testimony to the fact that the few who were executed were much below the number on whom, in the opinion of the reverend judges who tried the cases, the law ought to have been allowed to take its course. This charge was, no doubt, not made by the noble Duke to cast blame upon the Government, but merely, as the noble Duke had said, to show that the noble Earl at the head of the Government had had no easy time of it. His noble Friend (Earl Grey) did not require to be reminded of that fact. He was fully convinced of it before the noble Duke had thought it necessary to allude to it. As far as he (the Lord Chancellor) was concerned in this matter, as a member of the Government, he was anxious to be put upon his trial with respect to it, and he should be able to show, whenever the subject came for discussion, that if the Government had allowed the law to take its course on ten times the number who actually did suffer, they would have had the general feeling of the judges and jury and the country in their favour; but they had tempered justice with mercy, and they had allowed the law to take its course only on those whom it would have been in-

justice to the public to suffer to escape. The consequence of the course which they had pursued was, that internal peace was restored to the country, and his noble friend quitted office with the pleasing consciousness that the state of the country was happy, contrasted with that in which the noble duke had left it on his retirement from the administration. The noble duke had alluded to difficulties which he said had occurred in the administration, and he referred as causes of them to the revolutions of Paris and of Brussels. As to the latter he (the Lord Chancellor) would say nothing. He had on a former occasion expressed his disapprobation of it, and he was still of the same opinion. It was an overthrow of a monarch and a dismemberment of Europe for which he saw no sufficient cause. But the revolution of Paris as it was called, though he did not call it a revolution; he could no more call it a revolution than if the noble lord (Rolle) connected with the county of Devon, and who appeared to dissent from what he said, should become a leading member of the Government of this country, and should begin by putting down the press, by upsetting the leading principles of the Magna Charta, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act without the authority of Parliament, and by dissolving the Parliament itself without suffering it to meet even once after it had been called together; he could call that a revolution which would put an end to the noble lord's power, and to that Government which upheld him. But he must apply it to the noble lord, for no king in this country would do or sanction such acts; but if he did, as he should feel greatly disposed to do, pull down the noble lord from his usurped power and from his violent inroads upon the constitution, the noble lord would no doubt be sent to some convenient place of custody on the coast of Devonshire; yet in all this there would be no revolution. The noble lord would be called the revolutionist, and he (the Lord Chancellor) would be styled the restorer of the constitution. In this sense he looked upon the transactions

at Paris, not as a revolution, but as a restoration. But call it revolution if they pleased, he considered it a very proper one. The late dynasty of France had deserved to cease to govern that country, for they were unfit to govern, and the people deserved to be free, for they had the courage to fight for their freedom, and were not afraid to break those chains which imbecile tyrants had tried to weave round their necks. (Hear hear). That was a revolution which was not likely to give much disturbance to this Government. The noble duke had alluded to the West India question as one for which the present Government ought not to claim any credit until they saw how the measure would work. He (the Lord Chancellor) did not think it was necessary to wait any long time to judge of the effect of that measure. There was every reason to hope and expect that it would work well; but without waiting any length of time he thought they ought not to withhold from his noble friend, from party or from personal motives, the praise which was justly his due for that blessed act. (Hear, hear). The noble duke had on this occasion, he (the Lord Chancellor) knew not why, felt it necessary to act on the defensive. He did not know that the noble duke had acted more so since the year 1811. The noble duke had taken on himself the defence of their lordships, but he (the Lord Chancellor) did not know that any attack had been made on their lordships, to need the noble duke's defence. His noble friend (Earl Grey) had not made any attack on their lordships. All he had said was, that in his administration he had had difficulties to struggle with. Surely their lordships would not take that as an attack upon them. They, he took for granted, could not think for a moment that any of those difficulties had been raised by themselves. The noble duke had declared, that he had agreed with the measures of the noble earl's administration where he could, and only opposed it where he could not conscientiously go along with it, and no doubt their lordships at that (the opposition)

side partook of the same feeling towards the administration of his noble friend. His noble friend had cast no blame on any part that was taken by that side. No doubt the feeling was amongst their lordships such as the noble duke described it; but it somehow happened that with all their good feelings their lordships had opposed the Government wherever they could. ("No, no," from the opposition side). Your lordships (continued the noble and learned lord) may say "No" at this side, but we at the other side think differently. (Hear). I have no doubt whatever that your lordships acted conscientiously, and because you wished, as the noble duke has stated, to give your support to the Government of my noble friend, where you could. This disposition to support the Government was illustrated in the case of some bills which had no particular political bearing, in the Local Jurisdiction Bill, for instance. In the case of that bill, your lordships allowed it to be read a second time. You allowed it to go a stage further, and to pass through the committee, in order that it might have the advantage of your lordships' judicial wisdom, and that you might see how far it could be improved. You allowed it to go a stage further, and the framer of it could have no notion that it was not your lordships' intention to give it the full sanction of your judicial experience, by allowing it to pass; but just at the twelfth hour, in the very last stage, when I thought the bill secure, I found an unusual bustle going on in the neighbourhood of this House. Correspondence was carried on to a great extent by the general post, and the twopenny messengers and couriers were seen passing in great numbers through the streets in our neighbourhood, which seemed too confined for the crowds which came down here from all quarters. Even the judicial business of the morning was for a time interrupted by the numbers who came down here to deliver in proxies. When I saw this I at once gave up the bill as lost (hear, hear), though I could not conceive why the decision as to its fate had been reserved to that late stage. It

was, however, so arranged, and the bill was lost at that stage. I do not blame any of your lordships for having taken that course. I have no doubt it was done from the pure desire of giving the Government of my noble Friend all the support you conscientiously could. I will not for a moment suppose that it was done with any view to embarrass the Government. The bill was founded on the report of some six Tory commissioners, who would have carried its principle much further than I was willing to go with it; but, nevertheless, its fate was such as I have described. My noble Friend made no charge, or imputed no blame for any embarrassment which was occasioned; all he did was to express his regret that any such embarrassment should have existed. I do not feel it necessary to enter upon the question of the Reform Bill, to which the noble Duke has referred. (It was here intimated that the Duke of Wellington had not adverted to that measure). Well, I thought the noble Duke had expressly alluded to it, but I may infer that he alluded to it, and include it amongst those measures in which the noble Duke would have supported the Government if he could agree with them. But at all events I may allude to it thus far, that there were some divisions on it against its movers, that one of these was in the committee; and it was only when its conductors threatened to cease to go on with the bill that two of its most determined opponents declared that they were ready to bring in a similar bill with some slight modifications. This was another proof of the dispositions of your lordships to support the administration of my noble Friend. I do not think it necessary for me to trespass on your lordships' time with any further remarks on what has fallen from the noble Duke. My lords, I must before I conclude again express my deep regret that the determination of my noble Friend to retire from office is final. This is a regret in which I am sure very many of your lordships participate, and in this feeling I am satisfied I might command a majority of the House. But my sorrow is the more

deep when I know that my noble Friend is still equal, from his robust understanding, from his undiminished ability, and his purely honourable and manly mind, to all the duties of official life; that in every quality of head and heart he excels every statesman of the age, and while I regret that he should retire, I may hope that he may be still spared to the country for many years. My lords, I who have known my noble Friend for thirty years, who have latterly lived with him daily and hourly, who have seen him in his unprepared moments, whereas your lordships may have seen him in moments of greater preparation, I will say, and I can unhesitatingly and gladly bear my exulting testimony, that I never knew him in more perfect intellect, in greater capacity or power to guide the helm of the state, than he is at this present moment. That my noble Friend should, in thus taking his official leave of your lordships and retiring from the administration, appear somewhat dispirited, that he should seem to have somewhat less than his usual share of bodily strength, is what may be expected; it is what I have often seen within the last year and a half, when I have known him to act in distrust of his own force and great power of mind. That he should now court retirement, which, in spite of all he has said, I hold to be premature, I look on as a cruel calamity to the country, of which he is the brightest ornament, and one of whose most precious and most brilliant possessions is my noble friend's public character. My lords, unlike the giddy character of the people of a neighbouring land, who will on one day fall down and worship the idol of their own creation, but who on another day, when his claims to veneration are increased, will cast away that worship, and break to pieces the idol they themselves have fashioned—I say, my lords, unlike to these, the rational, the sober-minded people of this country, I mean the people of Britain, including, of course, the Irish, know the value of my noble friend; they rejoice in his character, and deem it their pride and pleasure to give him their undivided confidence;

and it is my firm and heartfelt conviction, that for half a century there will have dawned no more gloomy day than that which first announces to the British people the retirement of my noble friend,—that he has ceased to be their chief in all measures of rational and just improvement,—their moderator, when their zeal and unformed opinions would lead them too far, and on all occasions their advocate and protector, and let me add, as truly the Minister after their own heart as he was certainly the servant of the King's gracious choice. (Cheers).

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

BENNETT, R., Worcester, draper.
 BIELFIELD, J. H., St. Martin's-lane, toyman.
 CORMIE, J., Burslem, Staffordshire, manufacturer of earthenware.
 DAVEY, G. C., New Church-street, Lisson-grove, linen-draper.
 ELDERTON, C. F., Parson's-green, Fulham, wax-bleacher.
 FINCHER, W. & F., Ivy-bridge, Devonshire, paper-manufacturers.
 FRANKLIN, T., Walsall, Staffordshire, currier.
 LEACH, H. & G., Romsey, Hampshire, iron mongers.
 MOSS, R. & I. Brunt, Leek, Staffordshire, silk-manufacturers.
 NEWBURY, J., Reading, Berkshire, scrivener.
 PLIMPTON, J., Finsbury-square, merchant.
 SHARPLES, T., Liverpool, ironmonger.
 TAYLOR, J. & S., Castleton Moor and Manchester, Lancashire, commission agents.
 TRAFFORD, N., Oxford, Cook.

TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

DYBALL, D., Cambridge, oilman.
 EVANS, J. J., St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, apothecary.

BANKRUPTS.

ARTHUR, J. H., Garlick-hill, wholesale-stationer.
 BRADY, S., Kingston-upon-Thames, grocer.
 COX, W., Wombourne, Staffordshire, miller.
 CURTIS, H. P., Romsey, Hampshire, scrivener.
 DODSON, T., St. Paul's Church-yard, needle-manufacturer.
 FULLERTON, W. A., Liverpool, mariner.
 HOOPER, F. W., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, carver.

IOUGHIN, P., Liverpool, joiner.
 LUMB, C. P., Leeds, commission-agent.
 PITMAN, R., Park-lane, Piccadilly, saddler.
 ROBERTS, R., Liverpool, ship-chandler.
 SMITH, T., Edgeware-road, hosier.
 WATTS, L., Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, stationer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CAMPBELL, J. and Co., Glasgow, curriers.
 MONCREIFF, R. S., Edinburgh, wine-merchant.

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BOWE, T., Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, linen-draper.
 FRANKLIN, G., Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, carrier.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHWIN, W., Aston-juxta, Birmingham, gilt-toy-manufacturer.
 BICKERDIKE, G., Huddersfield, victualler.
 CHAMBERS, T., Birmingham, publican.
 DANIEL, P. H., Razees, Hertfordshire, cider-merchant.
 DEVONPORT, J., Nantwich, Cheshire, shoe-manufacturer.
 DRAGE, J., Northampton, horse-dealer.
 HOLDEN, R., Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire.
 PRIOR, H., Ludgate-hill, stationer.
 SUTTON, G., New-street, Borough-road, builder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

WATT, J., and D. PIRIE, Glasgow, grain merchants.

TUESDAY, JULY 8.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

URKINGTON, T., and Winlaw, Leeds, tin-plate-workers.

BANKRUPTS.

GOULDING, J., Basinghall-street, woollen-draper.
 MESSENGER, F., Liverpool, corn-merchant.
 MITCHELL, G., Bury-street, St. James's street, tailor.
 PALMER, G., Southampton, tailor.
 PROUD, W., Bishop Auckland, Durham, builder.
 SMITH, J., Rotherham, Yorkshire, grocer.

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BRIGGS, W., Richmond, Surrey, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

BREWER, R., Walsall, Staffordsh., builder.
 CASE, H., Fore-street, grocer.
 CLISBY, T. W., Brighton, builder.
 COADE, J., Devonport, grocer.
 FLINT, J., Siltoe, Bedfordshire, shopkeeper.
 HOLMAN, T., Devonport, printer.
 HUGHES, R. O., Carnarvon, druggist.
 MYERS, H., White-street, Cutler-street, Houndsditch, wholesale-stationer.
 NORMAN, W., Mendham, Norfolk, wine-merchant.
 NORVALL, T., King-street, West Smithfield, victualler.
 OGDEN, J. E., Elland, Yorkshire, corn-miller.
 PARKHOUSE, W. D., Tiverton, Devonshire, ironmonger.
 SALTHOUSE, W., Poulton, Lancashire, maltster.
 THORN, W. R., Southend, Essex, victualler.
 TURNER, W., Purleigh, Essex, carpenter.
 VINEY, J., Crouch-end, Hornsey, carpenter.

TUESDAY, JULY 15.

INSOLVENTS.

EVANS, W. S., Robert-street, Bedford-row, bricklayer.
 MASON, S., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, victualler.
 RICHMOND, J. G., Great Scotland-yard, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, G., Woolwich, linen-draper.
 BARNES, J., Manchester, pork-butcher.
 BUCKLEY, T., and R. Kennan, Liverpool, merchants.
 CHESTER, G. G., Shrewsbury, tailor.
 DRAYTON, J. and C., St. John-street, Clerk-enwell, woollen-drapers.
 EDWARDS, F., Manchester, publican.
 EMMITT, W., Bourne, Lincolnshire, grocer.
 EVANS, J. J., St. Neot's, Huntingdonsire, surgeon.
 GOODMAN, J., Atcham, near Shrewsbury, innkeeper.
 GUMMOW, W., Weymsuth-street, Portland-place, furnishing-ironmonger.
 HOLROYD, W. R., Great Scotland-yard, Westminster, plumber.
 LE COUTEUR, J., St. Peter's-port, Guernsey, woollen-draper.
 LANG, W., Jun., High Buckingham, Devonshire, and Exeter, glover.
 MALL, J., Lantegloss, Cornwall, miller.
 PHILLIPS, T., Wellclose-square, Lower Thames-st., & Cox's-quay, Lower Thames-street, Nighterman.
 SANDELL, E., Bristol, stay-maker.
 THOMPSON, J., West Harding-street, book-binder.
 TURNER, F. E., Liverpool, wholesale-druggist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CAW, J., George-street, Edinburgh, haberdasher.

McLAREN, D., Edinburgh, merchant-tailor.

SKELTON, J., Kilmross, coach-contractor.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 14.—

We had this morning a large show of samples of Wheat from Essex and Suffolk, but from Kent the supplies were more moderate. The millers evincing little disposition to take off even the better qualities at last week's currency, a decline of 1s. to 2s. per qr. was submitted to, and the middling descriptions very difficult of disposal at 2s. per qr. less money. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

Barley continues in short supply, and hardly equal to the demand for grinding qualities, which, in consequence, fully supported their former rates. In bonded parcels nothing doing, and prices nominal.

Malt was extremely dull, and sales to any extent could not have been effected, unless at a decline of 1s. per qr.

The supply of Irish Oats since the close of last week, having considerably increased, and several parcels of English and Scotch being left over unsold from Friday, the trade ruled heavy, and dealers and consumers evincing little anxiety to purchase, prices gave way 6d. to 1s. per qr., and the market closed dull. In bonded qualities there was hardly any inquiry, but holders were not inclined to recede in their demands.

Beans came sparingly to hand, and were unaltered in value.

Two or three parcels of new white Peas were at market, which were held at from 50s. to 52s. For some extra fine for seed 5l. was asked. The currency therefore of the few parcels on hand is fully supported. Hog Peas met less inquiry, and were rather tending downwards in price. A new parcel obtained 39s. last week.

The Flour trade was firm, and fresh ship's quality remaining scarce, fully supported its former quotations.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk | 44s. to 47s. |
| — White | 47s. to 54s. |
| — Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire | 40s. to 45s. |
| — White, ditto | 45s. to 50s. |
| — West Country red | 41s. to 46s. |
| — White, ditto | 46s. to 49s. |
| — Northumberland and Berwickshire red | 38s. to 43s. |
| — White, ditto | 40s. to 45s. |
| — Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red | 36s. to 41s. |
| — White, ditto | 42s. to 43s. |
| — Irish red | 35s. to 39s. |
| — White, ditto | 39s. to 41s. |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Barley, Malting | 30s. to 32s. |
| — Chevalier | 30s. to 32s. |
| — Disuilling | 30s. to 31s. |
| — Grinding | 27s. to 30s. |
| Malt, new | 37s. to 47s. |
| — Norfolk, pale | 50s. to 55s. |
| — Ware | 52s. to 58s. |
| Peas, Hog and Grey | 36s. to 40s. |
| — Maple | 40s. to 42s. |
| — White Boilers | 45s. to 49s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 36s. |
| — Harrow | 31s. to 36s. |
| — Tick | 31s. to 34s. |
| Oats, English Feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| — Short, small | 23s. to 25s. |
| — Poland | 25s. to 25s. |
| — Scotch, common | 23s. to 25s. |
| — Potato | 26s. to 28s. |
| — Berwick | 25s. to 27s. |
| Irish, Galway, &c. | 22s. to 23s. |
| — Potato | 25s. to 26s. |
| — Black | 22s. to 23s. |
| Bran, per 16 bushels | 11s. to 12s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Butter, Dorset | 40s. to —s. per cwt. |
| — Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| — York | 38s. to —s. |
| Cheese, Dble. Gloucester | 48s. to 68s. |
| — Single ditto | 41s. to 48s. |
| — Cheshire | 54s. to 74s. |
| — Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Lams, Westmoreland | 50s. to 60s. |
| — Cumberland | 46s. to 56s. |

SMITHFIELD, July 11.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock, was, both as to numbers and quality, for the time of year, moderately good. In the early part of the day trade was unusually dull, but the salesmen seeming disposed to submit to but little abatement, beef ultimately began to move off slowly, at a depression of 2d. per stone; Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, quite as slowly, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a third of the beasts were short-jorns; at least three-sixths about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Welsh runts; and the remaining about equal numbers of Scots and Irish beasts, and Town's-end Cows, with a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of Southdown and white-faced crosses, about a fourth Southdowns; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breeds, and horned and polled Norfolk, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 24.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 26TH, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



MY HEALTH.

CERTAINLY to my readers (and I need care nothing about any body else in this writing) the most interesting matter is the state of my health, and that state is this: that my cough, which reduces me pretty nearly to hoarseness, will not quit me until the wind shift from the east to the south and the south-west. The experience of fifty years assures me of this. When I was young, I cared less about the matter. I was hoarse, and it did not signify whether I was or not. I beat my way through it, and had more strength in proportion, to bear up against the attack. It is a curious thing; it has nothing at all to do with the lungs; never affects the breast; its great symptom is, and I know nothing else about it, that there is a tickling in the throat, just below the chin, producing a very constant inclination to cough. This cough is not to be qualified by any thing that can be done to it: it never has been stopped, but by south and south-westerly winds and rain. It was just the same in New Brunswick; just the same in Pennsylvania; just the same in Long Island. I have very seldom missed it in any year; but I should have missed it this year, if I and my secretary had not been so busy, as not to attend to the circumstance that the careless wench had been heaping on coals in an American fire-place, till we were both pretty nearly suffocated; and those who pretend to laugh at our not perceiving this, know very little of what it is to be anxiously engaged in labour such as we were performing. At this moment, I feel just as I have always

felt at this stage of this cough. Wanting sleep is the great thing of all: it is its great mischief. Perhaps I sleep several hours in the night; but, all is uncertainty: when I lie down to sleep, though very sleepy, I cannot go to sleep for fear that the cough will come. In other respects, I am very well; but, here is quite enough; besides the circumstance that I dare not go out of doors, while this wind lasts, though I want to be out from morning till night. This cough is a source of great vexation; never was there a time when I so much wished for the absence of it: those events are taking place, which I have long foreseen and foretold; and I ought to be present while they take place. What! the collection of tithes abolished in England: church-rates abolished in England: dissenters admitted to degrees in the universities by a vote of the House of Commons! I a member of that House, and stuck up here, without the power of going to witness the scene, and almost without the power to dictate to another pen a remark or two upon the subject! This is exceedingly mortifying; but yet, when I recollect how I have been blessed with health for many years, I should be a beast, indeed, not to feel gratitude still!

The events of the last week are such as for me to write for ever upon them: they are of an importance not to be described; and I cannot refrain from making a remark or two.

UNIONS IN FRANCE.

Publishers in England, however well disposed, have not a sufficient knowledge of details in France, to be able to give the people here a true account of what has been going on. The press there is the most slavish and infamous thing in existence. Every body seems to be a mercenary slave, that has any thing to do with it. I could give instances which would prove this so clearly! However, let my readers take

these facts: that wretched press would make us believe that all is contentment all willing obedience to the laws, nobody discontented, but a few "*factions*," to whom they sometimes give the name of *republicans*; and, that the late disturbances were confined to a few poor misguided creatures at Lyons, and another few of the same description at Paris. They do not tell us, that there were *thirteen great towns*, in which there was actual fighting, and in which more of the stock-jobbing Government bayonet-men were killed than of the people. They do not tell us this, and that the stock-jobbing king comes out of the fight with a loss of about fifteen thousand men, and that the stock-jobbing Parliament has agreed to borrow about a million of pounds sterling, to defray the expense of this civil war for this year. In France, the subject of dispute is very simple indeed: there is no aristocracy; there is no church; there are two bodies of people: the *pensioners* and the *rentiers* on one side, that is to say, the pensioners and the fundholders on one side; and those who live by their labour on the other side. Those who live by their labour want to keep more of the fruits of it to themselves; if they do, the idlers, pensioners, rentiers, and public robbers, must have less than they now have: these latter keep an army in order to compel the former to live upon garbage and *soupe-aux-herbes* and *haricots* and *lentils*, while they have all the meat, all the game, all the poultry, and all the eggs. And thus they are at war, and thus they will be, as long as this present stock-jobbing Government shall last. It appears that the fighting at Lyons began in consequence of the trial of some unionists, for having entered the union; a new and villanous law having been passed to put men almost to death for attempting to have their due share of the fruit of their labour. The audacity of the people belonging to that Government surpasses every thing. In the midst of these scenes of tyranny and of cruelty, the ruffians coolly boast of their "*free institutions of Government*"! Of all their qualities, all hateful, one of the

most hateful is, this atrocious audacity. What is despotism? It is a mere sound, unless you explain it. It means the taking from a people at the pleasure of the Government, their property, their personal liberty, or their lives. And does not this villanous Government in France do this? But, what does any tyrant want of any people, but their property that they have acquired, or their labour, without giving them anything adequate in exchange. This is tyranny. It is not your *blood* that the tyrant wants: he cannot drink your blood: it does him no good that you should rot in "a prison"; he does not want that: what he wants is, to take your property or your earnings for nothing. That is the true definition of tyranny: he will imprison you, stab you, hang you, if necessary, to get at your labour or your property for nothing; if necessary, to make you live upon garbage, or *soupe-aux-herbes*, or *haricots*, or *lentils*, while he lives in idleness, and has all the butcher's meat, poultry, game, and eggs, and fish; part of which he gives to his cut-throats, that they may come with their bayonets when necessary, and compel you to work for him or kill you. This is simply the state of things in France, where the tyranny is more severe than any ever before exercised in the world.

ENGLISH UNIONS.

Always having known that these were perfectly lawful, and having been convinced that they must tend to give those who labour a larger share of their earnings than they now get, I have always wished success to them. The procession on Monday last in London, was proper in every respect. The parties had a right to go in procession; there was no authority that had any right to attempt to prevent them, and the Government had the wisdom not to attempt it. Many made good that which I have asserted and others have asserted, so many times over: truly let the people alone, until they break the peace, and you will never have bloodshed. Besides, how recently is it that these very Ministers saw thousands

upon thousands go in procession to St. James's to petition for the Reform Bill and that then they took their petition and at once carried it to the King. With regard to the principle of these unions, it is sanctioned by all experience of the best of times. The GUILDS and FRATERNITIES of our forefathers were for the express purpose of enabling the working people to combine, so as to get justice at the hands of their employers; and these guilds and fraternities were endowed by some of the best kings as well as private persons that this nation ever knew. However, I think that one recent instance of combination on the part of the richest of the rich will suffice, and at once put an end to all argument upon the subject. It is perfectly notorious, that, a few years ago, there existed (it may exist now, for any thing that I know to the contrary) a combination amongst the coal-pit owners of the north; who bound themselves to each other, I believe by bonds and forfeitures, not to work their coal-pits beyond a certain extent each; **IN ORDER TO KEEP UP THE PRICE OF THEIR COALS!** Now, this is notorious. Nobody ever said it was unlawful. Some people reviled these rich noblemen and gentlemen; but, nobody accused them of acting illegally. I think, that there were agents appointed to see that the agreement was not infringed. Now, what a hateful thing is it, having this indubitable fact before us, to revile a poor working man for entering into an agreement with other working men, to keep up the price of their labour!

I wish some one to inquire particularly into the history of the coal-owner combination, which, observe, I never blamed; the coal-proprietors had a right to act as they did: it was their own property of which they were seeking to keep up the value; and, whether it were wise or not, I think it was for them to do so. I think it was for them to do so, that the people of London, who were the skirts of the Thames, had no right whatever to profit from their sale.

'AFFAIRS AT OLDHAM.

Here it is, that I feel the conse-

quences of my illness most acutely. Had I been well, I would have been at Oldham directly. The letters, which I have received from Oldham, correspond perfectly with what I have seen in print. If it be true, that Thompson is a Quaker, as the newspapers say, *he has no objection to fighting*, it seems, even upon his own premises; for the men in the factory would not have been armed and furnished with powder and ball, without his knowledge. The whole of this affair seems to have arisen from a wanton interruption given to one of the lodges, as they call it, of the unions. *Why not let them alone*, so long as they abstain from breaches of the peace. The magistrates acted very wisely, in discharging the two men on bail, for, if they had not so acted, it is quite possible that every factory in Lancashire would have been standing still at this moment. Great events very frequently arise from trifling causes; and, the condemnation of these six poor men in "Dorsetshire," might have led to events such as no man likes to think of. The numbers united are prodigious; and, there is no man can tell how quickly and how extensively mischief may arise, or might have arisen, from that transaction. I had the honour to present to the House of Commons, the first petition relative to these Dorsetshire labourers. Two working men, full of anxiety for the success of their application, brought the petition to me, and gave it me in the lobby of the House of Commons. It stated that it had been agreed to that day, by a meeting of twelve thousand men. It was not in order, strictly speaking, that I could present the petition. I told them this; and told them, that if I were permitted to present it, I would merely state the substance of it, without reading it, and beseech the Ministers to take the matter into their merciful consideration; that appearing to me to be the most likely way of saving the poor men, which was the only object that the petitioners could have in view. With some difficulty, I represented to the Speaker the nature of the petition, and having promised him that I would occupy no time worth

speaking of in doing it, he very obligingly permitted me to do it.

I did not boast of the numbers who had agreed to the petition: I merely stated what the petition prayed for, pointed out as forcibly as I could the extreme hardship of the case, and, in the most respectful terms, besought the Ministers (who were all present except Lord Althorp) to take the case into their merciful consideration, and "*to let the act of lenity be their own act.*" They heard me with very great attention; they saw my great earnestness upon the subject; and though I was not to expect any answer from them, I did, I must confess, hope that they would see the matter in the light in which I had seen it. I spoke in as low a tone of voice as I could, in order that, if the act of grace did take place, it might seem to arise solely from the Ministers themselves. So that, as far as I was concerned, nothing could have been done more directly tending to get rid of what I saw might become a very troublesome affair; and to get rid of it, too, in the best possible manner. I was very sorry to learn that my hopes had been disappointed; because any change that can come, if it come in this sort of way, never can be good. What is to be the result at last I know not; but we do know that here is the country all in an uproar, in consequence of the not taking of a trifling step, which, so far from being humiliating to the Ministers, would have been precisely the contrary. The condemnation of these men was not their act; and what is the King for, if he is not to come, with his great and salutary authority, to rectify things done in a hurry, or done in error. These six poor men are now talked of throughout this whole world; whereas, if the King had been advised to mitigate the sentence only, they never would have been heard of more.

TITHE PROJECT.

This is a matter of such vast magnitude, that to pretend to offer any opinion upon it, without an abundance of time, would be presumptuous. The House of Commons, however, have declared,

"*that tithes shall no longer be collected in England*"; and thus, in one short sentence, have declared the destruction of all the laws of tithe, which have existed a thousand years, and which affect a large part of the whole of the property of the kingdom. It is impossible that the House should proceed upon any other grounds than that tithes are *public* property. Lay tithes, too, as well as clerical. Then, what compensation are the tithe-owners to receive? A *rent-charge* upon the land? Then, here is wrong done to the whole of the community; that is to say, to every one who has house or land; for here is a new sort of property erected by law. At present, the tithe-owner has no claim, except upon the *increase*. But, give him a *rent-charge*, and he is part-owner of the *land itself*; which is a very different thing from being part-owner of the *increase*. As things now stand, if you have no crop there is no tithe; but now comes a law to say that there shall be tithe whether you have crop or not. However, the workings of this measure will be such, and must be such, as to shake the whole establishment to pieces in a short space of time. The church-people complain that they have in fact no church. The pluralities and the non-residence have taken away their church: the dissenters complain that they are compelled to pay towards a church and a clergy that they want to have nothing to do with; that they look upon as an evil altogether. So that neither party can be satisfied with this measure, for here is nothing to compel residence, and the dissenters are to be loaded with *rent-charges* as well as church-people.

CHURCH-RATES.

These are to be *abolished*; but, how? Why, by ceasing to collect them as rates, and to take the amount of them out of the *land*. That is to say, to pay them out of the taxes, and, of course, to compel dissenters as well as church-people still to pay church-rates, though by an indirect tax instead of by a direct tax. The

scheme is, to avoid the collision. It has become manifest, for some time, that the great towns would pay church-rates no longer. There does not appear to be the same *stoutness* here, as in some other cases. It is now about three months since the people of Lambeth, I think it was, resolved to pay no more church-rates; and since a Mr. HAWKINS, I think his name was, came to the vestry, having been summoned there for not paying a church-rate; and, dashing his hand upon the table, swore that neither jail nor gibbet should ever make him pay another church-rate. Lord Althorp seems to think, that by gliding away into the land-tax, he will persuade the townspeople particularly, that *the landlords will now pay the church-rates!* The townspeople know a great deal better. The townspeople know, that the land-tax is a part of the general taxes; and that, if you take these taxes away to pay church-rates with, you must either lay on more taxes, or refrain from reducing taxes, as you might, were the church-rates wholly and completely abolished.

DEGREES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

That this must pass, is manifest, and that it will stop there, is not to be believed. The dissenters have dissented from the church, for the reasons which make churchmen discontented with her. They know well that she is not now entitled to the property and the power, belonging to the universities; and they mean that she shall not possess them exclusively. Hitherto, there has been a good deal of squeamishness upon the point, *whether there ought to be an establishment at all or not.* Men will soon speak out upon this subject. Lord Althorp did not profess his opinion that a church establishment was necessary to a nation, without meeting with somebody to contradict that opinion. This is a clear case; that this establishment, when the buttresses are taken from it, one by one, must finally come down itself, and, as was expressed in the *Hour of the other night*, leave the people every where to select their own reli-

gious teachers, and to pay them. People thought me mad, when I put forth my Manchester proposition, for doing away with the establishment altogether, leaving the church clergy the churches, church-yards, parsonage houses and glebes, and leaving them to be paid by voluntary contribution. I fancy that, before this day three years, the clergy of the church will be happy if there remain the means of putting my project into execution. Things march rapidly, when once the work of innovation has begun. I heard, last summer, that the only point of doubt amongst the congregated dissenters was, what was to be done with the *edifice of the church*; and I must confess, that this has been the only doubt with me for many years past. I wish that this *Register* may fall under the eye of Mr. SAMUEL CLARKE, of Bergh Apton, in Norfolk, who will remember that, about ten years ago, he and I, walking by the church of that parish, stopped to look at it, standing, as it does, on a solitary spot; and that I observed to him: "There, Clarke; that is the only thing that there will be, by-and-by, any dispute about. The tithes will go; the Easter-offerings will go; the church-rates will go; but, people will continue to be born and to die; and, to that building they will still come; and my firm conviction is, that the only point in dispute by-and-by will be, *who shall have possession of that building.*" I was informed, that there was a regular discussion, amongst the leaders of the dissenters, last summer, in London, as to this very point. My Manchester lecture project would have kept the church in the hands of the clergy of the church: I could wish that this should be so still; but I do not know that this wish is founded on any thing better than a mere traditional feeling; and what is that, when put in comparison with powerful reason, the strong claims, the interests, and the passions of millions of dissenters; who, be it observed, as it has frequently been asserted, have a mass of talent and of character, such as is not to be faced by any that the church possesses. Lord

Althorp's mere expression of a desire to support an establishment, is just nothing at all: he has no reason in support of his desire: and he will soon find that when it comes to be a question whether an establishment ought to exist at all, he will find himself in a contemptible minority, and this, too, long before the end of the next session of Parliament.

THE HUNTED BEAVER.

The reader recollects what *Æsop* told us when we were boys; namely, that the beaver, having a certain part about him, containing *erect*, being pursued by his hunters, bit off the precious part, and flung it behind him; and the hunters, having got what they wanted, suffered him to escape with his life. I dare say it is fifty years ago since I read this fable; and I remember how I used to ponder over the picture with surprise; it not being clear to my understanding, how the poor fellow could hope to save himself in that way. Just exactly is this the conduct of the church at this time; and it struck me, and I whispered Mr. O'Connell (I think it was) when Mr. RICE presented the petition, from certain members of the University of Cambridge: there is the hunted beaver. But, this will *not* do: the beaver flung ALL to his hunters: all that they set any value upon: the church hopes to slacken the pace of its hunters by tossing down to them a small portion of what they want; a small portion to those who really have the power of taking all. And, do they hope to enjoy their enormous pluralities and sinecures, by merely tossing down the empty degrees, and by a trickery transfer of tithes to rent-charges, and of church-rates to the consolidated fund? No, no: the beaver must toss every thing to them, before there ever again can be peace.

HEDDEKASHUN.

In spite of my coughing, and my want of sleep, and all other evils, I cannot help laughing at this affair. Last year, the nation was to be saved by a general scheme of national education; and twenty thousand pounds were voted

that the Government might make *just a little beginning*, as my Lord Althorp told us. If ever scheme was defeated by the pen of one man, and that pen moving but once upon the subject, I have the glory of having defeated this scheme, by my letter to Lord Althorp on the subject of heddekashun and education. And what do we behold now; why, the Lord Chancellor himself, the sanguine and enthusiastic inventor of the scheme, giving up the scheme explicitly in a speech in his place in Parliament, and protesting, as strongly as I ever did, against any attempt to establish a system of education, supported by a tax or taxes, or, carried on under the control, directly or indirectly, of the Government; which is the only wise and candid thing that I ever had to ascribe to this Lord Chancellor. No people in the world could have been more bent upon the project than the Ministers were, at the close of the last session of Parliament, which was clearly proved by the vote of twenty thousand pounds. So that, here is a job which I did completely. It was impossible for sane men to think of the project, after reading my letter to Lord Althorp. I think it may be fairly said, that I had nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand against me before I wrote that letter. My constituents, sensible and quick-sighted as they are, thought I was wrong, and some of them remonstrated with me. I, relying on the soundness of my own principles, and my power of stating them and of arguing the question; and relying also, on the sound sense of those constituents, wrote the letter of which I have just poked; and I believe that no man that ever read it, remained unconvinced that I was right.

MONEY-MONSTER.

We do not perceive the great cause that is at work, devouring up the church, straining at the poor-rates, endeavouring to make the working-classes live upon garbage, ruining the landlords and the farmers; taking all profits from trade. It is this monster that is at work; and it seems destined to pull down in

one way or another, every ancient establishment in this kingdom. *Nothing can stand before it*; and, it is so interwoven with all the classes of society that there will never be any body found to endeavour to check its progress; till at last, it seems likely to produce a convulsion as complete as ever was heard of in the world; and that, too against the will of the whole of the people.

THE OLDHAM INQUEST.

(From the Manchester Advertiser).

At an early hour on Friday morning numbers of persons were already in the streets, probably with the intention of proceeding to another meeting to be held at Oldham Edge. So early as five o'clock groups of persons were assembled on the above site, but a detachment of Lancers repaired to the spot, and the riot act having been read by the Rev. J. S. Mills, the magistrate, the parties promptly retired. A detachment of the 34th Foot, from Stockport, arrived last night about half-past ten, and still later a detachment of the 35th Foot entered from Bolton, so that the town is now pretty well stocked with military.

THE INQUEST.

The inquest upon the remains of Bentley was appointed to be held this morning, before T. Ferriand, Esq., coroner for the district. The jury assembled about ten o'clock, at the William the Fourth, where the corpse had been lying since Tuesday. The following persons composed the jury:

OLDHAM

- Mr. James Mellor, Prince's-place, cotton-dealer.
- Mr. Elijah Hibbert, Cowhill Lodge, iron-founder.
- Mr. John Ogden, King-street, hat-manufacturer.
- Mr. John Clegg, Highfield, gentleman.

CROMPTON

- Mr. John Cocker, High Crompton, gentleman.

Mr. John Thomas Cocker, New Bank, gentleman.

Mr. Abraham Thornton, Shaw, gentleman.

Mr. Abraham Buckley, Shaw, shop-keeper.

ROXTON.

Mr. William Fitton, surgeon.

Mr. William Taylor, auctioneer.

Mr. John Travis, Luzley Brook, manufacturer.

Mr. John Wild, Heyside, gentleman.

CHADDERTON.

Mr. James Rothwell, Butler-green, farmer.

Mr. John Parkinson, Chadderton Heights, farmer.

Mr. James Ogden, Chadderton Heights, farmer.

Mr. Daniel Chadwick, Thompson-lane, farmer.

Knowing Mr. Ferriand's ancient and well-grounded antipathy to publicity being given to his judicial domain, our own reporter and the reporter of the *Courier*, who were present, addressed a note to the worthy functionary, to the effect that they were well aware of his general rule of exclusion, but that, under the circumstances, they hoped he would relax it on this occasion. We understand the note was read aloud to the jury, among whom we know there were several favourable to the admission of the press. The worthy coroner then stated that he should not feel warranted in departing from his custom. He thought that a coroner and sixteen jurors were quite able to investigate the case, and that, to prevent false reports, and thus to subserve the cause of justice, the facts ought to remain undisturbed until the trial at the assizes, should any take place: it was therefore that he followed the system of exclusion. We shall not here attempt to discuss this point with the worthy coroner; suffice it that the following facts have been elicited from the witnesses, after their examination by the coroner.

JAMES THOMPSON, a spinner in the service of Mr. Thompson, said—The

mob came to the factory between eight and nine o'clock. On hearing that they were coming, some of the persons in the factory went down into the yard, five or six of them with fire-arms. There was a large crowd in the meadow and also in Cotton-street. They began to throw stones out of Cotton-street and the meadow, into the yard, at me and others with fire-arms, and shouted us. The mob also broke the windows of the cottages in Cotton-street, and then commenced destroying the furniture. This took place before a single shot was fired. I had no fire-arms myself. Several shots were fired after the mob began to destroy the furniture. I do not know where the men got the fire-arms from. I think the pieces consisted of a pistol, a gun, and three or four blunderbusses. Windows were broken in front of the factory before I went down into the yard; and some of the engine-house windows. The mob made several attempts to get over the fence and wall into the yard, and were driven back by the men in the yard levelling their pieces at them. A party of the mob had got into the yard through the lodge door in Manchester-street. I saw a man fall, who was in the act of getting over the wall into the yard, but I do not know that he was the deceased. There were six or seven shots after the man fell. I heard the cry of a man being shot about five minutes after I saw a man fall from the wall. At this time the mob became a little quieter, and then, after a pause of nearly half an hour, they began again with increased fury, but were kept back by the men levelling their pieces. At last the mob got into the yard, both over the fence and through the lodge-gate, and the men then retired into the mill. A piece was fired at one man as he entered the yard, but it did not take effect; and the man then raised his hands, and shouted to the mob to come on. I did not hear of any of the hands being abused after the mob got into the factory. I cannot say at the mob commenced destroying the furniture of the cottages in Cotton-street before a shot was fired, but windows were broken before.

At this point, and before the reporters had done with the witness, an order came for his retiring, and also that of another witness who had entered the room after being examined by the coroner. On inquiry into the cause of this, we learnt that some busybody had been informing the worthy coroner of the examination being carried on by the reporters. With that urbanity and gentleness, therefore, for which he is remarkable, the worthy coroner gave orders to Mr. Barlow, cotton-manufacturer, one of the head constables of Oldham, to take the prisoners under his "protection" (which meant "into his custody"), and not allow them to hold communication, either with the reporters or any other individuals, until the investigation had terminated. Mr. B., thinking that "crown's quest law" was paramount, placed the men in a room up stairs, and stationed a constable at the door! Not entertaining such awe of the dictum of a coroner, even though that coroner should be Mr. Thomas Ferrand, the reporters went up stairs, and demanded to speak to the witnesses, which the constable, after some hesitation, consented to. They told the men that as they were not in custody on any charge, they could not legally be deprived of their personal liberty; and that if they thought proper to accompany the reporters into the room which the latter had specially engaged, the constable, or even the worthy coroner, himself, would prevent them at his peril. The men, who seemed both ready and willing to tell the reporters all they knew of the matter, hereupon left the room, and went with the reporters.

Thompson's examination was then resumed. He added to his former statement: I cannot say exactly what was the occasion of the first shot being fired. There was no firing after we returned to the mill.

The reporters were then about to examine John Rowbottom, the other witness alluded to, and who is also a spinner at the Bankside factory, when the landlord, a worthy little fellow, entered in evident alarm, and said he had

received the coroner's directions to turn the reporters out, otherwise the inquest would be adjourned to another place! The reply was, that the reporters would not stir, unless put out by force. In a few moments Mr. Barlow and the constable entered, and directed the men to walk up stairs again. The men were desirous of remaining, but evidently laboured under the apprehension that their doing so would be illegal, after such a summons, and they retired. In a short time the reporters went out, and found Mr. Barlow stationed at the bottom of the stairs. They were proceeding to ascend, when he gently opposed their progress, and declared that if the efforts to pass were persisted in, he should call in the military stationed at the door. Of course the reporters desisted after this threat. Sometime afterwards an order was sent down from the Angel inn, where the magistrates were sitting, to the effect that the witnesses must be sent up to them as they were done with, in order that they might give evidence against parties in custody for the riot. At the Angel we resumed the examination of Rowbottom, as the magistrates were not then engaged with the case, and he made the following statement:—

About a quarter to nine I received intelligence of the mob. I ran down the factory yard, and saw a large quantity of people coming along the yard; they were surrounding the mill on all sides. I went to them, and told them to be quiet and behave themselves, and we would let the hands out of the factory in half an hour's time. They refused to wait, and said they would have them out then. They then began to throw stones from Cotton-street and the meadow into the yard. I went to the manager, and he gave me orders to go to the lodge window, and tell the mob that the hands should come out if they would be quiet. I did so; but they told me to go into the factory again; and they gave me to understand they would pull the building down. They said—"Harm has been done, and harm shall end it." I went back and told the manager. I took a

blunderbuss, and presented it several times at the mob, as they came into the yard. The stones continued to be thrown until a quarter to eleven; at this time a man entered the yard, and a crowd after him, chiefly of lads from fifteen to eighteen years of age. The witness here gave some details respecting himself, which we shall not publish. He afterwards returned into the mill, and saw no more of the firing.

We were again interrupted in our examination of this witness, by an order from the magistrates, prohibiting his further examination.

At a later hour in the afternoon, we found some witnesses at the William the Fourth, who had been examined, and who expressed their willingness to repeat their testimony to us. Unfortunately this was at too late an hour to allow of our receiving it at length; we may state, however, that the evidence was totally opposed to that detailed above, and went to condemn the men stationed to guard the factory. Subsequently we heard from several jurymen that nothing of a conclusive character had been elicited on either side. Two men had sworn to a man as having fired the fatal shot, and he has been apprehended on the coroner's warrant. The inquest adjourned at eight o'clock to Monday next.

We ought to state, that Messrs. Murray and Radley, surgeons, opened the body of the deceased this morning, and extracted the ball. It had entered between the first and second ribs on the left side, passing through the chest obliquely, and lodged under the right blade bone, penetrating one of the larger arteries in its way: the wound to the blood-vessel was sufficient to cause instant death. In the course of the investigation, the jury went out to inspect the place where the man was shot. He was represented by the persons about to have been leaning with his left elbow on the end of a wall which bounds the pit of water, and this position corresponds exactly with the direction taken by the ball: further, the corner of the wall is slightly broken, as with a ball, and the ball taken from the wound

is grazed. We purpose giving a full report of the evidence in our next.

We understand that most of the factories in Oldham and the surrounding parts, employing several thousand hands, have been stopped during the week, and a number of colliers and mechanics have suspended their employment. On Thursday evening Mr. Halliwell, the churchwarden, Mr. Halliday, Mr. Swire, and others, were appointed a deputation to meet the operatives, and urge them to return to their work. One interview has been had, and another will take place to-morrow (Saturday), at which interview a number of the masters are expected to be present. The town was perfectly tranquil this evening. The corpse of Bentley was removed this afternoon to his residence. It will be buried on Sunday at Providence Chapel, Mumps. We understand that on Wednesday last the general committee of the commissioners of police had Heywood under examination, as to the real circumstances which led to his going to the William on the Monday night. The investigation will be resumed at the next weekly meeting, and the result will be reported to the general meeting of commissioners, on the first Wednesday in the next month. The damage done by the mob has been since assessed; but the total had not been cast out last Friday night: it will amount to several thousand pounds. The pond of water has been dragged for the articles thrown into it; but divers things are still missing.

(From the True Sun.)

Oldham, 20. April, 1834.

I was in error in stating yesterday that the grand jury had found true bills against the two unionists. The fact is, there were no bills preferred. Mr. Brandt their counsel, therefore, demanded instant trial or discharge. To this the court objected in consequence of Haywood, the police-officer, offering to swear that, owing to the great excitement in Oldham, it was impossible to obtain the necessary witnesses, and

prayed that the prisoners might be bound over to next sessions. Mr. Brandt made a most excellent address, to the effect that no person's liberty ought to be jeopardised on a man's oath like Heywood's. The bench appeared to be yielding, when up started a Mr. Barlow, who made oath to the same effect. The parties were bound over to next sessions in heavy bail. The jury is composed of fifteen, and a majority will decide. There will not, therefore, it is thought, be any occasion to conduct them to the edge of the county for not giving a verdict. A young man of the name of —, a man of the name of Newton, and another man and his wife, named Trayner, all swore positively as to the fact of Isherwood having shot Bentley. Bail to any amount has been offered for him, but refused. On the coroner transmitting this precept to the four constables of Oldham, Royton, Chadderton, and Crompton, they were in the first instance sent to the high constable of Oldham. Haywood, who seems very active in every thing, put four names on the back of the Chadderton precept, with a view to their being returned. This indignity, however, Scholes, the constable, would not permit. Scholes returned his own men. The four names are still legible on the back of the precept. Scholes is for having it framed. An opinion is becoming prevalent that this inquiry will soon terminate, inasmuch as the evidence is become nauseous, purely from its sameness.

[For the conclusion of the inquest, see page 248.]

FUNERAL OF THE LATE JAMES BENTLY,

WHO WAS KILLED AT OLDHAM ON
TUESDAY, APRIL 15.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Manchester, Sunday Night, April 20.

I wish to put you in possession of the state of Oldham at present. The murdered man was buried to-day. Tens of thousands from the surrounding towns poured into Oldham to assist at the funeral, which began to move at four

o'clock in the afternoon. The order of the procession was nearly as follows :

A long line of women, four a-breast, followed by the body, after which a countless number of well-dressed artisans, six a-breast, holding bands. They marched to the sound of a muffled drum : it was awful !

The body was first borne to a chapel of the independent dissenters, where the service was read, after which it was carried out and laid by the grave. The preacher then followed, and delivered a highly impressive discourse, in the course of which the forlorn state of the 'widow and helpless offspring (I believe five children) of the murdered man were feelingly portrayed.

At the conclusion of the 47th Psalm, hymns were sung in the churchyard, beginning — " Why should the rich oppress the poor ? " in which the surrounding thousands joined, and echoed by the persons within hearing on the distant rising grounds which overhang the town.

The effect was awfully sublime ! Every body felt. Several shed tears — and as the preacher remarked, discontent " not loud but deep " was pictured on every countenance. As to the number who assembled, it is impossible to guess. As far as the eye could extend, on either or upon any side, masses of human beings, male and female, were thronged in still and settled groups. It was apparent to every one present that society is unhinged ; the town above absolutely garrisoned by military, horse and foot ; the inns, and especially the liberal inns, crammed with soldiery, and the stations before the doors guarded by moving sentinels, regularly relieved. Such is the state of Oldham. The mills are, without exception, literally empty. The two unionists who were originally captured, were yesterday liberated on bail, at the New Bailey, Manchester, the grand jury not having been able, from the evidence produced, to find true bills against them for any offence.

The five rioters were, however, convicted and sentenced to four, eight, twelve, and eighteen months' imprisonment.

The workmen of Oldham will, I understand, return to their work to-morrow morning, though some are for not doing so. The verdict is not, I believe, yet given by the coroner's jury.

O. P. Q.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Oldham, April 22, 1834.

Another numerous meeting of the operatives took place on High Moor, about three miles from Oldham. The only feature of the meeting was a resolution passed, that labour should not be resumed at present. They commenced and concluded the meeting by singing the first and last verses of the Evening Hymn. A mass of evidence is handed you : it is, as you will perceive, all on one side, viz., that which is intended to prove that the firing preceded the disturbance and riots. This evening, about half-past six, the coroner finished the reading of the evidence, and the court adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow, when, during some part of the day, a verdict will no doubt be returned.

James Trayner, nailmaker, examined : About half-past eight I saw some of Mr. Thompson's hands fetch from one of the cottages some fire-arms ; they were brought out of the second story ; they had a ship-ladder to get in and out ; the arms consisted of blunderbuss, carbines, pistol, and musket, in all five or six ; I stood within four or five yards of Bently when he was shot ; was on my own steps ; a mob came six or seven yards below me ; I saw two men ; Isherwood and Donnelly at the time were running up the yard to the place where they fired from ; they fired immediately one after another as quick as possible ; heard a woman immediately cry, " Jemmy Isherwood, you have shot the man ! " on hearing this I jumped off the step of my house, where I stood, to assist him, but others who stood close to him lifted him up before I could get to him ; some water was asked for ; I ran for it to my house, but he could not drink, he was so nearly dead ; I took water to my house, and before he was removed, and died.

immediately; he might live five or six minutes; the mob all dispersed, fearing, they might be shot; in a half or three quarters of an hour the mob came again and rushed in at the lodge gates; this depredation was the first I saw; a man attempted to get over the wall where Benity stood.

Margaret Trayner, wife of James Trayner, examined: The first I hear was the cry that two men were rescued was at home all the morning; soon a firing commenced went to chamber window with my two children, thinking that place safer; the chamber window overlooks the yard of the factory; I saw Isherwood and another man, whose face I know, but not his name, and immediately after the man was shot; they fired immediately after one another. Isherwood fired first; at their firing he fell; no one ever attempted to get over the wall before firing, nor after neither, at that place; I do not think he lived many minutes; saw him carried away; never spoke after he was shot; never saw them breaking into Nelly Potten's cottage; no damage done, I am quite certain, till after the man was shot; as soon as the mob broke into the cottage, the two men who had been firing, with others, all ran down the mill yard, towards the house; the mob followed them; saw one of the men after they had run down the yard; they called him the roller coverer; he went through the large door on one side of the mill, into Manchester-street.

Peggy Potten examined: Did not see the two men; first was at the chamber window and saw men levelling their pieces; when I saw this went away from the window; soon as the guns were fired, I came again, to the window, and put my head through the window, and saw a man who had been shot; old Anron Jones was at the window with me; did not see him shot, nor know who shot him; was shot before any stones were thrown; none of the cottages were attacked before noon; he was killed between ten and half-past ten; could see the end cottages from the window, and am quite sure no mischief had been done before

firing. The last witness finished on Friday, about seven o'clock.

Robert Dawson, shoemaker, examined: Live just at the corner where he was killed; stood next but one to him that was shot; saw the two men level and fire; Isherwood, one of the two, I know well; the other's dress I know, not sure about his face; the carter, Isherwood, fired first, the other in a few seconds after; the man fell in a moment after second shot; fell down on my back, against the front wall of the house, where he was standing; I believe there might be some damage done to the cottages before he was killed; I am not sure that any damage was done; no one attempted to throw any stones from about me; soon as the man fell I left him, from an apprehension of great danger.

Henry Stephens examined: Stood on the wall at the back of King William IV.; saw several shots fired before he fell; saw two men advancing, one in a check shirt, towards the wall near the bottom of the street, the other came after, took aim in a forward posture, apparently on his knee; only one of them was thus bent, and I said to those about me, if that man aims he will lie down to it, and in a moment the piece was discharged; and when I heard the firing I said, "I know if that has hit any one it has done the job"; a man on my left said, how can you tell from report? and on this a cry was raised, "a man is shot." I turned round and said, "Did not I tell you?" Could not tell his clothes piece-meal—could not tell every different thing he had on; will swear he had not black, nor anything bordering on black. Cottages were attacked before he fell; was there about twenty minutes after nine, and windows were broken; that was my impression; I did not see them broken, but believe that such was the fact; doors were open in the houses many hours. No man on the premises before Benity was killed. Those who had the arms were excessive—provoking by such indiscriminate use of them.

THE LATE DISTURBANCES IN PARIS

(From *Galignani's Messenger of Tuesday*.)

UPON the renewal of the attack upon the insurgents at day-break yesterday morning, Generals Roumigny, Bugeaud and Lascours, and General Tourton, of the National Guards, marched together upon the centre of the insurrection clearing successively every barricade in their way, and completely sweeping the Rues Beaubourg, Transnonaine, and Maubuée. There were planted on the Place de Grève two pieces of cannon two in the court-yard of the Prefecture two on the Boulevard des Capuchines six at the Porte St. Martin and the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers, ten on the Place du Carrousel, ten at the Barrière du Trône, two in the rue de Rivoli and four at the Luxembourg. At six in the morning the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours mounted their horses, and accompanied by their aides-de-camp Marshal Lobau, and several general officers, proceeded in the midst of the troops who were marching to the attack, taking the Quays, the Place de Grève, and the adjacent streets to the Rue St. Martin. As they were riding along this last street several shots were fired at them from different houses. Happily neither of the Princes was struck, but one of the bulls passed between the Duke of Orleans and one of his aides-de-camp, and went through the cap of a soldier who was marching by their side; a paving stone was also thrown from above, and fell very near the Prince. On seeing this the platoon of infantry (who accompanied their Royal Highnesses) rushed into the house where these attempts were made, and killed all such insurgents as were found with arms in their hands. The Prince returned to the Tuileries at eight, having been constantly cheered by the loyal acclamations of the people. Although no symptoms of further disturbances appeared during the day, strong bodies of troops continued stationed last night on the Quays, the Place de Grève, the Boulevards nearest the scene of action, and some other points,

and numerous patrols paraded the streets. The night passed over quietly, and this morning paviers are busily employed in repaving the streets where the stones had been torn up for the barricades.

The following are additional particulars of the events on Sunday evening and yesterday: A captain of the 33th regiment of the line was retiring alone by the Rue St. Martin, when he was stabbed with a poniard by a party of the rebels, and immediately expired. Another captain of the same regiment was wounded in the thigh, during an attack upon a barricade in the same neighbourhood. M. Odier, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the National Guards, received three wounds on Sunday evening before the combat commenced. We have been informed that the insurgents, after having killed a non-commissioned officer of a regiment of the line, actually severed his head from his body. We regret to learn, that several persons who took no part in the insurrection, were killed by imprudently going to their windows; and many innocent persons, whose houses had been forced by the insurgents, being mingled with them, suffered the same fate. A great number of the wounded have been conveyed to the different hospitals. Flags erected upon the barricades were carried off by the Municipal Guards, whose intrepidity cannot be too highly praised. These flags were covered with crape. They were tri-coloured, but the colours were arranged differently to those of the national standard—the white, blue, and red, being placed horizontally. They bore the following inscription: "Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen. 6me Arrondissement. 2nd Quartier." The insurgents' order of the day was "Révolution Républicaine." The troops who remained stationed round the scene of the insurrection arrested, in the course of the night, a great number of the rioters, who attempted to make their escape. A great number of sword-sticks and umbrells and arms were seized upon them, and conveyed to the Prefecture de Police. The prisoners taken would, in

their way to the Prefecture of Police have been severely ill-treated but to the exertions of the public officers aided by the military, who succeeded in protecting them from the fury of the people. In crossing the Pont Notre Dame, one of the prisoners jumped into the river, upon which several shots were fired at him, but we could not learn whether he was killed or whether he escaped. Yesterday, at one, the President of the Council sent off telegraphic dispatches in every direction, announcing that the rebellion had ceased, and that order was restored at every point in the capital.

The courts of law were all shut yesterday. Even the court of assize did not sit. The examining magistrates were all engaged in interrogating the persons arrested. Their number is very great. The prison of the Conciergerie is completely filled with them. We are assured that the rebels will be tried before the Court of Peers.

At six yesterday morning all the Ministers assembled at the Tuileries. About two the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies, headed by their respective Presidents, proceeded to the Tuileries to express their sentiments upon the recent events. All the superior officers of the regiments, which were reviewed on Sunday and yesterday, had the honour to dine with the King and Royal Family. The Count de Montalivet had an audience of his Majesty.

At eleven yesterday morning, the King, accompanied by the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, Marshals Soult, Gerard, Mortier, Molitor, and Lobau, and a numerous body of General and Staff Officers, reviewed in the Court of the Tuileries and the Place du Carrousel the four legions of National Guards of the Banlieue, the legion of National Horse Guards, and all the detachments of the legions which were on duty. At twelve o'clock, his Majesty, attended by the whole of his suite, went out by the gate leading to the Pont Royal, and reviewed the 1st and 2nd regiments of Carbineers, the 7th Cuirassiers, two

regiments of Lancers, and a battery of artillery, which were ranged along the Quay, the Place de la Concorde, and the Rue de Rivoli. The King then returned into the Court of the Tuileries, and took his station in front of the grand entrance, where all the troops filed off before him, hailing his Majesty with the loudest acclamations of "Vive le Roi!" Along the whole of the line his Majesty passed in making the reviews he was greeted by the people with equal enthusiasm. The King and the Princes retired into the palace at two o'clock.

PARIS, APRIL 19.—The following telegraphic dispatch, from the General commanding at Lyons, dated yesterday morning 10 o'clock, has been received by the Minister of War.—

"Lyons and St. Etienne are perfectly tranquil. Order is restored here. The streets are being cleared from the barricades raised by the insurgents. The free circulation is re-established, and the people have begun to resume their usual occupations. The disarming is going on at Lyons, as well as at La Croix Rousse. I have ordered the surrounding country to be scoured by patrols of cavalry, that all the malefactors to be met with may be arrested."

The Ministerial evening journal has the following:—

"The Government received dispatches from Lyons yesterday, and also from every other place at which the anarchists have attempted to create disturbance. Order is everywhere re-established. The following are details from the several accounts: At Strasbourg, a battalion of Pontineers have received orders to march from the town of Auxonne. An attempt was made to convert this movement into a case of collision. A band of the lowest orders of the people and women of ill-fame, joined by some hundreds of students and well-known agitators, assembled before the barracks at the time of their departure on Monday last, at six in the morning, and escorted the detachment with revolutionary songs and shouts; but the soldiers pursued their way, preserving deep silence. At some distance

from the ramparts the crowd separated and returned quietly into the town without any further noise. Since this ridiculous demonstration, the town has remained perfectly quiet. A more serious, but at the same time equally ridiculous attempt, was made at Arbois in the Jura, in the night of Sunday last. Although Franche Comté is pacific and industrious, Arbois is the rendezvous of all the disaffected of the country. It has a very violent Republican Association, chiefly directed by a man named D'Epercy. The news of the events at Lyons, and their long continuance, encouraged their anarchical spirit. They assembled in the night of Sunday to the number of about 500 and stirred up the lower classes with the temptation of plunder. They attacked the house of the mayor, and personally ill-treated that magistrate.

A detachment of 75 men, who had first fired from Fort St. Andre, came down to disperse the rioters, were deceived by the darkness, went into the middle of superior numbers and were disarmed but not one of them would join the disorderly crew, and all returned to the fort. They immediately prevailed upon two or three officers to go to the General at Besançon, and solicit a supply of arms, in order that they might revenge the insult they had received. The Prefect of the Jura immediately left Lons le Saulnier and came by Poligny with reinforcements, and General Verdieres came from Besançon with a squadron of cavalry, half a battery of artillery, and several companies of infantry. It appeared, however, there was no need of all this display of force, for the rebels of Arbois, who had carefully barricaded themselves, and had made a feint of endeavouring to gain possession of the magazines of powder at Poligny, and of offering a determined resistance, made their escape under cover of the night, on hearing that troops were coming upon them, and fled into Switzerland, leaving the ill-disposed men they had seduced to be

revolt exposed to the sword of justice. The troops entered without striking a blow. D'Epercy, who was the principal

instigator of the mischief, is among the fugitives. The notary, Miraud, who is the editor of the *Patriote Franco-Comtois*, was discovered in a garret and arrested. Mâtin and Châlons are perfectly calm; there has been much boasting among the members of the clubs, but no movement. The events, at Lyons have so completely undeceived them, that it has produced an entire reaction, and now none of them can talk loud enough of his tone of order and attachment to our institutions.

"At St Etienne communications are now re-established; a portion of the workmen resumed their labours on the 14., and every thing affords reason for hoping that on the following day they all returned to their looms. The Prefect has issued a decree, disbanding the National Guards, and commanding them to deliver up their arms. This measure is not, however, to be applied to such of the Guards as were on duty during the last four days. It will be executed without difficulty, for already 2,000 muskets have been returned. A few insurgents endeavoured to raise barricades at Vienna, in order to stop the passage of a demi-battalion of the line on its march from Valence. The instigator of the attempt was, however, arrested and conveyed to prison, amidst the approving shouts of the better disposed portion of the inhabitants; and the Sub-Prefect having made the usual summonses, the crowd dispersed, and the troops passed without further impediment. At Grenoble, a delay of two hours in the arrival of the mail from Lyons, on the 13, allowed the instigators time to urge the lower orders of the people to make seditious manifestations. Parties of them ran through the streets shouting 'Vive la République!' but the troops immediately came out of the barracks and dispersed them, with a very few shots."

A telegraphic dispatch, dated the 14, announces that the disorder was completely repressed. At Marseilles the anarchists showed a disposition to break out, but the National Guards, animated with a better spirit, made common cause with the troops of the line, and

La Mesange frigate lay with her broadside to the town, ready to support the authorities, if necessary. A telegraphic dispatch, dated 15. April, nine o'clock, says, "Tranquillity continues to prevail in this town."

Another telegraphic dispatch of the same day announces "that Montpellier and the whole department of the Hérault remain undisturbed. The Prefect of Montpellier received such intelligence from Perpignan, Carcassonne, and Toulon, that all was quiet in those places. At Poitiers attempts were made to spread sinister reports with regard to Lyons and Paris, and seditious cries were uttered in two or three coffee-houses, but the appearance of a few cavalry soldiers was sufficient to keep the disaffected in awe. No act of disorder was committed. The news of the deliverance of Lyons and the defeat of the rioters at Paris, was published at Dijon at sunrise on the 15. It produced a great and happy effect. The minds of the people were relieved, and the town had the appearance of a fête, the inhabitants congratulating each other on the result, though so dearly purchased. On the day before the Prefect had dissolved the Republican Club, having been previously aware that its factious members were assembled ready to strike some desperate blow. The firm attitude of the troops, the number of the patrols, some arrests which were made in the course of the day, and the repeated proclamations made at all the public places, in spite of the threats of the anarchists, and received with the warmest applause by the people at large, prove that the confidence placed in the authorities, and their determined resolution, have rendered completely abortive the projects of sedition. An extreme consternation pervades the clubbists. The greater part of the members of the Société des Droits de l'Homme have sent in their resignations.

Extract of a letter from Lyons, dated twelve o'clock on the 15. inst.—"The different corps have not yet made their returns of their killed, but it is easy to ascertain from the military hospital the number of the wounded.

"I accompanied the Lieutenant-General yesterday when he visited the Military Hospital. There are many who were most seriously wounded, and twenty-six amputations have been made; but there is reason to hope that most of them will be cured. The hospital is abundantly supplied with every necessary, and the wounded have received the most prompt and efficient care and attention. The quarters of the Croix Rousse, in which some infatuated anarchists had taken refuge, was completely reduced to subjection yesterday. Surrounded on all sides by the troops under General Fleury, they surrendered at discretion, without causing another drop of blood to be shed. The soldiers move in every direction, seizing all the arms they can find, and arresting such persons as they have reason to suspect of having used them. There are already 500 confined in the prisons of Lyons."

On Saturday there was found in a house in the Place du Convent, a manufactory of cartridges and bullets. The insurgents defended this post with obstinacy, and it was necessary to have recourse to cannon to force upon the doors. Eighteen of those found there were put to death, and fifty others made prisoners.

M. Beaune, President of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, has been arrested.

The Lyons papers, which had not been able to appear since the 9. instant, have reached us this morning, under date of the 15. Their accounts in general extend only to the early part of the contest, but the details given confirm, as far as they go, the most horrible part of the recitals that we have already published from other sources, and show that the struggle must have been horrible."

POOR-LAWS.

Dunfermline, 21. April, 1834.

SIR,—I certainly would not have so soon again encroached on the columns of your *Register*, had I not read in the newspapers a speech attributed to Mr. Hume; in which that gentleman is re-

ported to have said, "His honourable friend (Sir S. Whalley) did not seem to know the law of Scotland on this head."

It could scarcely be expected that Sir S. should; but Mr. Hume ought, certainly, to know it: although, on another "head," Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Little, and myself, were lately obliged to correct him.

"There the responsibility rested with the woman."

What responsibility? The responsibility of bringing up and providing for an illegitimate child, he must mean: and this, he certainly intends to say, rests wholly with the mother; the father being freed from any charge. What shameful ignorance in a Scotchman and legislator! What presumption in this man to affect having any knowledge of Scotland! What audacity, to make his pretended knowledge of Scotland the foundation of a legislative measure for England or the united kingdom generally; or an argument in favour of such a measure! There is not a man or woman in Scotland who could not have told him THAT THE CASE, BOTH IN LAW AND IN PRACTICE, IS QUITE THE CONTRARY; the father being always obliged to pay so much, according to circumstances, for the mother's "lying"; so much, quarterly, for the "up bringing" of the child, till it reach a certain age; or, in case of its death before that period, so much for funeral charges. Our ancestors were barbarous; but they were not altogether stupid, to have made such a law as Mr. Hume imagines. The remaining part of the sentence evinces an equal ignorance of human nature.

"And although this state of the law did not entirely prevent the birth of illegitimate children; yet, it led to this—that a woman very rarely, if ever, had a second illegitimate child."

Now, if Mr. Hume will make a tour through Scotland, in order to learn, as he much needs, the laws, customs, and conditions of his countrymen; and if he will call at Dunfermline, I will engage to show him seconds, thirds, and fourths of this description; nay, I

will show him "women" like those in the metropolis who have furnished the parish with half a dozen. None of these unfortunates have, however, "made little fortunes for themselves by driving a trade in illegitimacy," in this part of the country; nor would they do so, although the poor-laws were enforced; and, I more than suspect, that Mr. Hume's information on the London frail odes, is not more accurate than are his ideas of the laws of Scotland; both, in the words of an *auld ray* in Dunfermline, are "like Mrs. Morris's prayers: not to be depended upon."

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. MORRISON, sen.

Mr. Cobbett, M.P.
Bolt-court.

Errata. In my letter in last week's Register, after "Ninety third number, of the Edinburgh Review" add, and ninety fourth number, article, Poor-laws—"shouters" read *shoulders*: "of the bugsey Martineau" and, in next sentence, for "regularity," read *ungularity*. T. M.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at Bolt-court at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *Woodlands*, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at Bolt-court for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d a pound — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvas bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEN, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- No. 1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagon.
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.

- 12 Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Calf—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
- 20 Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Cross.
29. Brown Dutch.
- 30 Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

THE TRADES' UNION PROCESSION.

(From the *True Sun*, April 22, 1834.)

The report which we gave yesterday of the preparatory arrangements for and movement of, the procession, was in the main, correct, though furnished to us by various hands. We did not give the order of the movement, which was as follows :

Horsemens.
The Great Central Committee of Delegates.
The Petition, carried by fourteen persons.

Mr. Carpenter.

Rev. Dr. Wade,
Chaplain of the Executive Council in full canonicals.

Mr.

The Deputation,
consisting of Mr. Watkins, Mr. Hall,
Mr. Brown, Mr. Styles, and Mr. Maples.
The various Trades followed.
The first being the Gold-beaters.

The following is an accurate report of what passed between the deputation Mr. Owen, and Mr. Phillips, at the Home Secretary's office. It does not differ materially from what we gave in part of our impression yesterday. We should previously state, however, that Mr. Owen had accompanied the procession until it arrived at the bottom of Tottenham-court-road, when he left it to communicate to the Secretary of State the last arrangements agreed upon by the committee of management, that his lordship might not be alarmed at the numbers that would pass the Home-office, and also to inform him that to prevent the possibility of disturbance, the lodges would move off the ground at their ultimate destination as soon as they should arrive there. Mr. Owen also informed him by letter that the petition would not be presented, if he wished it, until the unionists had been dismissed from the procession. Mr. Owen waited at the Home-office to receive the deputation, and he was informed by a messenger from Lord Melbourne, that only the five deputies and Mr. Owen were to be admitted into the office.

Mr. OWEN also informed his lord-

ship that the procession could not be changed after his letter was received by Mr. Owen, without throwing the whole arrangement into confusion.

Five persons, accompanied by Mr. Owen, were shown into Mr. Phillips's room, bringing in a petition. One of them said they wished to see Lord Melbourne. Mr. Phillips said Lord Melbourne could not see them.

[Mr. Owen had been distinctly informed by Lord Melbourne, on Friday, in writing, that his lordship would be in the office from eleven till five o'clock, but would not receive any petition from a deputation accompanied by a multitude in procession; and this Mr. Owen stated on Sunday that he had communicated to the persons who were with him on Friday.]

Mr. OWEN wished to enter into a discussion, upon which Mr. Phillips asked him if he was one of the deputation? He replied in the negative.

Mr. Phillips said that he was authorised only to receive the deputation. Mr. Owen again wished to enter upon the subject of the petition, when he was interrupted by Mr. Phillips, who repeated, he could only receive the deputation; upon this Mr. Owen called upon the deputation to go out with him.

After some delay the deputation returned again to Mr. Phillips, but without Mr. Owen. Mr. Phillips then asked if they were a deputation from the meeting held this morning at Copenhagen-fields, and if they brought the petition from the body assembled there accompanied by a procession through the streets to this office? They answered in the affirmative. Mr. Phillips then said Viscount Melbourne was in the office; that he had his directions to say that his lordship could not receive a petition presented under such circumstances, and in such a manner; that Viscount Melbourne had seen a copy of the petition; that he did not disapprove of the language of it, and that if that petition should be presented on another day, and in a becoming manner, he would receive it and lay it before the King; that Viscount Melbourne directed him to add, he would

always be ready to present to the King any petition respectfully worded, and delivered to him in a proper manner.

The deputation then asked if the petition was refused. Mr. Phillips repeated distinctly what he had before said, and desired that they would be accurate in any report they might make of what had passed. The deputation then retired, taking the petition with them, without saying anything further.

While the deputation was engaged at the Home Office, the procession continued to move on down Parliament street and over Westminster-bridge with the intention (as at first arranged) of waiting in the open space opposite Bethlem Hospital for the answer to the petition. On arriving there, however it was found that the space was too small to accommodate the procession swelled as it was by the numerous body of spectators whom curiosity had collected on its march. From this open space the route was continued up St George's-road, passing the Elephant and Castle, and taking the Kennington-road by Newington Church on to Kennington-common, which was entered by the gate close to the Kennington toll-house. On entering they turned to the left making a circuit of the whole common round to the gate by which they came in, so as to occupy the extreme verge of that space in ranks of five or six abreast. By the time that this outer line was nearly completed the deputation arrived on the common, and communicated the result of their interview at the Home Office. Soon after this a similar communication was made to the main body, which was on its way to the common and an order was given to "Halt." Here some of the lodges separated and broke into small detached parties. Others commenced a retrograde movement in the reverse order in which they had advanced. Others again wheeled round and made their way back to Kennington-cross towards some of the bridges, but a very numerous body remained for a while on the common to rest or regale themselves as circumstances permitted. Of the former kind of relief it was quite obvious that

very many of them stood in great need. After resting themselves for some short time, they all departed in perfect good order. By half-past four or five o'clock the common and its vicinity were completely cleared.

The number forming the procession is of course variously estimated. Some, as the *Globe*, taking the numbers to be from 10,000 to 15,000; and others, as the *Morning News*, &c., with a much nearer approximation to the truth, set them down at from 90,000 to 120,000. We shall endeavour to ascertain the exact numbers, and give them in our report in the *Weekly Time Sun*.

It will be seen that one of our contemporaries, in an article that follows, would have it be believed there was no sort of sympathy with the unionists manifested by the amazing number of persons, who lined the streets through which the procession passed. Let the *Times* answer this, who is for once, accurate to the letter in what follows:

"The shops along the whole line of route were closed, and business appeared to be completely suspended. The procession, as it passed along, was not unfrequently greeted by loud cheers from the congregated spectators lining the streets and crowding the 'house tops,' but every such manifestation of feeling was immediately checked by the unionists themselves, who seemed anxious not only to maintain order themselves, but to set an example of peace, discipline, and decorum to the bystanders.

"It is but justice to the whole body assembled on this occasion to add, that nothing could be more orderly than their demeanour throughout the long line of the procession. There was not, nor did there appear to be, the slightest disposition to a breach of the peace in any one of the assembled thousands."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ABERDEEN OBSERVER.

Bolt-court, 1. April, 1834.

SIR,—You have inserted in your paper of the 28. of March, the copy of a long letter, which you assert to have

been written by me to a person whom you call "PRINCIPAL JACK." I never wrote a word of such letter, and I never before heard of such a person. I do not care how much you may be pleased to publish against me, in your own name, in any other name, or in no name at all; but you have no right to publish anything against me in my own name; nor to publish anything as having been written by me, which has not been written by me.

If you have been imposed upon, justice will dictate to you to publish this letter as soon as possible, and to send me a copy of the paper in which you insert it. If you have done me the wrong wilfully (which I shall conclude to be the case unless you comply with this request), I shall then take such steps as, upon due consideration, the nature of the offence may appear to demand.

In the meanwhile, I remain,
your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Messrs. John Davidson and Co,
Aberdeen.

We readily and cheerfully insert the above communication from the honourable Member for Oldham. In pleading our excuse for publishing the epistle to which Mr. Cobbett's name is affixed, we might, with truth, express our ignorance, at the time of publication, of Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing, and of the person who transmitted to us the letter; but as we wish to act candidly towards this well-known gentleman, we must state, that when we gave it publicity, we had great doubts of the authenticity or genuineness of the document; yea, we had almost a certainty that it was not the work of the far-famed author of the "*Political Register*." The letter, although it is, generally speaking, a happy enough imitation of the peculiar and marked manner of Mr. Cobbett's composition, had certain slips in it which made it extremely improbable that Mr. Cobbett was the author. We may

mention, for instance, that the writer, in criticising Principal Jack's violation of the rules of grammar, speaks of the pluperfect tense, an expression which Mr. Cobbett would not have used, as, in his *English Grammar*, he discards all other distinctions in the tenses, than the past, the present, and the future. Besides, the signature had not the abbreviation which Mr. Cobbett constantly uses. Owing to these and other circumstances, we had little faith in the genuineness of the document. It was highly improbable that Mr. Cobbett would have seen the Principal's pamphlet so early after publication, or, indeed, have ever learned that there existed such a noble specimen of original genius in this northern part of the kingdom. It was unlikely, if he had seen it, that he would have been at the trouble of writing any thing in answer to it in a provincial paper, considering that he could, in his own happy style, have made game of it in his own *Register*; and, above all, it was not to be imagined that the hon. Gentleman could abstract so much time from his Parliamentary duties and literary avocations as to become a writer in the *Aberdeen Observer*.

All these things considered, we thought that as nobody would be deceived, no offence could be given. In this supposition, we have, however, it seems, laboured under a mistake, for several persons believed in its authenticity; and, amongst the number, we learn, was the erudite and perspicuous editor of the *Aberdeen Herald* notwithstanding the paragraph which appeared in the last number of his paper, in which pretensions are made to an accurate knowledge of Mr. Cobbett's style. Under these circumstances, we deem it the more proper and necessary that Mr. Cobbett's disavowal of the letter in question should be made public.

It may now be asked, if our conviction was so strong that the document was not authentic, upon what principle of right or justice was it inserted? In explanation, we have to say that we think we have seen Mr. Cobbett and other eminent writers represented as assembled and expressing their opinions

on public matters in the form of a dialogue, without its ever having given offence, or having been supposed that they were the real actors in the drama. In "The Rejected Addresses," also, published about twenty years ago, Mr. Cobbett, and other distinguished writers, both dead and living, are represented, each in his own peculiar style, as delivering an address on the opening of Drury-lane Theatre. No one that we ever heard of was offended with the liberty taken on that occasion, nor any other feeling expressed than that of satisfaction with the happy powers of imitation which were so remarkably evinced by the authors of the work. From these considerations, we did not think there could be much harm in publishing the letter, or that it would have any other effect on Mr. Cobbett than to provoke a smile, and, indeed, his own communication, which we have inserted above, bears no evidence that the equanimity of his temper has been much disturbed about the matter. But setting aside these considerations, we can assure Mr. Cobbett that we intended to append a note to the letter, expressive of our doubts respecting its authenticity, which we forgot to do in the hurry of publication. In the letter complained of, we think we can, from an intimate knowledge of Mr. Cobbett's writings, safely say that there is scarcely a single opinion expressed in it, that has not been repeatedly uttered by Mr. Cobbett; and, consequently, that the writer of the letter had evidently no malignant intentions towards that gentleman. As respects ourselves, we may add, that although we differ from Mr. Cobbett in many of the doctrines which he occasionally advances, yet we have no other feelings towards him than those of gratitude for the occasional instruction we have received from his writings; and, above all, for having so often, by his sarcasm and ridicule, excited our risible faculties. To the letter-writer, as well as to all other persons, we must observe, that if in future, they mean to father their productions of any eminent writer, they ought in charity to ascribe them to some less

voluminous writer, who stands more in need of an addition to his works, than Mr. Cobbett. And they must also notice, that the honourable gentleman has no grateful feelings towards those who would wish to besfriend him by honouring him with the merit of their productions, or by using unwarrantable liberties with his name.

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ.,
M.P.

(From the Newcastle Press.)

SIR,—I am mistaken indeed if you peruse this letter with feelings in anywise altered by the comparative obscurity of its author. Nay, you will even draw a happy inference from the circumstance, and deem that "all hail" of good omen which reaches you from the shady recess of private rather than sunlit summits of public life. To a man like you it is good to find that you have friends everywhere; and that the reputation of your good deeds and good name has reached the bosoms of the humble as well as shaken the hearts of the exalted. It is the sign of true fame, the proof of true power. The earthquake which shakes the cottage is more potent than that with which the palace and the tower quiver and tremble, and that is a tempest indeed which agitates the thorn in the valley even as it does the pine on the mountain.

You have lately done that, sir, which has in some measure astonished both your friends and enemies. You have probably drawn upon your head a new sort of opponents in addition to the host of insects or reptiles that are already leagued against you. But if you have increased enmity on the one hand you have secured admiration on the other; and many who were your friends before are doubly so since your famous declaration on the "Cant of National Faith," and your own uncondemned opinions on that thing impudently called the "Nation's Debt."

To Mr Cobbett the honour is certainly due of having first spoken in the House of this affair in the manner in

which it ought to be spoken of. To you has fallen the glory of having first given notice of a motion pointing at an *equitable adjustment* of this monstrous affair.

This bold and all-important avowal you would of course expect to double the enmity of many who had been enemies before, and to cool the zeal of some who had been scarcely as warm as friends. It has done both, and you are now assailed by the sulky and vindictive pens of those whose self-contradictory patriotism consists in keeping up the system and railing at its effects, and by the tiny quiver of others who are little capable either of keeping up or pulling down any thing, but whose vocation it is to keep up a sort of penny-cracker battery of squibs and epigrams for the edification of cockney club politicians, and freethinking wits from behind the desk or counter.

From these assailants you will turn with a smile. They are the natural offspring of the time; and as that time proceeds in its mutations will dwindle and die like the ephemeron at the approach of the set of sun unfated to behold its rise again.

It is not for me to trouble you with the petulance or shallowness of persons whose anger would itself trouble you as little as their applause probably has gratified you. The purpose of this letter is very different. It is to assure you that here, in the north of England, there is a body of men who have ever thought for themselves, and who think with you on this important topic. The reasonings by which they have arrived at the same conclusion will much of it be familiar to you. It is fit that their pleasure and gratitude should be equally well known and present to your mind.

To you the history of the beginning of this most iniquitous system must be perfectly well known. You must be well aware that it was invented by one who united the accomplishments of a Scotchman with those of a bishop—a bishop of that form of religion which certainly not having been successful in teaching its ministers how to give money, may therefore have prospered

better in teaching how to borrow it. You will know well the unhallowed purposes for which this system of mortgaging was carried to the astounding length we now behold it. You will not need to be told that it reached the enormous sum of two hundred and fifty millions of pounds at the end of the unprincipled attempt to force the rule of the boroughmongers upon our American colonies; to be swelled by Pitt and his successors in an equally unsuccessful attempt to destroy the growth of liberty in France, to the overwhelming sum of eight hundred millions of pounds, bearing an interest of nearly thirty millions a year, a sum so monstrous laid upon the shoulders of a people for purposes so monstrous that history shrinks back aghast as from some mis-shapen and incredible fiction, and even fancy stares.

But this astonishment, great as it is, dwindles to nothing compared with that which follows. It is our lot here "to pile Ossa upon Pelion"; and you must have shared the wonder of all those who have been, or who shall in time future be told that this enormous burden, gigantic as it was, has been absolutely doubled by the acts of the very Government which helped to impose it! Of this your speeches have shown that you are well aware, but permit me to doubt whether either you or any one else who has spoken or written upon this subject has ever put down the extent of the depreciation at its real amount. During the entire period almost of bank restriction the state of the exchanges in conjunction with the surreptitious melting of the coin absolutely rendered gold bullion in this country a drug. For years there were no quoted prices. There, in fact, was no price. Wheat, it is true, on the average, only about doubled in price; but the rents of land, be it remembered, were in many cases tripled between 1793 and 1815. Immense extents of common and pasture land were during the whole period brought into tillage, year after year, and this in any calculation of the extent of the depreciation of the currency, in which the greater part of the debt

was borrowed, must be taken into account if we argue from the price of wheat. I am strongly inclined to think that in 1812, 1813, and 1814, the value of the one-pound note must have been *much under ten standard silver shillings.*

It was computed by Mr. Tooke, a most competent judge of this portion of the question, that between April 1823 and December 1825, "not less than *fifty per cent.* had been added to the amount of our circulating medium." How is it possible then to suppose that in a twenty-one years' war not more than double this addition had taken place?

Thus, then, you and those who think with you are justified in saying that this tremendous millstone of debt enough in all conscience for any country to bear was doubled, at least in weight, by the insane bill of Peel. The thirty millions of interest now payable was in effect turned into sixty millions; and the man who having prior to 1793 possessed stock worth 40*l.* per cent. for 3 per cent. consols, and who from the change in the value of money sold that same stock at 96*l.* per cent., suddenly found his capital doubled; inasmuch as the 96*l.* which before Peel's bill was carried into full effect would only have bought about *twenty quarters* of wheat of good quality, will now buy *forty quarters* of the same quality. And because you have denounced this manifest piece of injustice, and laughed at the folly of paying borrowed paper pounds, not worth *ten shillings* a piece, in sterling gold pounds worth *twenty shillings* a piece, and christened the "patter" of the abettors of this swindle "the cant of National Faith," you are to be vilified as "dishonest" and as the utterer of "profigacies" in principle!—Psha! laugh, sir, at such rigmoré!—It may be teasing and even provoking at times, but it will *not endure long.*

Evident as it is, however, that the bill of the Immortal Blunderer, has put this "debt," as it is called, upon a footing on which it cannot long be suffered to stand, you have, acute and profound lawyer as you are, probably not suffered your reflections to be suddenly dried up here. It is impossible that a mind,

learned, acute, bold, and inquiring like yours, should not have asked itself this question—"By what right was this money ever borrowed at all, or by what right was posterity made security for repayment?"

What reasonable right (and all rights must be built on reason) can a nation possibly have to borrow? "Necessity, the stern law of self-preservation," it is replied. Be it so. But we, too, have our necessities; you, it seems, with a revenue comparatively unencumbered could not preserve yourselves. How are we, then, bent to the earth by the encumbrances you have laid upon us, to preserve our national honour and national safety! If necessity was sufficient to enable you to burden us, it is an argument equally good to justify us in dispensing with such burdens. But you, sir, will not be satisfied with this. You will demand of these slippery knaves how they dare to use the word "necessity" at all. Take it upon their own showing, it was a matter of stern necessity, of pressing exigence, of *national life or death, slavery or victory.* Was it so? It was this sort of exigence, was it? The money was there, for if it were not, how could it be either lent or borrowed? and yet, exigent as was the necessity, and though the money was there, the patriots then existing, it seems, did not think it worth their while to give it to save their country. Oh! no, nor even to lend it without usurious interest: oh! no; and yet we, their descendants, are to pay what they then living, when the pretended necessity occurred, would not even lend without extra interest! If any thing so monstrous as this was ever yet palmed upon the world, wisdom and folly may change names, places they must have changed before. "Oh! but (it will be replied) the men then living possessed the land and houses of the country, and they mortgaged them as security to those who lent the money, and it must be repaid or the securities given up instead of the amount." That is to say, the *landlords must walk out and the fundholders walk in! Let them, if they can be persuaded*

so to do. That, however, will hardly be the case, and so wise a process is no worth the risk of a civil war or a revolution. But this is of a strange sort of mortgaging, and the parties to it are equally strange for it so happens that a pretty good number of these estates have been bought over again by the very Jews who had *already* lent money upon them, according to this precious theory. At this strange fact, however, you will not stop but in the language of indignation you will exclaim, By what pretence of law can men *possessing only a life interest in a country, pretend to mortgage the country?* As well might we pretend to have a right to *sell* our country to Austria or Russia, and emigrate to America to spend the money; for he who can *mortgage* can *sell*. Atrocious supposition! We are bound by every recognised law to leave it as good as we had it from our ancestors. To defend it against foreign foes; to preserve its internal liberties; to stand by its boundaries, rights, and immunities. A free nation, therefore, can only have a life interest in the country they inhabit; the soil, the buildings, the institutions, the laws, and the liberties, are our sole property, and must be delivered over in course of time from one generation to another. To talk of "*national mortgage*" is absurd. If individuals choose to borrow money upon their estates for national purposes of other individuals, let the estates be marked out and made liable; but this is *individual* and not *national mortgage*.

To you, sir, it must be apparent that this verbiage of "*mortgage*," or "*national security*," is mere deceptions talk, in which these phrases are used on purpose to deceive. You know well enough that the interest and principal of money borrowed by nations, must, when it is paid at all, be paid out of the national income, and that this income is for the most part the product of labour alone; the soil and the buildings and the machinery are nothing. It is the labour of the people employed in using these things that produces the annual riches of a country; and if debts are to be

paid out of these riches, it is *THE PEOPLE*, and not the lands and houses that are so mortgaged. In what way a *mortgaged man* differs from a *slave* it is hard to say. My definition of the slave is that he is a being whose labour belongs to his master, all save that modicum which may be necessary to procure the means for the continuation of his own existence, and whose life is in his master's power, inasmuch as he may work him to death if such be his pleasure, and if such a sacrifice be necessary to his own schemes of emolument or ambition. I shall not ask you, sir, how far the productive classes of England and Ireland—compelled to pay tithes to the amount of eight millions a year—compelled to pay poor-rates to the amount of very nearly nine millions—compelled to pay taxes to the amount of forty-five millions a year—besides county and other miscellaneous rates—I shall not ask you, sir, how far men so engaged can be proved *not* to come under either of the definitions before described.

Not asking you this, however, I shall not hesitate to put the question, if not to you, yet, *coram judice*, in your presence as a lawyer, whether any doctrine so monstrous as that of mortgaging the souls and bodies of children for debts contracted by their fathers, grandfathers, or great grandfathers, or ancestors more remote, was ever before promulgated, either prior or subsequently to the spread of Christianity? From you, as a lawyer, if I needed it, I should obtain the answer "*no!*" The old savage Roman law, you would tell me, did indeed give the body of the insolvent debtor, bones, sinews, flesh, life, all to the mercy of the creditor, but not his children; not his posterity to all eternity, until the debt were redeemed! Oh! no; it was reserved for these later times to uphold the descendants of Abraham in doctrine such as this, and under the "*cant of national faith*," (once more I thank you, sir, for the word) and under the cant of national faith to pass their children "*through fire*," as did those who worshipped Moloch, the sole difference being that here *Mammon*

is the god sacrificed to—a worse than Moloch!

Through your mind doubtless all these and many other reflections have passed before you made up your mind to that opinion which, to your eternal honour, and to the ultimate welfare of your country, you have thrown in the teeth of the imbecile and subservient Parliament, and upon which we are to expect you to found ulterior measures as to this all-engrossing subject. I may be permitted to doubt, however, whether either you or any one else who has touched this topic has ever asked himself the question *how much* of this money so pretended to be borrowed was ever really received by the country? I say *received by the country*; for let us not be deceived by words. When the loans were negotiated and turned into "scrip," (how I hate the slang!) and the scrip sold, and the money paid to the Treasury, it was still not received by the country. No! (say you). No, I say again,—by the Government received, but not by the country. Such part of the money as the country really did receive it received in the shape of warlike stores of all kinds, in the services of all sorts of fighting men, naval and military. In this shape were these loans received by the country; and after what fashion were these things managed? why, after this fashion—all these things denominated ammunition and warlike stores were furnished by contractors, who sent articles of the worst quality at the most extravagant prices, and thus made immense fortunes. Clerks who "passed," as is the phrase, the imperfect goods, received their share of the plunder in bribes—bachelors who contracted for victualling became worth millions by similar means—ships were hired as transports at prices which paid for the vessels in a few months: and thus a huge portion of the money which knaves say, and fools believe, was spent in the "public service," was in fact sacked by loan-mongers, jobbers, brokers, contractors, clerks, commissaries, sutlers, commissioners, ship-owners, and every possible description of official leech. To what extent this

was carried on who sees all things alone can tell—it must have been immense, and my own impression is that a full third of the money must have been in this way plundered. That the system of pillage was universal throughout the government offices, and, "notorious as the sun at noon-day," no man who knows anything at all of this matter can doubt! I shall, however, make bold at the risk of seeming garrulous to tell you a story—a true one at all events, relating to this matter. It has at least the merit of singularity:

In Walbrook, just behind the Mansion-house, was carried on the large and old establishment of Barwis and Charnley, wholesale grocers and tea-dealers. Mr. Barwis, the senior partner, was a merchant of the old "Sir Andrew Freeport" school, and a man of good talent as well as high honour. In the time of Pitt's administration, however, his ill stars led him to make a tender for a government contract, which was accepted. The contract was executed in the most correct manner, and Mr. Barwis was beginning to think of getting his money, for he imagined he had no more to do, when to his astonishment one fine morning he found upon his desk an unsigned letter, but sealed with the office seal, informing him that the "*douceur*" necessary to expedite the "*passing*" of his goods had not been paid! The rage of Barwis at this announcement may readily be fancied by any honest man, (it would be in vain to attempt to make a rogue understand it); and determining to go to the fountain-head at once, he went directly to Mr. Pitt with the letter in his hand. To Pitt he was well known, having been frequently engaged with him in deputations on East and West India trading matters, and without ceremony he told his story, and put the anonymous letter into the hand of the minister. Whether Pitt was surprised or not it is impossible to say, but for once he was candid. He admitted the enormous extent of abuse: he said so overwhelming was it, he could not in the midst of a war interfere without producing most injurious confusion, and finally, which

was most extraordinary of all, *advise Barrow to pay the money!* This, however, was too much for the stomach of the honourable old merchant; he flatly refused, and so ended his first and last contract. During Pitt's life the particulars of the interview were never divulged. The minister survived the merchant, but Mr. Charnley, the junior partner, after Pitt's death related the anecdote, and from him I had it. Mr. Charnley has also now departed this life, but both he and I have relatives to whom he has often told the circumstances, and who can, if it were necessary, corroborate what I have related.

Thus were raised, thus were disposed of the moneys composing what is called the national debt, a fictitious debt, created under circumstances never paralleled before, and I hope never to be paralleled again in the history of mankind. To this debt, and the causes of its creation, we owe altogether our present unspeakable difficulties, difficulties out of which I confess I hardly see the glimmering of a path, unless that path be revolution. It is not merely the weight of the debt itself that we feel, but the additional weight of other things caused by it. It is the cause of the greater part of the eight or nine millions a year of poor-rate, and those again are the cause of the immense standing army, inasmuch as these with the other taxes cannot be collected without it.

It is clear, then, that it is by a redemption alone of this horrible incubus that the country can be relieved. To talk of relief by means of a *free trade in corn* is to "darken counsel by words without knowledge." A free trade in corn would *raise the price abroad and not cheapen it here*. It would, beyond question, enable a certain portion of our manufacturing population to purchase wheaten bread, beer, and meat, who cannot do so now, and *thus for such a free trade would be an immediate and indubitable blessing*. But be it remembered this corn trade could only be thus *beneficially* carried on to the extent to which the nations producing the grain *could take our manufactures in exchange*

—and those who imagine this to be a boundless affair are, I am afraid, "in the clouds".—Oh no. The compromise of the debt, sir, as you told the House of Commons, can alone relieve the country; and in this opinion I assure you, you are joined by thousands who either want the moral courage to say their thought, or else merely shrug their shoulders and whisper it, "with a bad breath and in a bond-maid's key," as if they were afraid the very walls had ears. Such men know well enough that you *have spoken the truth*. They know there is no other way. They know that no Minister dares to propose a return to unconvertible paper and a repeal of the bill of the immortal idiot Peel. They know that if this be attempted it must be in some *crisis*, and by order in council; under which circumstances it would inevitably be discredited, forged, refused, and destroyed. Thus they know; but dare not say so. It is for men like you to give them this necessary courage. Let this matter be only plainly dealt with in and out of Parliament; let things be called by their right names, let this juggle be called "a juggle"; let this palpable swindle be denominated as it ought to be, "Swindle", and let the truth be *contemptuously and always* thrown in the teeth of the fools and liars who mouth and splutter "the cant of rational faith"; and this affair will soon be placed up in a proper footing with all atonal men of whatever rank of life.

Sir James Graham, who since he became a Minister, has grown "discreet," will again begin to talk of beginning with a lop-off of "thirty per cent.," and with my Lord Durham for Prime Minister, I would readily bet a half-penny that the operation would be got over with tolerable quiet and less kicking than many people imagine.

To conclude; as a subject for humane and politic compromise, I trust you will always consider this matter; but I also trust that you will now never consider it as any thing else. That *in such compromise we must come* you seem to have made up your mind, and I for my part though probably hardly so old as you,

made mine up to the same conclusions twenty years ago, for any particular sagacity in doing this I shall not take any credit either for myself or you. The truth is it was done to our hand, and what is better *by a Tory*, the clear-sighted and profound *David Hume*. His essay on "public credit" is a perfect and lustrous crystallization of pure common sense upon a subject which seems to have bewildered, without fail, every head destitute of that scarce and valuable commodity, no matter what their other talents might be. I have prevailed upon the public-spirited proprietor of this journal to republish Hume's essay upon the same sheet with this letter, and I refer you with extreme gratification to his concluding sentence written eighty years ago, in which with all the confidence and more than the coolness of a prophet, he speaks thus:

These seem to be the events which are not very remote, and which reason foresees as clearly almost as she can do any thing that lies in the womb of time. And though the ancients maintained, that, in order to reach the gift of prophecy, a certain divine fury or madness was requisite, one may safely affirm, that, in order to deliver such prophecies as these, no more is necessary than merely to be in one's senses, free from the influence of popular madness and delusion.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

April 19, 1831.

TERMINATION OF THE OLDHAM INQUEST. — VERDICT MANSLAUGHTER.

OLDHAM, WEDNESDAY MORNING,
APRIL 24.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 25. April, 1834.)

Mrs. Thompson, about one o'clock this day, received a note from the coroner to attend and enter into recognizances to appear at Lancaster the next assizes, and give evidence against Isherwood and Donelly on a charge of man-

slaughter, in the case of Bently, who was shot at the riots on Tuesday, the 16. inst. Mrs. Thompson having to pass through the crowd on her way to the inquest-room, was accompanied by her husband, both of whom were evidently agitated lest any insults should be offered them. Their fears were quite groundless. Nothing offensive was either said or done to them.

About eleven o'clock this morning the jury were liberated, after having been 27 hours under the eye and protection of the constable, but no verdict was pronounced. This, it appears, cannot be done till all the witnesses have signed and sworn to their respective depositions, and entered into recognizances to appear at the next assizes for the county, to give their evidence against Isherwood and Donelly, who are both committed—Isherwood for Manslaughter, and Donelly as an accessory. Thus has this very celebrated affair come to a close for the present at least. The verdict was announced at seven o'clock. The crowd was not great, nor any strong feeling displayed on hearing the result.

The committee of commissioners of police held an adjourned meeting this evening, particularly to investigate into the extraordinary steps Heywood took with Scholes, the constable at Chadderton (particulars of which appeared in your journal of the 22. instant). A warm discussion is expected. If it be able to obtain a report of the proceedings this evening, it shall be added as a postscript. This man's conduct now completely absorbs the public mind. Another troop of cavalry left this day. The town will soon be as heretofore, no doubt. It is only right to state, that not one of those who were committed for the riot are members of the Trades' Union.

ONE O'CLOCK.—The following is a list of the Mills which resumed work this morning in Oldham, &c.: Mr. Wareings, Nicholson and Lees, Peter Seavill, Chapel mills, Whittaker's mills, Lees and Miles's mills, Daniel Hilton, Travis and Lees, Thomas Wildes, Leverdale and Co., D. Hebberts, and three or four others.

RAIL-ROADS.

I HAVE just seen a work on this subject, written by Mr. COAT, and published by Smith and Elder. The writer proves very clearly, I think, that these "waust improvements" are likely to turn out to be monstrous losses to those who have been foolish enough to spend their money on them. However, it is not of much consequence, seeing that they are, generally speaking, in the hands of Jews, jobbers, and usurers. I should like to have inserted an extract from this work this week, but I have not room. In the mean time I strongly recommend Mr. COAT's book to the attention of all who are interested in these matters. Mr. COAT is a man of great knowledge with regard to these affairs. His father was, I understand, the inventor of a new process for making bar-iron, by which this country has been rendered independent of all foreigners for the supply of that article.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Friday morning.

THE debate on this subject has continued for three nights, and is again adjourned. Mr. O'CONNELL occupied the first night, Mr. SPRING RICE the second, and Messrs. TENNENT, FLARGUS O'CONNOR, and LITTLETON, last night. Mr. RUIHYEN moved the adjournment of the debate.

COBBETT'S MAGAZINE.

THE magazine which has hitherto been published under this name, will be called, in future, "*The Shilling Magazine*." This alteration has been made at my request; for, though my readers know the contrary, many people might infer that I was connected with it, in some way or another. I do not wish for this change because of the political opinions which this work promulgates. So far from this being the case, that I have promised to contribute an article or two myself, if I can find the time. From what I have seen on public matters, in this magazine, I truly wish that it may

have (as indeed I believe it has) an extensive circulation.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

FORSTER, S, L. Smith, and J. Jewitt, Manchester, cotton-spinners.

SMITH, E. T., London-road, St. George's-fields, dealer.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

TWELLS, J. T., Tamworth, Staffordshire, draper.

WEBER, P. E., Liverpool, ironfounder.

BANKRUPTS.

BATTIE, W., Sheffield, silver-plater.

BINSTEAD, H., Southampton - buildings, Hulborn, dealer in cigars.

HUNTER, J., Cheap-side, shoemaker.

JARRIN, W. A., Quadrant, Regent-street, confectioner.

NATION, J., Birmingham, turner.

SHEPHERD, D., Hereford place, Commercial road, haberdasher.

TREGONING, J., Manchester, merchant.

WERTHEIM, M., Friday-street, foreign-warehouseman.

WEST, S., Swathling, Hampshire, fellmonger.

WEST, A., Wilton, Wiltshire, fellmonger.

TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BACON, J., Greenwich, plasterer.

ROBERTSON, W. P., Buenos Ayres, Rio de la Plata, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ADNAM, G., Brighton, commission agent.

BAILY, J., Hertfordshire, victualler.

BAKER, W., Thirsk, Yorkshire, grocer.

BRAITHWAITE, W., jun., Middlewich, Cheshire, common-brewer.

COOMBS, H., Liberty of the Close of Sarum, Wiltshire, money-scrivener.

EVE, J., Fleet-street, ironmonger.

HALLAM, J., J., and T., Nottingham, builders.

HAMER, T., Huddersfield, woolstapler.

HARDING, J., Kensington-canal-basin, Kensington, timber-merchant.

LEDGARD, E., Miffield, Yorkshire, seed-crusher.

OVERTON, C., Monk Fryston, Yorkshire, miller.

SCHLOSS, A., Strand, bookseller.

SWANWICK, Nottingham, innkeeper.

THOMPSON, J., Sheffield, grocer.
 THOMPSON, W., Witney, Oxfordsh., coach-
 maker.
 WILLIAMSON, G., Ivinghoe, Buckingham
 shire, baker.

Cork .. 4s. to 6s.
 Limerick .. 4s. to 6s.
 Waterford .. 4s. to 7s.
 Dublin .. 4s. to 4s.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

PARKER, W., Newton-upon-Ayn, Gunder.

SMITHFIELD, April 21.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 21.—
 The supplies fresh up to this morning's mar-
 ket from the home counties were again mod-
 erate. The market was thickly attended, and
 the millers selecting the finer descriptions of
 Wheat, particularly white qualities, the cur-
 rency of this day so might was maintained,
 but all secondary and inferior sorts met with
 little or no attention, and prices nominally
 the same, the trade altogether closed heavy.
 Bonded Corn is inquired after, but we heard
 of no actual business being transacted.

The arrival of Barley was very limited;
 the few samples offering were held at the
 previous currency, particularly the malting
 qualities; but no disposition was shown
 towards the purchase of distillery and grind-
 ing parcels.

Malt remains in a very inanimate state, and
 only the prime samples saleable.

The strands were bare of Oats, and those on
 hand met a free sale at an advance of 1s. to
 1s. 6d. per qr. on the rates of last Monday, the
 market being about 9d. per qr. dearer than on
 Friday.

Beans are in request at an advance of 1s.
 per qr.

White Peas are extremely scarce, and if at
 market would perhaps have realized rather
 more money, for yet, however, must be noted
 very steady. Grey Peas improved fully 1s.
 per qr., and triple qualities very firm.

The flour trade wears a firmer aspect. A
 good inquiry was experienced for the parcels
 of Flour, &c. ship, at last week's improve-
 ment of 1s. per sack. The general run,
 however, of Irish, cannot be noted above 46s.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Bakers | 32s. to 37s. |
| — Grey | 30s. to 34s. |
| Beans, small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 34s. |
| Oats, Potatoes | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 95s. to 100s. |
| — Mess, new .. | 50s. to 53s. per barrel |
| Butter, Holland | 66s. to 70s. per cwt. |
| — Calf | 50s. to 70s. |

The supply of Beasts, Calves, and Porks, was but moderate, the supply of Sheep and Lamb good. The principal Beef sold, in some few instances, at an advance of 2d. per stone; but with the generality of Beef, as also with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a third of the Beasts were Scots, intermixed with, perhaps, 200 Norfolk home-breds; and the remaining two-thirds about equal numbers of short horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with about 200 Herefords, about sixty Sussex, about the same number of Irish beasts, 100 Town's-end Cows, few Stafford, &c.

About 1,800 of the Beasts, about a moiety of which were Scots and home-breds, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, short-horns, and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly short horns, with a few runts, Scots, and Devons, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 10, chiefly Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords, Irish beasts, &c. from our western and midland districts; about 140, nearly a moiety of which were Sussex beasts, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons runts, Scots, Irish beasts, &c., from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and the rest, including the Town's-end Cows, chiefly from the stall feeders, &c. near London.

A third, at least, of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to four of the latter, about a third South-Downs, and the remaining third put equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Northfords, with a few pens of old Lancashire, horned Dorsets and Somerses, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, supposed to number about 600, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, half-breds of mixed crosses, South-Downs and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 25.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| per Cent. } | Fr. Sat Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs. } |
| one Ann. } | 90½ 90½ 90½ 90½ 90½ |

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WM. COBBETT.

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MY COUGH.

Forming my Farm, 30. April, 1834

DANIEL, in his "RURAL SPORTS," tells us of a gentleman who was very skilful, and very particular, in hunting his *harriers*. When the dogs are at fault, or trailing, it is of great consequence, that no voice but that of the huntsman is heard; and, especially, that no sudden exclamation or noise take place; for, the dogs, eager to start the game, or to discover the right direction in which it is gone, lift up their heads, look about, and hope that their trouble is over. This puts a stop to their diligent search; and, indeed, is a great hinderance to their pursuit, and to the sport of the day. DANIEL, as an instance of the rigidity of the gentleman before-mentioned, tells us, that, one day, when the *harriers* were busily trailing, a gentleman amongst the horsemen in the field, was taken with a *very violent coughing*; whereupon the owner of the *harriers* rode up to him in great haste, and with angry countenance, saying, "Sir! I wish your cough was *better*!" "I wish so, too," replied the other, "and your *temper* along with it."

Now amongst the innumerable persons who do me the honour to make inquiries relative to the state of my health, the tone of some certainly does too much resemble that of the owner of the *harriers* above-mentioned. What! is it not enough to have the bodily affliction; and, added to that, the inexpressible mortification at being compelled to be absent from my duty in Parliament at this time; are not these

enough, without being subjected to something very much bordering on reproach for my absence? Such persons are not only very unreasonable; but they discover a *want of feeling*. They tell me at the same time, how grateful they are to me for my knowledge that I have communicated to them; and for the great good which they think I have done for the country; their only feeling, therefore, ought to be sorrow for the bodily sufferings which I now have, and anxiety for my complete re-establishment; and they ought, as many, many friends do, to press me by all means, not to attempt to resume my labours in Parliament, nor even to think of it, until I find that my strength is fully and completely restored; and this, indeed, is the advice which I shall most assuredly follow.

My state, at present, is this: my cough is gradually leaving me; but I have to suffer a degree of lassitude and want of appetite, more difficult to get rid of than the cough. I think, however, that that is beginning to go. I have been able to-day to think about dining upon a sucking-pig on Sunday next; and to think about it without loathing. I have tried very nice young chickens, very nicely roasted; and though I ate of them, it has been without relish. The only meat that I eat with anything worthy of being called an appetite, is a rasher of bacon, all fat, roasted before the fire, and laid upon a thin bit of bread. Five or six times a day I have half a pint of very nicely made beef tea, which has been the main-stay. Upon the whole, I think I am much better, and I feel stronger than four days ago.

It is a very curious thing that I have not had the smallest degree of *headach*; and, indeed, I cannot recollect the day when I had; it would seem as if this top part of me were wholly disconnected with all the rest. If I had not been in Parliament nobody but those immediately about me would ever have heard

of my being ill. Being there, the fact was obliged to be stated by myself; and, indeed, it was necessary that it should be stated. According to present appearances my recovery will go gradually on; but upon one thing I am determined; and that is, not to return to London till my strength be completely restored; and this is the advice of my doctors, as well as of the best and truest of my friends.

CHEAP DEFENCE OF NATIONS.

WHEN the French republicans had abolished nobility, and all orders giving men rank above their fellow-citizens, the old lined and pensioned hack, BURKE, spoke of it as a thing very *foolish*, seeing that titles and honours cost *nothing*; and he therefore called them the "*cheap defence of nations*," representing them as a *revenue* for military and other public services.

This nation, as well as the French, knew this to be an impudent lie; for they had always seen that money followed the title. They had seen men elevated to the peerage for what were called "*brilliant services*"; but they had always seen pensions or grants attached to the title. They had seen, in fact, that it was much more an affair of money than of honour; and that it was the *dearest* defence, the most costly defence, that a nation could possibly obtain. They knew BURKE to be an impudent liar; and they saw him get two enormous pensions for telling a lie, which pensions he secured to his executors, and which pensions we are paying to this day.

But, as if for the purpose of banishing this lie completely from the minds of men, we are now, it seems, actually to pay some money on account of the mere act of giving a title to those innumerable swarms of men who are called "*Knights of the Bath*." Let me, before I go further, insert the King's message to the House of Commons, delivered to the House about ten days ago:

"His Majesty acquaints the House of

Commons, that having taken into his consideration the present state of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, he deems it proper that measures should be taken for regulating and limiting the number of the members of the several classes, as well as for the purpose of relieving persons upon whom in future this distinction shall be conferred, from the payment of fees and charges as authorised by the existing statutes and regulations. His Majesty desires this communication in the words of his Majesty's command, that his Majesty will direct due inquiries to be instituted as to the losses to be sustained by the respective officers interested in the fees, and enable his Majesty to award to them such compensation as may be judged expedient."

Thus, then, when a man who has been strutting about in fine clothes, and receiving pay for a dozen years out of the public money; and has got half-pay for life, and a pension secured for his wife, wants a title; that title is to be made out for him by a person who has been accustomed to be paid for it, and, instead of his paying for the title himself, the people are now to pay for it: the malt of the labourer is to be taxed to pay for a few words written to make this fellow a "*sir*," and his wife a "*lady*"! One would think that this had been done for the express purpose of seeing how far this people were capable of yielding. It is the grossest thing ever attempted to be done within my recollection: to make the people pay for the titles given to these fellows and their wives!

For my part, I think I personally know; that is to say, am personally acquainted with, about three or four of these *Knights of the Bath*. I never will be personally acquainted with another, beyond those four; and I never will have any communication with them, verbal or written. I shall consider each of them as taking from me some portion of my earnings; and I will have no more to do with them than I would have to do with persons belonging to the Bourbon-like police. Others may do as

they please in this respect; but, for my part, I will have nothing to do with "sirs" and "ladies," whose title of nobility I have been compelled to help to pay for. The sum, in this case, may be comparatively small; but the principle is great. It seems to me that any thing so directly offensive to every principle of justice never was heard of before. It is too palpable not to be seen by every one; and one would hope that it must produce a suitable effect.

CHURCH AFFAIRS.

It is surprising that the Ministers should entertain the hope of propping up the "*church and state*" any longer. Whether we look at their tithe-scheme, at their church-rate scheme, at their marriage act, at their university scheme, we find all in the same character: an attempt every where to cajole the Dissenters; and an attempt nowhere to grant their claims. There is an apparent yielding; but, in fact, no yielding at all. What I disliked in all these measures, is, the insincerity every where visible. The Dissenters themselves will find, at last, that they must come to the grand point: *a total separation of church and state*. Short of this they will gain nothing. Here all is fair: all is understood; there is sense in every argument. It is very curious that this was the very principle for which Sir THOMAS MORE and Bishop FISHER died on the scaffold; a principle, therefore, sealed with the blood of two of the most virtuous men that ever lived.

KISKEP, in his celebrated remonstrance to Henry the Eighth, told him, that it was contrary to every principle of Christianity; that it was impossible that a church could be believed in, if the head of the church were the head of the state; that it was something so monstrous to call upon to believe that a little girl, or a little boy, (for such might be the sovereign) was the head of CHRIST's church; that a baby in arms; a frail little thing cut-

ting its teeth, could be sanctioned by CHRIST as the head of his church.

This feeling of abhorrence for so monstrous a thing has always been in existence from that day to this; and that which the Dissenters now say, has been always said by all men of sense and sincerity.

The evils and oppressions which have arisen out of this union of church and state, have been borne for three hundred years; but always borne with great grudging and great impatience. In the meanwhile nothing has been proposed to be done to give satisfaction to the Dissenters. They are still to pay church-rates as much as the church-people: they are still to pay tithes: they are, in fact, still to be excluded from the universities. In their marriage act there is no justice; and the hope seems to have been, to cajole them to a non-resistance for another year, and to take the chances of their desisting from their demands.

That man must be blind, absolutely blind, who does not see that this church, if not taken quietly to pieces, will excite a struggle of the most violent description, which may involve every creature in the community. What is the miserable measure about tithes, leaving the bishopricks, and leaving the deans and chapters, and leaving the colleges, in exclusive possession of their immense mass of public wealth? All men now know the amount of this mass of property; all men now know the purposes to which it is applied; and the people, whether Dissenters or churchmen, will never rest, until it is employed for real public purposes.

The Dissenters will find themselves under the necessity of being *frank* with the church-people; and of demanding with them, that the whole of this immense affair shall be revised; and that it shall be dealt with as something over which the legislature has complete control. The Ministers seem to be the only persons in the country who are blind upon the subject; and it is to be feared that they will not open their eyes until it be too late. The measures which they contemplate make up a revo-

lution; but it is a revolution that gives satisfaction to no human being. As the church was established by LAW, so by LAW it ought to be at once unestablished; the whole of its property is public property: it ought to be all resumed by law; and the church-religion put upon the same footing with that of any description of Dissenters. As to *property*, the tithe project itself shows that it is all public property; and it signifies not for men to put forth pretensions upon the subject, reason says that the whole of this property ought to be resumed. There is no other way of settling the thing quietly. It is very true that the aristocracy would be stripped of a large part of their possessions; that is to say, of the public property which they have in their hands; but it is equally true that this must leave them quietly, or there must be a *struggle for it*.

I hope that the Dissenters will not suffer themselves to be put off; and that they will not be prevailed upon to believe that they can ever have substantial justice, without such a change as shall make a complete separation of church and state. There is nothing short of this: while this union remains, no change substantially beneficial can be made: no such change is contemplated at present by the Government; and never will be contemplated by it, as long as the Dissenters refrain from coming forward with a frank and open avowal of that which they really want.

THE POOR-LAW PROJECT.

I HAVE this bill; but I will not now attempt an analysis of it, chiefly because I have not duly considered the extent of all its terrible consequences if attempted to be carried into execution. It is a sort of *Austrian* project: a scheme for bringing every thing and every body within the control, the immediate control, of the kingly part of the Government. This bill will totally abrogate all the local government of the kingdom: the gentlemen and the magistrates will be totally divested of all

power, tending to uphold their character, and to secure their property and their personal safety in the country. I have talked to twenty gentlemen, farmers, and attorneys; every man of them has said: "If this bill be attempted to be put into execution, there will be a revolution in England"; and I am so firmly persuaded of the soundness of their opinion, that I should look upon the result as something inevitable. The ejection of this monstrous scheme by the Lords would assuredly take place, but it would have done for the Ministry in the meanwhile; the bill would remain tied round the neck of GREY and ARTHUR to the last hour of their lives. If this bill be pushed through the House of Commons, a thing that I can hardly believe; and if it be rejected by the Lords, it will give the Lords power to do just what they please with this Ministry. They will see their opportunity of course; and this will be the opportunity for the putting down of this Ministry for ever. The whole nation detests the bill, save and except the hatchers of it.

In the country an execution of this bill is literally impossible: every parish would be plunged into confusion immediately; men would not work, and there must be constables and jailers, or police and soldiers, stationed in every parish. The Parliament may pass the law, but it never can be executed; it would be a mere heap of rubbishy words, flung aside, while the government of parishes would be carried on without any law at all.

However, it is a nice question with me, *whether I ought to wish to see it pass into a law or not*; for, if I believe that it will tend to the destruction of the present system altogether; that it will tend to put an end to that system which taxes the poor man's malt to pay the clerks who write out titles for the *Knights of the Bath*: that system which makes the working people pay eight shillings a week to keep soldiers' children, while their own children are allowed but one and threepence a week to keep them; that system that compels the working people to pay old sol-

diers in CHELSEA hospital twelve shillings a week to keep them, while old worn-out labourers are allowed two and sixpence a week to keep them; that system which compels the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to keep in their pay two hundred admirals, and four hundred and fifty generals; that system which makes them pay 75,000*l.* for building up one single gateway to one palace: that system which makes them pay a pension of twenty-five hundred pounds a year to BURKE, thirty-five years after BURKE is dead: if the passing of this project into a law, and the attempting to enforce that law; if these have a tendency to put an end to that system, then I must hesitate long before I will say that I wish such law not to be passed, and not to be attempted to be enforced.

Mortal men are not wise: they do not, and they generally will not, see, at the moment, that which is for the best in the end. They often oppose, with all their might, that which they ought to wish to see take place. Who knows that this very project is not the thing destined to bring to issue the great question, whether the nation be to continue to be burdened as it is now, or to be effectually relieved from those burdens? It is very curious to observe, with what coolness men talk about "*revolution*." The word seems to frighten nobody; and, in proportion as they look at this matter with coolness, they view all the wild projects that are going on with comparative indifference: men have not made up their minds with regard to what is to take place; but they have all made up their minds to the belief, that something very great, some very great change in the state and condition of this country, will take place.

And, here the mind dwells with a sort of wonder on the working of events, and admires to see how things work on, in spite of all the efforts that the policy of man and the power of states can make to prevent it.

This country had arrived at a very bad state, after the first American war; but still, in that state, or a state not worse than that, it might have gone on for

ages and ages, without any great change in that great limb of the state, the church. But, the aristocracy and clergy, seeing that the French people had extinguished those orders, said, "We must go to war with the French people: we must compel them to go back again: we must restore the Bourbons; we must restore the clergy, or the example comes to England, and we ourselves shall be extinguished." Upon this ground they made a twenty-two years' war upon France: they restored the Bourbons; this present King of ours took the Bourbon King over to France in a triumphal yacht. They restored an aristocracy of some sort: they re-established a sort of clergy; and they sang "*Te deum*": they roasted oxen; they made a jubilee: they boasted, that they had secured aristocracy and clergy for ever.

Now look at them! They are themselves actually making a revolution in the church; and it is demanded of them that they make a still greater revolution; every man sees that they must make that greater revolution. One of the professed objects of the French war was, to prevent parliamentary reform; and they have made one themselves; made a little one, to prevent the people making a great one. This is all very strange; but all this has been produced by that very French war, which was intended to prevent it. But this is not all: everything is upon the shake; no man relies on the durability of any establishment: corporations, church, poor-laws: all is shaking; all is upon the change; and, he must be a very bold man, who will pretend to fix a limit to that change. There are, in another part of this *Register*, two petitions from the landowners of Worcestershire. I beg the reader to attend well to them. It is impossible to read these petitions, and not to be convinced, that some great measure must soon take place with regard to the debt, or with regard to the paper-money. The debt is now visibly taking away the estates of the landowners. It appears to be impossible that this can go on for any length of time. It has been going on a long

while; but it is now rapid and visible. Yet there is monstrous difficulty in doing anything with the matter. Perhaps more than half the members of both Houses of Parliament are fundholders as well as landowners. No small part of them have children, whose fortunes are locked up in the funds. Then the dead-weight (amounting to little short of five millions a year); the pensioners; the grantees; the sinecure placemen and women; all feel that they are in the same boat with the fundholders. Then come those who have annuities paid for, and receivable, or to become receivable, in insurance-offices. Touch the funds, and you touch these, too. The beneficed clergy are all fundholders to a greater or less extent. A large part of the dead-weight people are fundholders, or have annuities dependent on the funds. In this state of things, who is to expect that any thing will be done with the debt until agricultural ruin has gone on to the very verge of convulsion?

In the meanwhile, that part of the people, the mere tradesmen, the general run of farmers, and the working-people of all classes, have no interest in the sustaining of the funds; and, in proportion as they perceive that this is the great cause of their oppression, they will become discontented. These gentlemen in Worcestershire complain of PERL'S Bill; they want it, and its consequences, taken into consideration by Parliament. They manifestly want an issue of small notes. That would be a revolution immediately. Or, they want a reduction of the interest of the debt: it is too late to effect that in a peaceable manner. So that there appears to be no mode of relieving these men who are losing their estates, who are sinking in the scale of society every day of their lives, and who appear not to have the smallest chance of escape, by any peaceable and quiet means. However, they have been the workers of their own ruin; they have not been under a Government of Jacobins and Levellers; they have killed, or otherwise destroyed, all those; they have hunted reformers and radicals like wild beasts, for forty

long years; it is, therefore, their own affair; and of that affair let them make the best that they can.

DISSENTERS DEPUTATION TO EARL GREY.

I WILL first insert the account as I find it in the newspapers, which is as follows:

INTERVIEW OF THE DEPUTATION OF DISSENTERS FROM GLASGOW WITH EARL GREY.

Yesterday morning, at twelve o'clock, the deputation, consisting of the Rev. Dr. HENGH, the Rev. ANDREW MARSHALL, and James JOHNSTON, Esq., were introduced by James OSWALD, Esq., M.P., to Earl Grey.

Mr. OSWALD immediately retired, and Lord Grey requested the deputation to be seated.

Dr. HENGH then said he held in his hand a memorial to his lordship from the inhabitants of Glasgow, which, if it was his lordship's pleasure, he would proceed to read. With Lord Grey's permission Dr. HENGH proceeded to read the memorial.

["The memorial is of great length, and prays for a complete separation of church and state]."

During the reading of this memorial, his lordship only once interrupted Dr. H. to say, that "he was very much mistaken if he imagined that churchmen were a minority in the empire."

When Dr. HENGH had done reading the memorial, he added, that these sentiments were embodied in a petition to Parliament, which had received nearly 50,000 signatures.

Earl GREY thanked the memorialists for the kind and honourable mention made of him, but he must say he was much surprised at the tone and character of that memorial. During a long political life he had ever done, and was now doing, what he could to remove any just causes of complaint on the part of the Dissenters, and he had trusted that the relief already granted and now granting would have met their utmost wishes. Now, however, that they took

this open ground against the principle of all church establishments, he would conceal nothing from them, but at once avow that he was conscientiously attached to the established church, and that believing its existence to be intimately connected with the well-being of the state, he would do all in his power to uphold it. This was his honest conviction, and he expected to receive credit for it as such.

MR. MARSHALL said, there was one thing of which he wished his lordship to be particularly assured, that the views stated in the memorial were not taken up hastily or on doubtful grounds; that they were the fruit of deliberate inquiry; that the memorialists held them as religious principles; and that although their applications to the legislature should for a time be disregarded, it was not possible the cause could die.

EARL GREY said, he believed what had just been stated, that the deputation and those who had signed the petition were acting honestly and from conscientious motives; but really, when he saw Dissenters taking ground, he was almost led to believe he should abandon all efforts in the cause. They were now doing the very thing which those who opposed the concessions he had advocated had said they would do.

MR. JOHNSTON said they were what they must do—following out their principles; and he would state to his lordship, as an evidence how rapidly these opinions were spreading among the people, that the public meeting which he had the honour to preside, and from which this memorial came, was as respectable as any he had ever seen in Glasgow; and while last year in three weeks only 15,000 names were obtained to a petition embodying the same principles, this year, in nine days, nearly 50,000 signatures were appended to the petition for the separation of the church from the state.

EARL GREY said, whatever might be the spread of such opinions in Scotland, he trusted the Dissenters of England held no such notions.

DR. HENGH would confirm the state-

ment of his friend, that they acted from religious principle, and that, doing so, it was impossible that any circumstances could drive them from the continued advocacy of these opinions. With regard to the English Dissenters, he (Dr. H.) could assure his lordship that all the English Dissenters, who had avowed anything on the subject, had avowed it as their decided opinion that church establishments were in principle unjust and unscriptural.

MR. JOHNSTON had to state to his lordship, that the Lord Provost of Glasgow, several of the city councillors, and many churchmen, had signed the Glasgow petition.

"Churchmen"! said Earl Grey, "ah! but these are only of the Kirk of Scotland."

"True, my lord," said Mr. Johnston, "but the principle applies to all establishments."

DR. HENGH then said, "My lord, have you any questions to put to us upon any point connected with this memorial?"

His lordship said he had none, and the deputation withdrew.

Thus the matter is brought to issue! I endeavoured to draw from the members who stood forward for the Dissenters, an explicit avowal of these very sentiments; but I could not do it; and there is nothing that I detest like hypocrisy. My colleague and myself waited upon Lord GREY with a memorial from the Dissenters of OXFORD, most distinctly and honestly stating, that their object was to obtain a complete separation of church and state. His lordship told us, that he was prepared to do what could be done with regard to marriages, burials, church-rates, registry of births, and with regard to the Universities. We told him, that we would not fail (and we did not) to report to our constituents the gracious manner in which he had been pleased to receive the memorial, and to state to them the things which he was prepared to do in their behalf, if he could; but, having expressed his dissent to the

prayer of the memorial for a separation of church and state, I told his lordship, that it would be hypocrisy in me to suppress my opinion, that nothing would satisfy the memorialists, short of a total separation of the church from the state; or, in other words, a legal repeal of the established church altogether. This deputation from Scotland brings the Ministers at open issue with the Dissenters, who have been their principal supporters, and in whom they must still live, or have no life. I believe that more than one half of the House of Commons are Dissenters or Catholics, or both together; and, if my health be sufficiently restored, and no other member do it, I will move, at once, for a disconnexion of the church from the state; and this, too, before the end of the present session of Parliament; because I am convinced, for the reasons which I have long and long been laying before the public, that, until this be done, there is no chance of anything like peaceable and settled government in England.

This is the first time that the Ministers have ventured to *reproach* the Dissenters. Now they are told that they are fulfilling the predictions their enemies; now they are reproached with being that which the Tory churchmen said they were. In short, it is a downright quarrel with them; and a declaration that the Ministry will oppose them with all their might.

Lord GREY is mistaken when he appeals to the *numerousness of the churchmen in England*. If he mean to call all those churchmen, who are not regular members of settled dissenting chapels, he may be right enough; but, if by *churchman*, he means a man who wishes the present establishment to *stand as it is*, I can assure him that nineteen-twentieths of the people, if not ninety-nine hundredths of them, are Dissenters. There are no persons, who are not immediately interested in the thing, who wish this church to stand as it is.

Lord GREY is well aware that he shall have every Tory to support him in opposition to the Dissenters; and,

with this present Parliament he *may* get along in spite of them; but the most fashionable *pledge* will soon be, a *repeal of the church establishment*. Thus this Ministry will lose its principal supporters; or it will give way, and let the church down. It cannot give way, constituted as it now is: the Prime Minister, with two bishops in his family, and God knows how many others dependent on the same source. In short, the demand of the Dissenters is just and reasonable, and necessary to be granted; and yet it cannot be granted without taking from the aristocracy that immense portion of the wealth of the nation, which it ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~must~~ ^{is} exclusively enjoyed; and yet, it ~~must~~ ^{is} be granted: the wrong to nineteen-twentieths of the people is too great to be longer endured. A mere vote of the Houses of Parliament will decide nothing. If the Dissenters persevere, and with frankness and resolution, this establishment must now be repealed. It would be a monstrous change, to be sure; but the change must come; and the sooner, and the more cheerfully, the better.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. O'CONNELL.

MR. O'CONNELL, and their country, who have made this noble stand for their country. What a grand muster! Five hundred and sixty one members present; and Mr. O'CONNELL left in a minority of *thirty-eight*! I dare say he recollected that old PYM began with a minority of THREE. This vote decides nothing, except that Ireland is a precious good thing; that there are great numbers who feel how good it is, and who do not like to part with it. My reasons for a repeal of the union would have been somewhat different from any that I perceive to have been stated; but I should have added one to Mr. O'CONNELL's minority, at any rate. I blame the advocates for the repeal for condescending to answer any of the arguments founded upon the amount of *exports or imports*, which had nothing at all to do with the matter.

The discussion will do great good : it will have shown to the present generation Englishmen, what sort of an affair this union is ; how it was accomplished ; and, as to its effects, they are constantly before our eyes. This is one great matter, but the great matter of all is, what is the condition of the people of Ireland. Not how much can be squeezed out of Ireland ; but what is the condition of the people of Ireland ? This is the question ; and the only question ; and if that condition be perfectly intolerable, there wants a change ; there wants a better government ; and that government is not to be had without a repeal of the union.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE sixteenth number of this work does not appear this month, for reasons well known to the readers of the *Register*. That must have no cough in it !

THE STAMP DUTIES

To the Editor of the Dumfries Times.

ANNAN, 16. April, 1831.

SIR,—My chief purpose, in writing this letter, is to aid Mr. Cobbett in his praiseworthy endeavours to procure an equalization of these burdensome duties, which endeavours, I trust, will be vigorously renewed by him, before the present session of Parliament be much older. I earnestly entreat, on the part of your readers, a careful and attentive perusal of what I am about to lay before them. And I am much mistaken, indeed, if, after such perusal, they shall experience any difficulty in deciding the question, so much mooted of late, namely, whether, in the imposing of the stamp duties, our aristocratical law-makers have really given evidence of that "paternal care" of the interests of the industrious classes, for which they

are so apt, on all occasions, to take ample credit.

In the prosecution of my subject I shall, for the sake of perspicuity, follow the order of the schedule, appended to the Act 55 Geo. III. chap. 184, with this variation only, that, when contrast is necessary for the purpose of illustration, I shall place in juxtaposition, certain of the duties specified in that schedule, which, though pretty nearly allied, stand, owing to its alphabetical arrangement, in parts of it somewhat distant from one another.

Without further preface I proceed to my task.

At the very beginning of the schedule, then, are specified the duties payable on "admissions" of advocates or barristers, attornies or solicitors, masters in Chancery, notaries public, physicians, university graduates, and freemen of corporations ; a little further on are specified the duties payable on "articles of clerkship" to attornies, solicitors, and proctors ; and farther on still, the duties payable on "certificates to be taken out yearly" by persons of the last-mentioned professions, as well as by notaries public. These duties will be found, on inspection, to be, many of them, truly enormous. They are duties, however, which must be paid, for the most part, by persons from the more humble ranks of society, seeking the means of acquiring a livelihood ; and it will only be in rare instances that any portion of them will fall upon the aristocracy.

In those instances, again, where members of aristocratical families do seek admission to the professions of law or physic, it is natural to presume, that they will single out those branches which are deemed the most genteel and such, accordingly, is the fact. Here it is that contrast will be instructive ! For a tax of 50*l.* once paid, an advocate or barrister, and for a tax of 15*l.* once paid, a physician, may practise during life, either in England or Scotland. An attorney in England, however, must, before he can draw a pen in his profession, pay taxes to the amount of 143*l.*, and a writer in Scotland taxes to the

amount of 105*l.*; while, over and above this, each member of these branches of the profession, must pay annually, if he practise in either metropolis 12*l.*, and if he practise in the country 8*l.* sterling! Such is the favour shown to gentility by our law-makers, such, in short, is one instance of the "paternal care" with which they watch over the interests of—themselves!

If there be anything whatever in the schedule, to operate as a set-off against what has just been adverted to, it must be that portion of it which imposes certain duties on "grants of honour or dignity." It will be seen in a moment, however, that this set-off can be of no avail. The "honour or dignity" of a duke, a marquis, an earl, a viscount, a baron, or a baronet, is really a luxury to those who have a taste for it, and is, therefore, a fit and proper subject for heavy taxation. It can easily be let alone too, without any loss, or any injury, to the person declining it. The conferring of an "honour or dignity," consequently, is a thing altogether different from the admission to a profession by which a man is to earn his bread. And nothing can show forth more effectually the "paternal care" more than the simple fact, that the humblest country attorney, putting a fair value upon the "yearly certificate" duties, must pay as much tax for permission to follow his lawful employment, as the most mighty duke pays for his patent of nobility!

I proceed to that part of the schedule which relates to "bills of exchange," and which is as follows:

Bills payable at not more than two months after date, or 60 days after sight—

| | Amounting to | Not exceeding | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|------|
| | £2 | £5 5s. | £0 |
| Exceeding | 5 5s. | 20 | |
| ..... | 20 | 30 | |
| ..... | 30 | 50 | |
| ..... | 50 | 100 | |
| ..... | 100 | 200 | |
| ..... | 200 | 300 | |
| ..... | 300 | 500 | |
| ..... | 500 | 1000 | |
| ..... | 1000 | 2000 | 0 15 |
| ..... | 2000 | 3000 | 1 5 |
| ..... | 3000 | | |

Bills payable at more than two months after date, or 60 days after sight—

| | Amounting to | Not exceeding | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|--------|
| | £2 | £5 5s. | £0 |
| Exceeding | 5 5s. | 20 | 0 2 0 |
| ..... | 20 | 30 | 0 2 6 |
| ..... | 30 | 50 | 0 3 6 |
| ..... | 50 | 100 | 0 4 6 |
| ..... | 100 | 200 | 0 5 0 |
| ..... | 200 | 300 | 0 6 0 |
| ..... | 300 | 500 | 0 8 6 |
| ..... | 500 | 1000 | 0 12 6 |
| ..... | 1000 | 2000 | 0 15 0 |
| ..... | 2000 | 3000 | 1 5 0 |
| ..... | 3000 | | 1 10 0 |

Now it will hardly be disputed, I think, that a just rule for imposing a tax on bills of exchange, is to proportion that tax, to the sums may be, to the sums for which they are drawn, if it be not deemed proper, out of favour to the poor man, even to lower the rate as the sums descend in amount. Let us see, however, taking bills payable at upwards of two months after date as the criterion, whether this just rule has been observed, and, if it has not been observed, for whose benefit it has been departed from. For a bill of 5,000*l.*, which sum may moderately be assumed as a medium for the highest class, the duty is at the rate of sevenpence and fifth of a penny per cent.; for a bill of 1,500*l.*, the medium between 1,000*l.* and 2,000*l.* the duty is one shilling per cent.; for a bill of 250*l.*, the medium between 200*l.* and 300*l.*, the duty is two shillings and fourpence four-fifths of a penny per cent.; for a bill of 40*l.* the medium between 30*l.* and 50*l.* the duty is eight shillings and ninepence per cent.; and for a bill of 3*l.* 12s. 6*d.*, the medium between 40s. and 5*l.* 5s., the duty is no less than forty-one shillings and fourpence halfpenny per cent. It is thus evident that the duty, instead of decreasing, actually increases in proportion as the sum descends in amount; that the favour shown, consequently, is shown to the rich, not to the poor; and that the tax which the poor man pays on his bill for 3*l.* 12s. 6*d.*, is just about seventy times as much in proportion as the tax which the rich man pays on his bill for 5,000*l.* sterling.

That part of the schedule which relates to bonds is as follows:

| | £ | £ |
|-------------------------------------|--------|------|
| Not exceeding..... | 50 | 1 |
| Exceeding 50—not exceeding 100..... | 100 | 1 10 |
| 100..... | 200 | 2 0 |
| 200..... | 300 | 3 0 |
| 300..... | 500 | 4 0 |
| 500..... | 1000 | 5 0 |
| 1000..... | 2000 | 6 0 |
| 2000..... | 3000 | 7 0 |
| 3000..... | 4000 | 8 0 |
| 4000..... | 5000 | 9 0 |
| 5000..... | 10,000 | 12 0 |
| 10,000..... | 15,000 | 15 0 |
| 15,000..... | 20,000 | 20 0 |
| 20,000..... | | 25 0 |

Here again the "paternal care" is sufficiently obvious. If one of our magnates borrow 50,000*l.* upon bond, the tax which he pays is at the rate of one shilling per cent. only. If a tradesman borrow 250*l.* in the same manner, the tax which he pays is twenty-four shillings per cent.; and if a poor man borrow 25*l.*, the tax which he pays is eighty shillings per cent. It thus appears that, on this sort of transaction, the tradesman who borrows 250*l.*, pays twenty-four times as much, and the poor man who borrows 25*l.*, eighty times as much tax in proportion, as the peer, perchance, who borrows 50,000*l.*

It will be seen, on inspection of the schedule, that in the duties on "bonds of annuity," there is the same glaring inequality as in those on bonds for specific sums of money. Thus the duty upon a bond of annuity for 5,000*l.* is 25*l.* or two shillings per cent., while the duty on a bond of annuity for 10*l.*, is 1*l.*, or two hundred shillings per cent., being exactly one hundred times as much in proportion.

The duties on "conveyances" stand thus:

| Where the purchase, or consideration money, shall not amount to 20 <i>l.</i> | 0 | 10 | 0 |
|--|----|----|---|
| To £20—not to £50..... | 1 | 0 | |
| .. 50..... | 1 | 10 | |
| .. 150..... | 2 | 0 | |
| .. 300..... | 3 | 0 | |
| .. 500..... | 6 | 0 | |
| .. 750..... | 9 | 0 | |
| .. 1000..... | 2 | 0 | |
| .. 2000..... | 25 | | |
| .. 3000..... | 35 | | |
| .. 4000..... | 45 | | |
| .. 5000..... | 55 | | |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------|--------------|------|-----|
| 6000..... | 7000..... | 65 | 0 0 |
| 7000..... | 8000..... | 75 | 0 0 |
| 8000..... | 9000..... | 85 | 0 0 |
| 9000..... | 10,000..... | 95 | 0 0 |
| 10,000..... | 12,500..... | 110 | 0 0 |
| 12,500..... | 15,000..... | 130 | 0 0 |
| 15,000..... | 20,000..... | 170 | 0 0 |
| 20,000..... | 30,000..... | 240 | 0 0 |
| 30,000..... | 40,000..... | 330 | 0 0 |
| 40,000..... | 50,000..... | 450 | 0 0 |
| 50,000..... | 60,000..... | 550 | 0 0 |
| 60,000..... | 80,000..... | 650 | 0 0 |
| 80,000..... | 100,000..... | 800 | 0 0 |
| 100,000..or upwards..... | | 1000 | 0 0 |

It was upon this part of the schedule that Mr. SPRING RICE mainly took his stand, in his last year's combat, "foot to foot and shoulder to shoulder," with the "hon. Member for Oldham." Having, with the obvious view of obtaining credit for candour, admitted that the duty on "conveyances" was unjustly high, when the consideration money was below 150*l.*, he stated with truth, that after passing that sum, it was a fair and equal duty, being just about one per cent. in all cases, until the consideration money ascended as high as 100,000*l.* This being accomplished, he, as we are informed, assumed a very high tone, maintained that he had completely established the integrity and impartiality of the law-making class, and accused his opponent of something approaching to calumny; whereupon, as we are further informed, the intelligent, disinterested, and most polite little sprigs of family by whom the treasury benches are usually occupied and surrounded, began to caper for joy; and while they encouraged their champion by cheers and loud cries of "hear him, hear him," assailed every one who attempted to answer him, with all manner of strange, uncouth, and brutish noises!

But let it be asked, in sober seriousness, who they are that really bear the burden of this "conveyance" duty; this duty which, in the midst of so much and such glaring inequality, appears to be tolerably equal? The answer is—Not surely the aristocracy; not, by any means, that class by whom the laws heretofore have been, and, unfortunately, still are, essentially made. The great landholder, if his estate be en-

tailed, cannot sell; and, if it be even free, is rarely under the necessity of doing so. A very small portion of this tax, consequently, falls upon his class. It is almost entirely paid by the owner of that portion of real property, consisting of small estates in land and houses, which passes frequently from hand to hand, and forms in reality a most important article of commerce. The dealers in this property are no nobles; they belong, on the contrary, to the industrious classes: and hence it is perhaps, that, as in the case of "indentures of apprenticeship," the tax on "conveyances" approaches so near to equality.

Let contrast be here again resorted to for the sake of further illustration. Although the aristocracy do not sell their estates, it is well known that they borrow largely upon mortgage; and how, it may be asked, does the mortgage part of the schedule stand? Is it a just and fair as that which relates to conveyances?" Let us see. Here it is.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----|----|
| Not exceeding..... | 50. | 0 | 0 |
| Exceeding 50—not exceeding 100..... | 100.. | 1 | 10 |
| 100..... | 200.. | 2 | 0 |
| 200..... | 300.. | 3 | 0 |
| 300..... | 500.. | 4 | 0 |
| 500..... | 1000.. | 5 | 0 |
| 1000..... | 2000.. | 6 | 0 |
| 2000..... | 3000.. | 7 | 0 |
| 3000..... | 4000.. | 8 | 0 |
| 4000..... | 5000.. | 9 | 0 |
| 5000..... | 10,000.. | 13 | 0 |
| 10,000..... | 15,000.. | 15 | 0 |
| 15,000..... | 20,000.. | 20 | 0 |
| 20,000..... | 25 | 0 | 0 |

From this part of the schedule it appears, that, while the great landowner, on his mortgage of 100,000*l.* (and there are many of even larger amount), pays a tax of only sixpence per cent., the merchant, on his mortgage of 1,500*l.*, pays eight shillings per cent.; the tradesman, on his mortgage of 250*l.*, twenty-four shillings per cent.; and the artisan, on his mortgage of 25*l.* no less than eighty shillings per cent. If this be not enough to convince John Bull of the kindness, as well as the justice, of those exalted beings who are

horn to make laws for him, his head must be as impenetrable as the nether millstone.

This, however, is not yet all. Though the Act, 55 Geo. III., chap. 184, exhibited pretty strong proofs of the "paternal care" of our legislature, it was not deemed altogether sufficient. The mortgage duties certainly had, by it, been made tolerably comfortable; but then the rub was, that when a mortgage came to be transferred, the *ad valorem* "conveyance" duty was chargeable upon the "transfer" of it. This was a sad bar to the general happiness, particularly when, in 1822, money became scarce, and creditors somewhat inexorable on the score of interest. And how did our wise and just law-makers remedy the evil? Why, by passing a law, 3 Geo. IV., chap. 117, making the duty on the transfer of a mortgage for 200,000*l.* precisely the same as the duty on the transfer of a mortgage for 20*l.*, namely, 1*l.* 15*s.* In their hurry to do justice, moreover, they seem to have forgotten the poor man altogether. For whereas, prior to 1822, a mortgage for any sum less than 20*l.* might have been transferred for a duty of 10*s.*; a mortgage for any sum less than 50*l.* for a duty of 1*l.*; and a mortgage for any sum less than 150*l.* for a duty of 1*l.* 10*s.*; the law of 1822 affixes the same duty (1*l.* 15*s.*) upon the transfers of all mortgages; and thus, though meant and intended as a measure of relief, positively taxes the humble borrower more than he was taxed before.

Now, I would really like to hear Mr. Spring Rice attempt to explain some of these things before an assembly composed of men of common sense and ordinary intelligence. He admits that the "conveyance" duty is unfair, because it is not, in all cases, justly proportioned to the consideration money. But if he admit this, what will he say to the duties on bills, and bonds, and, above all, to the duties on mortgages? How will he account for the startling fact that the scale for conveyances, — the duty on which falls lightly, if at all, on the law-making class — goes up by a pretty fair gradation (the lowest sums

excepted) to 100,000*l.*, while the scale for mortgages—the duty on which falls heavily on that same class—decreases rapidly in proportion as it ascends in amount, and stops altogether at 20,000*l.* I should really like to have him foot to foot, and shoulder to shoulder, on this topic, upon a clear stage, and with no favour. And if he could render me a good reason why it is just and proper that the mortgage duty scale should stop at 20,000*l.*, and the conveyance duty scale ascend to 100,000*l.*, I would certainly look upon him, thenceforth, as a sort of treasury conjuror!

But Mr. Spring Rice will say, perhaps, as he has said before, “Oh! this mortgage duty is evaded by the depositing of title deeds, and is, therefore, seldom paid.” This is an answer which would hardly deceive a child. If a mortgage can be made perfectly secure by a deposit of title-deeds, it can be made just as secure, in the case of a loan to a nobleman of two hundred thousand pounds, as in the case of a loan to a tradesman of two hundred. It may fairly be assumed, therefore, that, in equal numbers of loans of each class, there will be equal numbers of deposits of titles, and equal numbers of regular mortgage deeds. The case, consequently, is just where it was, Mr. Spring Rice’s argument being simply good for nothing. It may be added too that, in Scotland, a deposit of title deeds is not worth a straw in the way of constituting a security; and that the same rule must necessarily take place in England, as soon as a regular system of registration of deeds shall be established in that part of the United Kingdom.

The schedule for leases, which may be next adverted to, stands thus:

| | | | |
|--|----|----|---|
| Where the yearly rent shall not amount to 20 <i>l.</i> | £ | 0 | 0 |
| Where it shall amount to 20 <i>l.</i> , not to 100 <i>l.</i> | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| To £100, not to £200 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 200, 400 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 400, 600 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 600, 800 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 800, 1000 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1000, or upwards | 10 | 0 | 0 |

Here again the usual attention has been paid to the principle of equality.

Upon the lease of a large farm of 3000*l.* per annum (and there are many such), the duty is six shilling and eightpence per cent. on the annual rent, while upon the lease of a farm of 150*l.* per annum it is twenty-six shillings and eightpence per cent., and, upon the lease of a tenement of 10*l.* per annum, no less than ten pounds per cent. The disparity in this case is not certainly quite so glaring as in the case of bonds or of mortgages; but it is amply sufficient to afford another strong proof of the paternal care of our legislators!

Policies of insurance on lives may be next adverted to; and the schedule, so far as they are concerned, runs thus:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Where the sum insured shall not amount to 500 <i>l.</i> | £ | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Where the sum shall amount to 500 <i>l.</i> not to 1000 <i>l.</i> | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| To £1000, not to £3000 | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| 3000, 5000 | 4 | 0 | 0 | |
| 5000, or upwards | 5 | 0 | 0 | |

In endeavouring to defend the Government on this head, in his “shoulder to shoulder, and foot to foot” argument, Mr. Spring Rice is reported to have said, that the inequality was not so great in reality, as it appeared to be, because it was not the practice of insurance offices to take any greater risk under one policy than 5000*l.* Granting that this were the case, the scale is unequal, even as far as it goes, because, by the plainest rule of common arithmetic—whatever the arithmetic of the treasury may say—if 500*l.* give 1*l.*, 5000*l.* ought to give, not 5*l.*, but 10*l.*! And again, since insurance offices are in no way bound to follow any such practice as that alleged, while it is a well-known fact that insurances are daily effected on lives, either at one or more offices, for sums far beyond 5000*l.*, would it not be decent, if the stamp duties are to be continued, to extend the scale a little farther?

Passing by “Promissory notes,” to which may be strictly applied the observations already made on “bills of exchange”; and passing by, likewise, “protests” on “bills of exchange or promissory notes,” with this simple remark, that the duties on them are also grossly unequal, I come now to “re-

ceipts," as to which, giving effect to an act of last session, the schedule will stand as follows :

Receipt or discharge given for or upon the payment of money

| Amounting to | Not amounting to | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|----|----|---|
| £5 | £10 | £0 | 0 | 3 |
| 10 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | 50 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 | 100 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 100 | 200 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 200 | 300 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 300 | 500 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 500 | 1000 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| 1000, or upwards | | 0 | 10 | 0 |

I believe, that not very many receipt stamps are used in conducting the great mercantile concerns of the country; and it may fairly be assumed, I think, that by far the greater portion of the receipt duty is paid by landlords upon discharges for their rents, by small retail dealers upon discharges to their credit customers, and by artisans, upon discharges to their employers. And how, it will naturally be asked, does the scale of duties affect each of these classes, in proportion to their respective interests? Why, thus: The wealthy landlord, in giving a discharge to his tenant for 1,500*l.*, as a half-year's rent, pays a tax of eight-pence per cent. only on the sum received, while the little shopkeeper or artisan, in giving a discharge to his customer for his small account of 7*l.* 10*s.*, pays a tax of three shillings and fourpence per cent., or just five times as much in proportion.

Without stopping to quote that part of the schedule, which relates to the duties on "settlements" of "definite and certain" sums of money, or to make any remark upon it, further than to say, that these duties are grossly unequal inasmuch as upon a sum of 50,000*l.*, only one shilling per cent. is chargeable, while upon a sum of 500*l.* the charge is seven shillings per cent. Without stopping to do either of these things, I shall proceed to the "probate," "administration," and "legacy" duties; in other words, to those taxes which are paid out of personal property, on its passage from the dead to the living, which will form a very proper conclusion to my exposition.

As the "probate" and "administration" duties, though they differ in amount (the latter being considerably higher in proportion to the value of the estate, than the former), seem to proceed upon the same principle of gradation. I shall take the latter only as the ground-work of my remarks. But, as it would occupy too much space to insert the scale of them at length, I shall content myself by giving the 1st, 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th, 25th, 30th, 35th, 40th, 45th, and 50th lines of it, which are as follow :

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--------------|--------|-----|
| Where the estate and effects are to the value of 20 <i>l.</i> and under the value of 50 <i>l.</i> | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Amounting to | Under | | |
| £ 300 | £ 450 | 11 | 0 0 |
| 1500 | 2000 | 60 | 0 0 |
| 6000 | 7000 | 180 | 0 0 |
| 12,000 | 14,000 | 330 | 0 0 |
| 25,000 | 30,000 | 600 | 0 0 |
| 50,000 | 60,000 | 1125 | 0 0 |
| 100,000 | 120,000 | 2250 | 0 0 |
| 200,000 | 250,000 | 4500 | 0 0 |
| 500,000 | 600,000 | 11,250 | 0 0 |
| 1,000,000 and upwards | | 22,500 | 0 0 |

The first remark that presents itself on this tax, is, that it too is unequal. Thus a personal estate of two millions (and there have been such) pays only 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent. of duty, while a personal estate of 250*l.* pays 64*s.* per cent., or somewhat more than five times as much in proportion. But inequality is not the grand objection to this tax, which, like the indenture tax and the conveyance tax, and for the same reason too, is, unless as to small estates, tolerably equal. The grand objection to it is, that the class, by which our laws are made, is almost totally exempted from it. The most magnificent freehold estate descends from father to son, or, if held in fee-simple, is conveyed by will to a stranger, without any charge for stamp duty.* But if an industrious man^d die, leaving 250*l.* in money or in personal property of any

* In Scotland a duty does attach to a conveyance of real property, by will or disposition *inter vivos*; but, this duty whatever be the value of the estate, is in all cases, just 1*l.* 15*s.* Hence the argument is strengthened by the circumstance.

sort, no less than eight pounds must be paid at the stamp-office, independent of "legacy duties" and charges to a vexatious amount, before a penny's worth of what he has left can be lawfully applied to the support of his perhaps, helpless widow and family.

The "legacy" duty is a per centage upon the value of the estate, varying according to the degree of relationship, and seems, therefore, so far as it goes, to be a pretty fair tax. But here again the law-maker goes free; and thence the injustice. While the relations of a man, who leaves two or three hundred pounds in money, or in personal property, must, over and above the "probate" or, "administration" duty, of which I have already spoken, pay one per cent., three per cent., or five per cent., as the case may be, in name of tax upon that sum, the heir of the mighty proprietor of land succeeds to his predecessor's estate, worth two or three millions perhaps, without paying so much as one farthing. This is really past endurance, and cannot much longer be endured.

I may add, in reference to the "probate" or "administration" duty, that, even in the case where a man dies insolvent, unable to pay so much as a shilling in the pound to his creditors—this duty is rigorously exacted on all the personal property that may happen to be in his possession at the time of his death. It is true, that in such a case, a return of duty may be obtained, on its being shown that the debts owing actually exceeded the value of the estate; but then the difficulty and expense of obtaining this return are such, that any man, who has ever claimed it in one instance, would rather forfeit 5*l.* at the very least, than go through the operation a second time. There is a curious stamp-office regulation, too, regarding this return. If it be shown that the debts more than exhaust the estate, one would naturally imagine that all the duty ought to be given back. But no! The regulation just alluded to, is in these words: As the return of the stamp duty on inventories is restricted to the debts actually

due and owing from the deceased at the time of his death, it follows, that the funeral inventory, and testamentary expenses are not the debts of the deceased, and, therefore, are not to be included in the schedule of debts paid; consequently in no case can the whole of the duty be returned; inasmuch as the amount of those expenses will always leave a balance upon which the inventory duty must attach, unless the same shall not amount to 20*l.*" which regulation being interpreted, means simply this—that, because the creditors of an insolvent debtor deceased, have necessarily been at the expense of burying him—of reporting an inventory of his estate—and of administering to it—because they have thus been compelled to diminish the fund for the payment of their own dividends—therefore, they ought to pay a tax upon their very additional loss! This, surely, surpasses all that ever was before heard of in the way of taxation! The conduct of Pharoah, in compelling the Israelites to make brick without straw or stubble, was nothing but a sorry joke to it!

Much more might be said on this subject; but I have said enough, I trust, to draw the attention of the public strongly towards it. The repeal of the whole stamp duties would be a mighty benefit to the country; but since that is not likely to be accomplished, the industrious classes, now that the juggle is exposed, ought never to cease from agitating, until these taxes shall be fairly equalized; until, in short, its due share shall be paid by that class, which, in the imposition of them, has so admirably evidenced its disinterestedness and love of justice! I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
JAS. LITTLE.

POOR-LAW BILL.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 29 April, 1831.)

THE vestry of St. Maryhonne was specially summoned on Saturday to take into consideration the bill brought in by Lord ALTHAM founded upon the Poor-Law Commissioners' Report. The

board was most numerously attended, there being at one time nearly 100 members present. A resolution, condemnatory of the principle and details of the bill, and a petition founded upon it, praying the House of Commons to reject the bill, was moved by Mr. PORTER, who spoke with great severity against Lord ALTHORP and the Government for sanctioning a measure which he denounced as subversive of the rights of the people, and concluded by saying he would rather live the remainder of his days under such a despotic Government as the last than under a Government who would sanction such a bill as that under consideration.

Lord KENYON would admit that there were parts of the bill which he could not sanction, and particularly those clauses erecting a central board with extraordinary powers; at the same time his lordship thought such was the fearful state of the poor, that some remedial measure of an extensive nature was called for.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY addressed the board at great length, commenting upon the bill, clause by clause, and censuring it from the beginning to the end. In the course of his remarks he stated that he was the only member of the House of Commons who had ventured to raise his voice against the introduction of the bill, which he could not but call arbitrary and unconstitutional; and, after expressing his utter astonishment at his friend, the honourable member for Middlesex, giving such a measure his support, Sir SAMUEL concluded by declaring that the directors and guardians of the poor would be degrading themselves by acting under such a court of Star Chamber as the bill contemplated.

Mr. HUME, M.P., immediately rose, and in a speech of upwards of an hour's duration, replied *seriatim* to the various objections urged by Sir S. Whalley, who, he contended, had taken a most erroneous view of the intentions, and what would be the operation of the bill, and had conjured up imaginary phantoms, which he had allowed to bewilder and frighten him. In his (Mr. H.'s) opinion, arrived at after a long and

anxious consideration of the whole subject of the poor-laws, Lord Althorp and the Government would accomplish more real good for the country by the proposed measure than any they had brought forward, and he should give it his conscientious support; but at the same time he did not say that there might not be objections to many of the details, and if so, they must and would be modified in committee.

Mr. H. WILSON said he was opposed both to the principle and details of the bill, and would go to the full length with the honourable representative of the borough, in characterizing it as an atrocious and unconstitutional measure; and would say further, that it was of such a character that Parliament could not pass it.

The Rev. Dr. FELLOWS said there were times when it might be necessary, and circumstances which would justify the depositary of extraordinary powers in the hands of a few, for the benefit of the many. Temporary dictatorships had even been resorted to by ancient nations in cases of peril, and he considered that the abyss of universal pauperism which the nation was falling into would justify the resort, for a limited period, to measures which, under other circumstances might be deemed unconstitutional. He (Dr. F.) thought the establishment of a central board of commissioners absolutely necessary to secure uniformity of action in carrying out any extensive remedial measure.

Mr. HOVENDEN could not go to the length of saying the vestry should petition against the bill altogether, although he agreed with many gentlemen who had spoken, that the clauses of the bill were most objectionable, and such as ought not to pass into a law; he concurred in the principle of the bill, but objected to its machinery, and therefore could not support the petition.

The Rev. Dr. DRYDEN, in a luminous and energetic address, opposed the petition.

Mr. UNDERWOOD detailed the objectionable clauses in the bill, and said he should support the petition against it.

Captain GOWAN concurred in the

view taken by the member for Middlesex, and said, surely the vestry of St Marybonne would not wish the country to be deprived of a bill which was calculated to produce so much benefit to the people as a whole, because in this particular parish, a few fortuitous circumstances might have conspired to render it unnecessary here; he thought that would be anything but patriotic if it would, indeed, be selfish. If, however (said Captain G.), an attempt should be made to give these commissioners undefined and unlimited powers such an attempt must be resisted; but he could not so interpret the clauses in the present bill.

Mr. JACKSON said, if he had made up his mind to have objected to the bill before he had heard the speech of Sir Samuel Whalley, he should most certainly have paused after hearing the astounding fact that the bill was received with acclamations by the representatives of the people *en masse*, with the single and solitary exception of the hon. member himself, who tells us he was the only member of the House that had the courage to oppose its introduction. Why, how were they to interpret this almost unanimous approbation of a measure by the House? Either that the hon. member for Marybonne was the only Solomon there, or that the bill was not of that fearful character which gentlemen had described it to be? He (Mr. Jackson) contended that the question had been argued upon a confined view of the subject, and under the assumption that the whole kingdom was made up of parishes such as Marybonne, where the machinery was capable of carrying out the contemplated changes; but the fact was, that the mass of parishes into which the kingdom was divided were so limited in extent that a union of them was necessary, and there must be machinery to accomplish that, and a central board of commissioners was proposed. If, in the establishment of such a board, it could be shown that Parliament was about conferring dangerous powers which were calculated to abridge the rights of parishioners, those must be

opposed. But if he read the bill correctly, it did not propose to give the commissioners (as asserted by preceding speakers) undefined powers; the bill laid down certain great principles upon which relief was to be founded, and the commissioners were the instruments whereby those principles were to be carried out, and the rules, regulations, and by-laws, must be all subservient to the law.

Mr. NELMS, Mr. RAISTRICK, and Mr. GREEN, followed; Mr. POTTER then shortly replied, when a division was called for, and the Chairman declared the resolution and petition to be carried by a majority of four.

The discussion lasted seven hours.

TRADES' UNIONS.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE presented petitions from St. James's Chapel, Nottingham; and from some other places in Nottingham, for protection to the church; and a similar petition from St. Peter's Chapel in that town. The noble Duke observed that the last petition was signed by the mayor of the town, and by some other members of the corporation; and if there had been no other good proceeding from the Reform Bill, here had been this one, that though the corporation of Nottingham had been for a long time Dissenters, they did not all appear to be so now. The noble Duke then presented petitions from East Retford, for the better observance of the Sabbath, and against the Beer Bill. The last of these petitions he moved to be referred to the committee; and he took that opportunity of putting a question to the noble Viscount opposite, on the subject of the trades' unions. The noble Duke was understood to complain of the frequent processions of the trades' unions, and to ask whether the noble Viscount intended to take any measures to put a top to them?

LORD MELBOURNE could not express so strongly his disapprobation of the manner in which some of these unions were at present conducted. He was

not aware that they were not in themselves legal, or that there existed any means by the law as it stood at present to prevent the processions. He trusted that it would not be requisite to have recourse to any new laws on the subject; for, from information he had recently received, he had reason to hope that many of the persons composing these unions would return to their senses, and see the injury they were doing themselves by the course which they were now pursuing, and that the impropriety of their conduct being represented to them, the unions would be abandoned by those who had unfortunately joined them.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said that he wished the noble Viscount was more aware than he appeared to be of the necessity of some interference on the part of the Government. There had recently been an assemblage of six or seven thousand men in one of these processions, and the part of the town in which he resided was kept in a state of constant alarm by these processions. The Government seemed to think that these unions would die a natural death, but he believed they were mistaken in that opinion. He had heard this day that fifteen thousand fresh names had been enrolled among the unionists. Their numbers were already sufficiently large. There was a force of 30,000 men assembled on Monday last, and marched through the town. These things could not take place without creating uneasiness in the minds of the peaceable inhabitants, and he implored the noble Viscount to take into consideration some measure for the safety and quiet of the people.

The Earl of ELDON could not refrain from offering a few observations to their lordships on this subject. It seemed to him as if they were losing sight of all the settled principles on which a country ought to be governed. It appeared to him that the multitude assembled the other day, whose aspect was that of force (hear, hear), could not but debilitate the Government, and he was of opinion that the assembling of large numbers in this menacing force was in

itself an offence. (Hear). He knew too, if such an opinion had been stated from the mouths of the judges of England, that it would have been of infinite use (hear, hear): it could not have failed to produce a most important effect. He knew that the Government had their reasons for not doing this; and being aware of those reasons, there was no man who was more inclined to make liberal allowance for them. He remembered when a noble Lord had said that no matter in what numbers people met, if they did not meet for an unlawful purpose, the mere numbers would not make their meeting illegal. He agreed that if the subjects of the country lawfully met to discuss their grievances, their numbers would not make such a meeting illegal; but if they met as their lordships were told, in those sources of authority which they had the misfortune to refer to every morning of their lives, these men did meet, their purpose was unlawful. They were told that meetings had been held to refuse the payment of certain taxes. They should, perhaps, soon be told that meetings had been held to refuse payment of all taxes whatever. (Hear, hear) He asserted that these meetings superseded the authority of the Government. (Hear). The people had a right to a discussion of their grievances, but no bodies of men had a right to meet for the purposes for which some of these meetings had lately been held. He repeated that they had a right to the discussion of their grievances; but that any class of men could join together to declare that they would disobey the law was, he asserted, an offence against the law. Neither had any men a right to meet together to constrain others to adopt a particular course in their business. (Hear, hear). He would illustrate his meaning by a case. He had a right, as an individual, to say, "I live in a certain street, and I will not employ a single tradesman in that street"; but he should have no right to come down to that House and say to every noble Lord in it, "Let us agree not to deal with a single tradesman in that particular street"; for that would be a con-

spiracy, and all who joined in it would be liable to be punished for a conspiracy. He hoped their lordships would not allow those
 He solemnly declared it to be his opinion, and he considered, from the high judicial station which he had had the honour of holding, he would not be justifiable in withholding that opinion, that such meetings were illegal, and, if not opposed, would be attended with mischief.

The LORD CHANCELLOR thought that, considering the high office which he had the honour of holding, of highest judge of the kingdom, he would not be discharging his duty if he suffered this conversation to pass without taking some small part in it; feeling, as he did, just as much as any noble lord who then heard him, and just as much as his noble and learned Friend who had just sat down, the great importance of the subject. He entirely agreed with that noble and learned Lord in opinion, that a vast and unnecessary number of men assembling together was illegal. (Hear, hear). If he was wrong in his opinion, he was wrong in common with the highest authorities on the bench and at the bar, to whom he had been able to refer, and every one of whom declared their opinions against the illegality of such proceedings. It was his real and decided opinion; and he hoped that his opinion on this point should be known, as there appeared to be an erroneous impression abroad regarding it, that it was not lawful for men to assemble in vast bodies, in numbers disproportionate to the nature of the occasion for which their meeting was convened, and in multitudes beyond the apparent necessity of the case. (Hear, hear). Such assemblages tended to great public mischief. (Hear, hear). They tended to the intimidation of the peaceable inhabitants of the districts where they were convened; they tended (and that was an important view in a great commercial country like this) to the intimidation and derangement of peaceful industry; and they tended, by bringing forth an innumerable body of people, to endanger the peace of the kingdom, and that for a purpose which was wholly unnecessary.

(Hear, hear). Having said thus much, and hoping that he had not understated what in his opinion was the law on the subject, he could not but add, and he hoped it would be in the recollection of the House, how difficult a thing it was for the Minister filling the high and delicate office now held by his noble Friend opposite, that of Secretary of State for the Home Department, to act in such a case. For the Minister had always to consider this: It being the undoubted privilege of all classes of his Majesty's subjects to meet to deliberate on their affairs, and especially under what they may consider grievances under which they suffer, it was a difficult thing to determine the exact point when they went from what was rightful and proper into what was wrongful, and for which they made themselves amenable to the law. He (the Lord Chancellor) held it to be clear that it was wrong to law together a vast assemblage of persons, and to make a procession for the purpose of presenting a petition, which could be as well presented by six persons as by sixty thousand persons. He would go no further than that at present in stating his opinion. Let them, however, consider the peculiar situation in which his noble Friend the Secretary for the Home Department was placed on that day week. If there was any case in which he (the Lord Chancellor) would be inclined to strain the law, and not to act harshly towards an assemblage of people, even if they fell within the scope of the law, it was where the object of the meeting was not selfish or personal, or to forward their own views and interests, but where they came forward to petition for mercy in behalf of their unfortunate fellow-countrymen then suffering under the sentence of the law. (Hear, hear). He wished it to be understood that in his (the Lord Chancellor's) opinion, those unfortunate men were lawfully and justly convicted. (Hear, hear). He had not the slightest doubt on the subject; and of other learned judges and lawyers whom he had consulted on it, not one entertained the shadow of a doubt that those men were justly as well as lawfully con-

demned; and that for a very grave offence. It was the foulest, the most unbearable calumny against the learned judge before whom those men were tried, and against the administration of the law, to say—as had been industriously circulated—that they were convicted, and sentenced, and punished, because they were members of the trades' union. Such an assertion was utterly false. (Hear, hear.) No man could be accused or tried for being a member of the trades' union (hear, hear), for then he would be tried for what had been no offence, but in the present instance the men were tried, convicted, and punished for one of the worst of offences. (Hear, hear.) They were convicted of an offence pregnant with great danger, and leading to danger that was still worse; for it might lead to conspiracy (hear, hear), and to a violation of all the rights of property. Nay, it might lead to the most repulsive and inexcusable of crimes from the nature of the offence—that of taking unlawful oaths—for it had a direct tendency to encourage assassination. (Hear, hear.) The crime of which these men were found guilty was that of administering unlawful oaths—an offence which till within the last few years, was unknown in this country; and bad as that offence was, was worse in as far as it led to offences of a deeper die. In vindication of the learned judges who tried these persons, who had been foully and shamefully slandered, but who had manfully done their duty (hear, hear), he felt it his peculiar duty, from the high office which he had the honour of holding as the head of the law, to make this statement in their vindication, and fairly and distinctly to point out for what offence these persons had been tried and convicted. (Hear, hear, hear.) They had, however, got by degrees from the consideration of the procession to which the noble Duke alluded, into a discussion upon trades' unions in general, and on the procession of Monday last, to which the noble Duke's observations did not at all apply. The noble Duke referred to a procession of a far different nature, which took

place at a funeral yesterday. Now he (the Lord Chancellor) was not aware that the law limited the number of persons who were allowed to be present at a funeral. (Hear, hear.) He (the Lord Chancellor) knew that it was said that the funeral was merely got up as a pretence for the assemblage of a number of persons, but whether that was really the case or not he had yet to learn. He confessed that he had heard with feelings of disgust that for the first time ever such a practice was heard of in England, funerals were made the medium of political and trades' agitation (Cheers). But this was a practice so repulsive to the feelings of Englishmen, that he (the Lord Chancellor) had no apprehension of its spreading far and wide. He was sure that those tokens of respect and veneration which the living show to the dead could not be turned, for any length of time, into the medium of political hostility and agitation. He was accordingly at some pains to inquire whether the funeral yesterday (Sunday) was as numerously attended as that of that day fortnight, and he was glad to learn that the numbers had greatly fallen off. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that such would be the result. The good taste and the decent feelings of the English people would not tolerate such an abuse, and in a few weeks this trick—for trick it was—was not likely to answer the objects of its promoters. He spoke thus with the best feelings for the welfare and interests of the people. (Hear, hear.) It was certain that the worst enemies of the trades themselves, and of the labouring classes in general, and their most pernicious counsellors, were those who advised them—now that the repeal of the combination laws made such associations no longer unlawful—to form unions for the purpose of raising wages, but who did not understand the laws which regulated the distribution of wages, nor the effect which such unions would have upon the tradesmen themselves. Such associations must ever have the most baneful effects, and would ever lead to no other result but the laying in of stores of repentance.

He had consulted with his associates and fellow-labourers in obtaining the repeal of the combination laws on the subject, and he was sure that he never gave more wholesome advice to the working classes than now, when he entreated them to abandon those leaders who, for selfish motives, drew them into those combinations; when he entreated them to come back to the conduct which their own good sense would point out to them as right, and when he called on them not to subscribe their money—the hard-wrung pittance of their labour and industry; to support idle and good-for-nothing agitators, who pretended to lead them against their masters, but who really led them to act against themselves (hear, hear), and whose only objects were the mean and paltry gain which they wrung from the people by this mean and paltry agitation. (Cheers) With regard to the observations of the noble Earl (Lord Londonderry) and he would say this without meaning any breach of the truce between them, he was totally mistaken. He believed that he could not express more strongly how wrong he was then, when he said that the noble Earl was never more mistaken in his life. (A laugh). The noble Earl said that the trades' unions were the result of the political unions. Now that could scarcely be, for the trades unions were of six years longer standing than the political unions (hear, hear); and it might be in the recollection of the noble Earl, and of their lordships, that one of the first things to which the attention of the present Government was called on their taking office in 1830, was the mischiefs and danger to be apprehended from trades' unions. (Hear, hear). And it would be some justification to the present Government, when he stated to their lordships that the conduct of the trades' unions, previous to the period when the Government came into office, was infinitely worse than any thing that could be attributed to them or ever credited of them at the present moment. (Hear, hear, hear). There was no doubt, from the test of experience, that the unions could

be defented in every case where the masters firmly discharged their duty to themselves, and he would say, to their men; for in opposing these unions, masters did a kindness to the men themselves. (Hear, hear). There was only one case in which a master acting contrary to those principles, chose to give in, instead of opposing them; but in all other cases, the wrong-doers met with their own reward, being discomfited. He was glad to have this opportunity of making this statement of his opinions, having received several communications from persons who said, that whatever the opinions of other persons might be, he could not be an enemy to trades' unions. He (the Lord Chancellor) declared that he was an enemy to them, simply and solely because they were detrimental to the community at large; and because they were even worse for the members of the unions themselves than for any other class of the community. (Hear, hear).

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said a few words in explanation, which were audible. His opinion was, that those assemblages could not be put down, if steps were not taken to put them down by force.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE thought that such funerals on Sundays ought to be put down, as they created a disturbance upon the Sabbath. He then presented a petition from the Graduates and Under-Graduates of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, against the concessions to the Dissenters. The petitioners rejected the doctrines of those who supported the extension of the privileges of the London University, which they designated a mere public school, lately established.

RURAL WAR.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 28. April.)

AGRICULTURAL RIOT.—On Saturday night an alarming riot took place among the agricultural labourers of Bourne. For a long time past the system of sending the surplus labourers on the roads has been adopted at prices equal to their earnings when working for the farmer. A few hours' useless employ-

ment begat idleness, and ultimately but few could be found who would not prefer loitering on the road to more reputable employment in the field. The parish allowance was then reduced from 8s. to 6s.; upon which the labourers declared open war; and having been joined by all the poachers and loose characters in the vicinity, commenced a furious attack on the Bull Inn, where the overseer of the poor then was. Many of them were armed with guns; and there being no adequate civil power at hand, their demands were complied with. A meeting of magistrates has since taken place.—*Lincolnshire Chronicle*.

INCENDIARISM.—About twelve o'clock on Sunday night a destructive fire broke out in the homestead of the Rev. Mr. Goodman, of Oare, Devizes. Two large barns, a cart house, two straw houses, a quantity of hay, stable, three valuable horses, twenty-four pigs, and a quantity of poultry, were destroyed. The loss amounts to 1,500*l*.—On Tuesday night another fire broke out on the premises of Mr. R. Hayward, at Churton, about five miles from Devizes, which destroyed seven labourers' cottages, a dwelling-house, three barns, a stable, a cart-house, six horses, some pigs, fowls, and husbandry implements.

(*From the Morning Chronicle, 28 April, 1834.*)

POLITICAL writers of late have generally expressed themselves doubtful as to the soundness of the theory formerly assumed to be that of the constitution of this country. It has been said, that we never have had a House of Peers and a House of Commons independent of each other. The problem remains to be solved—and may be solved during the session—how far and how long a representative and a hereditary legislative body can “work together.” Rumours have been rife during the last few days that the Tory peers have resolved to crush all the pending liberal measures of legislation, and to make “a dead set” at the administration. No one doubts that the conservative lords have the power and the will, if they

have the temerity—and can “screw to their courage to the sticking place”—to accomplish this reported design; and few can doubt, except their lordships, of its ultimate and signal failure. The blind aristocracy of Europe will never see their real interest till the hour of dissolution. They think that they can arrest the wheels of time—that with the old weapons of ignorance they can defeat the growing power of knowledge—that they can not only prevent the progress of liberal opinions, but also root up the trees of liberty planted throughout Europe. The legitimate monarchs of Europe have their active partisans in England, and the formation of a Tory cabinet in this country is the great present design of that asylum for the blind—the Holy Alliance. The commencement of this new crusade of the Tory peers, it is said, will be their fatal opposition to the “Election Purification Bills.” If the Conservatives cannot “un-reform” the House of Commons, they will, at least, endeavour to prevent its further reformation. Thus the bills for the real enfranchisement of Warwick, Liverpool, and Hertford, are the particular objects of demolition in the House of Lords. Whether the victims are to be indulged with the comparative blessings of an instant death, or to be condemned to a lingering torture and the rack of mock inquiry, appears doubtful; but that the bills are condemned, at least by the fulminations of the Tory peers and Conservative clubs, is notorious. Although we doubt not the ardent hopes and desires of the enemies of reform, we cannot believe that the more moderate and sensible Tory peers will sanction such an insult to the reformed House of Commons, or such an outrage on public opinion. Lord Harrowby and Lord Wharncliffe have but recently affected to entertain moderate opinions, and to be eminently desirous of preventing the disunion and collision of the two branches of the legislature. Are they about to repeat the singular tactics they displayed during the critical discussion of the Reform Bills? And are these two wavering peers to be again the fulcrum

of the most obnoxious conduct of the Tory lords? If so, these two bold and eminently moderate peers will imitate the mediators in an Irish row, whose well-known province it is to inflame the hostile clans, that by an increased activity of strife the termination of the contest may be more speedy and decisive. And what are the measures which the Conservative peers are thus suspected of intending to "cast out"? The Bill "for preventing Bribery and Corruption and illegal practices in the election of Members to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Warwick," is founded on the most indisputable evidence of the basest and most varied election infamies on the records of Parliament. The accused and convicted parties offered no defence. The grave and long-protracted inquiries of Commons' Committees have justified a bill for annexing the town of Leamington to the borough of Warwick, thus giving to the oppressed and demoralized electors of the latter place the means of an independent and honest exercise of their elective franchise. The bill passed the House of Commons in all its stages without a division. Is this a measure which the Lords will this day be bold and insane enough to reject, not only in defiance of the House of Commons, but without even the decent forms of preliminary inquiry? And if they pause before they thus expose themselves to the country, will they execute their rumoured intention of "voting out" on the second reading the Bill "to exclude the freemen of Liverpool from voting at the election of Members of Parliament for that Borough"? If they object to pass the Warwick Bill without evidence before their own tribunal, as they have already announced, will they really cast out the Liverpool bill without any investigation of its merits? The extraordinary doctrine of the Tory peers is, that in their judicial capacity they must inquire for themselves; and that the judicial inquiries of the Commons ought to have no weight or influence with their Lordships. Will they, nevertheless, assume that the Commons' evidence in the case of

Warwick *does* necessitate an inquiry at the bar of the upper House, and in the same breath, the same evening, contend that the Commons' evidence does *not* justify the Liverpool bill; that is to say, in the one case adopt the evidence before the Commons, and in the other case repudiate its application? If the peers thus portray themselves to the country, they will have no justification—not even the shadow of an apology. The election purification bills are not cabinet measures. No party manoeuvre to outvote Ministers can extenuate or explain such an outrageous and disgraceful course of legislative procedure. It will be a cold and malignant act of hostility to all reform. A collision between the two Houses of Lords and Commons will be inevitable, and immediately consequential on their lordships' suicidal vote. A reformed House of Commons could never brook such an insult to its character and natural right to deal with the representation of the people. The suspended writs would of course be continued in their present abeyance; and the House of Commons would immediately come to some signal vote of recorded opinion on the hostile and unconstitutional acts of the peers. Will the Lords invite such a conflict? Have they ever at any period of British history gained by such a collision? And in such times and on such an occasion are they more likely to reap any benefit from such a critical and senseless opposition to the representative power of the nation? When the time shall arrive that the elective and hereditary branches of the legislature cannot act together, which of them will eventually give place to the other? The country will look to the result of the debate in the Lords this evening with intense interest as the opening of their Lordships' campaign and the demonstration of their sessional tactics.

SIR,—In your *Register* of the 8. of March last, you were pleased to speak favourably of an article upon railways, which appeared in a work edited by

myself, "The Journal of Steam Transport and Husbandry." From this circumstance, and the interest you have always taken to promote the social improvement of the nation, I am led to address you upon a subject which I hope will recommend itself to your support. I believe that it will be allowed that the grand evils of our condition are, *excess of labour, dear food, and accumulation of capital* in the hands of individuals. The *proposal* which I submit in the enclosed pamphlet, if adopted, will practically remedy these evils, and that by a way that will protect our agricultural interest, and benefit the community at large. At a moment when of such exigent distress, when something must be done to afford relief, I am most desirous that some honourable independent member, the friend of his country, and his fellow men, would bring this subject before the attention of Parliament. I have for this purpose addressed myself to a great number of those members who have more prominently distinguished themselves by their exertions to promote the common good. But of that number there is none whose services in the cause would be so effective or valuable as your own. Let me beg, therefore, that you will not allow so favourable an opportunity as that which will be presented by Mr. Wallace's motion upon Tuesday next, to pass without calling the attention of the House to this subject. I have laid a petition before Earl Grey, praying that a commission to inquire into it may be granted, or should that be refused, that the committee to inquire into the state of the Post-office may also embrace the subject of roads and locomotive conveyance. To this petition I have had no reply, but Mr. Wallace has told me that his motion is quite broad enough to admit of this enlarged inquiry, provided it is urged.

But independent of the merits of the *proposal*, there are other reasons, and I think very weighty ones, why the opportunity of Mr. Wallace's motion should be embraced to bring the subject of steam-carriages before the attention of Parliament. 1st. The daily press has stifled

every attempt to enlighten the public mind on the subject of railways. The *sacra fames* of pocketing a few pounds for railway advertisements, has been too powerful to permit it to do its duty by the country of laying bare the truth that railways will never answer as a mercantile speculation. It is necessary, therefore, that the public should be put upon their guard upon this point by those who are the representative guardians of the public. 2nd. Two committees are sitting daily upon the projected Great Western and Southampton Railway Bills: whatever may be the fate of those bills, it would be well for the members who form the committees, to be informed *in the House*, what, in all probability, will not transpire *before them in evidence*, that the Liverpool and Manchester railway (which makes more than one half of its annual returns by the *carriage of passengers*, which were never contemplated to be carried when it was constructed) has not *paid one per cent. net profit*, and that in sanctioning any future bills it must be, with *this fact* before them, and also that the introduction of steam-carriages upon granite tramways will *entirely monopolise the traffic in passengers*. 3rd. The Birmingham railway is commenced, and already the cuttings and excavations made for many miles; ought not the legislature still to arrest this unnecessary undertaking? Were it the mere waste of capital, little might be said; if speculators choose to pay 3 or 4,000,000*l.* for their whistle, they are welcome; but the destruction of soil, the cutting up the face of the country, ought not to be permitted. A tramway to Birmingham can be laid down for 300,000*l.*; why then form a railway which will cost at the same average per mile as the Manchester one, 4,684,295*l.* Competition cannot exist between these modes of transport, and the arm of Government ought to be put forth to avert a work which it is the height of madness to proceed with. 4th. "The London, Holyhead, and Liverpool steam-coach and road company" have given notice for intended application to Parliament for power to

make a tramway between London and Birmingham; if Ministers oppose Mr. Wallace's motion, it will be a fitting opportunity to ask how the mails are to be conveyed under a change of system that will throw each line of road into the hands of a private company.

As Mr. Cort's valuable paper is in your hands, I shall not trespass further upon your attention by going into any statements in support of the above positions. I trust that the reasons adduced in my own pamphlet for a Government consolidation of roads, correspondence, and conveyance, will induce you to take up the subject. I know that the proposal is new, and against the grain of our idol, viz. *national enterprise*.

But the time is fast coming when Ministers will have to find other funds for carrying on the affairs of the state, than those wrung from our impoverished tax-payers. The adoption of this proposal will provide these funds, and provide them in a way that may better the condition of every family in the land. Hoping that on the 29. you will bring forward the subject during the course of the debate.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

your most obedient servant,

R. BROWN.

25. April, 2, Wignmore-street.

Mr. Cobbett, M.P.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS AND EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT.

NORTHFIELD PETITION.

At a meeting held at the Bell, Northfield, on Wednesday, the 16. of April, 1831, Mr. Green in the Chair, the following petition, moved by Mr. Wright, and seconded by Mr. Greeves, was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be sent to the members for the Eastern Division of the county of Worcester, with a request that they would support it:

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the owners and occupiers of land, in the parishes of Northfield and King's Norton,

Showeth,—That the agricultural interest of the whole country has long been greatly depressed; that the capital of the farmers has for a long time been wasting; that rents, in many instances, have long been paid out of capital; and the productive power of the land greatly diminished.

That your petitioners have already stated these facts to your honourable House, but hitherto without effect. Your petitioners beg leave once more earnestly to call the attention of your honourable House to their deplorable situation, and to the report of the Committee on Agriculture made in the year 1821. That report admits that the agricultural interest was then labouring under great and trying difficulties, but expressed a hope (the grounds of which hope are stated in the report) that the great body of the occupiers of the soil would be able to surmount those difficulties. The report of the Committee on Agriculture made last year, admits that the hope held out by the former committee had proved unfounded; that the difficulties remained unchanged; and that the resources to which that committee had looked for the realization of their hopes, were all exhausted. Yet, after this admission, to the great surprise and grief of your petitioners, the committee of last year concludes its report by stating, that the hopes which remained to the agriculturist rest rather on cautious forbearance than on the active interposition of Parliament; or, in other words, that there is no hope, and that Parliament can do nothing.

Your petitioners are unwilling to give themselves up to that despair which such a report naturally generates, and humbly beg leave to state that, to them, the cause of their distress is quite apparent, and that your honourable House has the power, had it the will, to remove that cause. A constant and continuous fall in the price of agricultural produce, un-

accompanied by any diminution of the burdens on land, is the real cause of all their difficulties; that in many instances a sacrifice of the whole rent will not compensate for that fall; that the fall of price is clearly to be traced to an alteration in the circulating medium, occasioned by a bill passed in the year 1819, commonly called Peel's Bill. That your petitioners are confirmed in this view of the case by the fact, that immediately after the restoration of peace, measures preparatory to the alteration in the currency were adopted, which measures produced a ruinous fall of price; that when the bill passed this evil greatly increased, and in the year 1821 was so intolerable and alarming that Parliament was compelled to postpone the full operation of the bill, and to adopt measures which virtually repealed it. While the bill was thus suspended, the agricultural interest revived. In the year 1826 the bill was again brought into full and accelerated operation; distress again returned, has ever since constantly increased, and has now arrived at that point, which if not speedily removed, must effect the ruin of the whole landed interest, landlords and tenants, and involve in one common ruin all classes, and end in the destruction of the social compact. Your petitioners beg leave also to say, that the two committees were strictly enjoined *not to inquire into the effect of the bill, called Mr. Peel's Bill; that no inquiry into the justice or practicability of the enactments of that bill has yet been made*; the only inquiry ever instituted relative to that measure having been limited to the time and manner of effecting the object intended. Your petitioners feel convinced that, if an inquiry is granted, the injustice and impracticability of the measure can easily be proved, and that, dreadful as its effects have been, they are trifling when compared with the inevitable consequences of persisting in it; and they are satisfied that no effectual remedy for their distress can be found while that bill remains in force; and they venture to predict, that the alleged prosperity of manufactures and commerce cannot be permanent, while a measure so unjust in

itself, and so ruinous in its consequences, remains unrepealed.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honourable House will be pleased to institute an immediate inquiry *into the effects of this bill*, and to adopt such measures as shall, by doing *equal justice to creditor and debtor*, place their mutual prosperity on a sure and solid foundation, and restore to your petitioners that fair reward for their labour of which they have been so long most unjustly and cruelly deprived.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. &c.

WORCESTER PETITION.

At a meeting held at the Crown Inn, Worcester, on Wednesday, 9. April, 1834, the Earl of Coventry in the Chair, the following petition, moved by Sir A. Lechmere; and seconded by the Earl of Beauchamp, was unanimously adopted:

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned owners and occupiers of land in the county of Worcester,

Showeth,—That your petitioners are suffering under rapidly increasing difficulties, and that ruin will speedily ensue, unless the burdens which they bear are removed, or their means of meeting them be increased; they appeal to your honourable House, with a firm reliance that you will take their situation into immediate consideration, and afford them that relief to which they feel themselves entitled. Your petitioners beg permission respectfully to state the grievances under which they labour, and humbly to represent to your honourable House, that the present prices of agricultural produce are so utterly inadequate, that the following evils are daily increasing, which, if not stayed, will terminate in the destruction of your petitioners:

First: A total inability to pay the taxes, rates, charges, labour, and rent,

from the produce of the land; the farmer making up the deficiency by the sacrifice of his capital; and his means of employing labour and cultivating the land to the best advantage, being thereby diminished.

Secondly. A consequent increase of the poor-rates.

Thirdly. A throwing out of cultivation of all lands, except those of the best quality, and in good situations.

Fourthly. An entire loss of income to the owners of second-rate and inferior soils; the surrendering up such lands, in a great many instances to mortgagees; and the complete ruin of the farmers, labourers, and artisans, dependent upon, and heretofore maintained by, such lands.

Fifthly. The non-existence of an adequate provision for the poor of Ireland: the consequent influx of Irish produce at ruinously low prices; and numbers of Irish labourers being driven for subsistence to this country.

We would humbly express our firm conviction, that the removal of the present, though inadequate protection of the corn laws, would accelerate our destruction.

Your petitioners beg also to state, that the evils under which they are suffering are mainly to be attributed to the alteration of the currency produced by the bill of 1819.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly request that your honourable House will institute an immediate inquiry into the effects of that measure, and into the necessity of making such alterations as shall, while faith is preserved between debtor and creditor, firmly establish general prosperity, and restore to your petitioners that fair reward for their labour of which they have long and cruelly been deprived.

We, therefore, humbly pray your honourable House to adopt such measures as may be calculated to realize remunerating prices, and thereby enable us to discharge the public and local burdens imposed on the owners and cultivators of land, to pay fair rents, to employ labour, and beneficially to cultivate the land, and promote general prosperity.

Among the persons present at the above meeting were, the Earls of Coventry and Beauchamp, Hon. W. Coventry, Hon. H. B. Lygon, M.P., Sir Anthony Lechmere, Sir Thomas Phillips, Sir Osley Wakeman, Mr. Hodgetts Foley, M.P., Capt. Winnington, M.P., Mr. Corries, M.P., Mr. Robinson, M.P., Colonel Charlette, and many of the leading landowners and farmers in the county.

CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY.

(From the *Halifax (Nova Scotia) Recorder*,
22. March, 1834).

MR. HOLLAND: Sir,—There has been so much said and written on the subject and object of those meetings of the inhabitants of this town, which took place awhile back, that perhaps the reverting to them at this late period may be considered stale matter for discussion. With some it may; but I am of a different opinion, and think I can plainly show they have tended to injure rather than benefit the community. It was obvious from the crowded state of the room on the first instance, that no common interest and feeling attracted so large a congregation; from the anxious faces apparent on that day, there was sufficient evidence that *four-fifths* of that assembly met under the supposition that something was to be done to relieve them as far as possible from present difficulties. It was, in point of fact, a meeting of *debtors* to ascertain the best method of satisfying a clamorous creditor. And how did the farce go off? Not by an open confession to that creditor of inability to pay; not by a statement of facts, that the principal sums due to him were clear profit made, and deducted from our labours for the last nine years, and under such specious forms of *accommodation*, that we debtors were not aware of it until called upon to pay. Not by an open confession, that a veil of deception or delusion had been drawn across the organs of perception for nine years, during which period our substance has been withdrawn little by little, and ourselves plunged into enormous difficulties and

debt: not by an open exposure of these truths, and a firm demand upon the authors of those evils to assist in leading us out of trouble, as they have been the undoubted cause and instruments leading us into it. Who, I would ask, has more right to support the falling community, than the men who have, according to every man's opinion, been the cause of its troubles? Who, would ask, are *able* to save it but those who have grown too powerful and rich by its united labours? But how did the farce go off? for farce it was in spite of the attempt of the agent of the Halifax Banking Company to affix the cause of all our troubles upon the smuggling trade carried on at the village of Windsor. Mr. Williamson's motion on the count of having the words *cash payments* was carried unanimously—*an immediate return, &c.*, a committee was nominated to wait on each bank to ask the sage question, Why do you not discount my notes? If they had been at a loss for an answer, the meeting of whom these questioners were the delegates, had put one into their mouths. They only feared the event before, now they were sure of it. Did they, could they, expect any other answer than they obtained? Did they expect the bankers would say, Oh, you have determined that we should respond in cash: being made sure of this, we will now discount all your paper, but not being sure but that things were to remain on their old footing, we were delicate in issuing to any extent: oh, yes, we will now discount for you. Will any man in his senses say that such an answer would be expected? If not why were the questions proposed? I should imagine that the fact of their not discounting was pretty well known without inquiry in such a formal manner. I should like much to know then, what they were sent for? It is a question hard to be answered, but a meeting of such respectability could not dissolve without a show of something, and a sham fight was thought to be better than no fight at all. Admitted that it is difficult to imagine the objects expected to result from that deputation's visit to the banks—I may

be allowed to give an opinion as to what should have been the messages from the meeting to be delivered to the bankers through their deputation: 1st, We have called upon you to say, that an advertisement appeared nine years ago, offering us the benefit of a bank, which we accepted; and we have given it a long trial; its results have been the ruin of many, and is likely to ruin all. We are aware that we are indebted largely to your establishments, and we are come to make such arrangements as circumstances will admit as to payments. 2nd, We demand—months for the liquidation of the whole of your demands, to be subdivided in four equal parts, the first instalment to be paid on the first of June next. 3rd, We lastly pray and beseech that you will not on any account issue now or hereafter any notes, commonly termed bank note: as we have found by dear-bought experience, that they are pernicious to our true interests; and further, we are anxious and feel determined to get back, if possible, into the good old system of safety, when every man could say,—I am my own banker. Had this been the language of the people to the banks, an understanding would have mutually existed, and the good effects would have at once appeared. Hundreds, who must now fall, and through sacrifice of property perhaps pay 5s. in the pound, who would under such arrangement be enabled to pay the banks and very man his due, besides saving his family and himself from irreparable ruin. Mark the results of the meeting, Mr. Williamson's resolution was taken as the basis; a petition got up to the House of Assembly, and instead of a law for an *immediate return* (according to the spirit of the resolution) to cash payments, the *poor* bankers obtained a period of five months—to do what? To pay their debts. In the meanwhile what are they doing with us? Draining us to the very dregs; turning the screw until we burst asunder one after the other, and from present appearances by the eventful 1. of June, there will be but few left upon whom the screws can be applied with any ef-

fect. That extension of time is the finishing stroke, if one was required, as the bankers make good use of it, as they do of all other advantages. It is an excuse for their present proceedings. They pretend that a *rush* will be made for specie; were they asked from whence expected, they could not answer. This excuse like all others will do for want of a better; but is this the real cause of their pressing us? If it is, it certainly is a fair confession of having signed more notes (as many of us have done) than they can pay. But I am inclined to think that this is not the cause, I am afraid there is something more serious under the veil: in all our troubles, as yet real estate has not been brought to the hammer—according to present proceedings, should not the people take the alarm in time to prevent a general destruction of this description of property? Real estate has already depreciated at least one third within the last six months, are we not to presume from the gradual and certain advances making upon us by the banks, that they aim at our *castles*? Two years ago I owned a property valued at 1,000*l.*, and to gratify an itching for speculation, obtained from the ——— a sum of 250*l.* upon it by giving a mortgage, the banks are winding me up, and the end will be an assignment for the benefit of my creditors, my house must be sold, and my good friend the ——— will be the purchasers, who else can find the cash. He is a banker and has it all to himself. This will not occur to me alone, for there are hundreds of similar cases, and unless something is done, we shall see before the 1. of June, if the system is not brought into complete operation. The only remedy is in our own hands, if we do not make use of it, we must not only take the inevitable consequence. It may be asked why are the people so patient? It is indeed a matter of astonishment, and I am sorry to think it proceeds from either pride, or a want of independent spirit. We are either too proud to confess debts we are unable to pay at the moment, or lack in that true spirit of independence which if brought

into proper operation by the people, must ever teach those who hold the rod to use it with proper discretion, or risk the event of its returning upon their own backs with double force. Some may say, the bankers themselves will eventually lose; this I deny, and will endeavour at a future day to show how certain they are under every circumstance, of getting their debts to the utmost farthing. Your obliged and obedient servant,

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE LORD'S DAY BILL.

No. 1, *Harmer-place, Brighton*
April 26, 1834.

SIR,—I have the honour to address you, respecting a petition having been presented to “the House of Commons” by Mr. J. A. Wigney, member for this borough, from the bakers; the purport of which I understand to be “For the better observance of the Lord’s Day”; the true meaning is, that they should be exempt from baking meat, pies, puddings, &c., on that day. Some years since they obtained an act to save their fetching dinners, &c., or sending their home on that day, and that all bakings should be sent before eleven o’clock, and taken away from the bake-house by half-past one; this, I believe, is very strictly observed by both parties. Now, sir, permit me to give you my opinion upon this subject, and I shall begin by telling you that the population of this borough exceeds 40,000; of these not less than 10,000 have baked dinners on Sunday; the only day in seven which the major part of them enjoy a piece of meat and a hot joint with potatoes. Supposing that 200 bakers take in 50 bakings each, some do more, and each family of five persons, these 200 would allow 10,000 persons to go to church, chapel, &c., by many of whom it might be inconvenient to pay for fuel to cook with; for one penny the dinner is baked, and

perhaps, with what may be left, enough is provided for two or three days with a potato. How stands it with the baker's occupation? Then, I will tell you, as far as I know practically (and ask any one experienced in this line of business, I think he will say that I am nearly correct in my statement) as follows: the baker lights his oven at nine or half-past, and he has to attend to it until near eleven, when it is swept out and laid down, for a few minutes, to equalize the heat. He begins to set in the dinners at eleven, his work is so far done, by a quarter, or twenty minutes after they are all in. He has occasionally to attend to the turning and shifting the bread in the oven. At one he begins to draw out a quarter after, the whole is ready to be delivered to his customers. When all he has got to do is, to deliver them to their rightful owners, take the money, and shut his oven for the day. Be it observed that only one person can attend the oven, at the same time all the family may go to church or chapel for the morning service, and leave the baker only at home. He has plenty of time for his dinner, to clean, and dress himself; and also can have the benefit of the afternoon and evening prayers and lectures, whilst, by his three hours' labour, he has enabled 50 families to go in the morning. There are generally two in a bakery; they might take alternate Sundays. Many of these would-be-better-than-good people, whose names are signed to the petition "For the better observance of the Sabbath," have been very unfortunate in having their bread weights and measures seized by the inspectors, and fined. They now wish to expiate for their offences, and become followers of Saint Sir Andrew Agnew, who, from my knowledge of them, are a set of canting, whining, praying, psalm-singing, scripture-expounding, devil-dodging, Christ-beseeching, heavenly fortune-telling humbugs.

The whole of their petition is wrapped

up in cant, sheer cant, and nothing but cant.

I remain, Sir,
With health and respect,

Yours,

JOHN SMITH,

A constant reader of "The Political Register" for more than twenty years, and a particular friend of that honest and celebrated citizen, Thomas Paine.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

"P. S. If the bakers' bill passes into a law, at least five millions of persons in England will go without hot dinner on Sunday, the only day they get one. Glory! Glory!! for the saints!"

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

STEVENS, W., Jun., Old Jewry, auctioneer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DALY, P., Liverpool, bricklayer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLSOP, J., Belper, Derbyshire, wheelwright.
BUTTERWORTH, B. and R., Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

DOUGLAS, D., Whitechapel-road, baker.

GREEN, J. H., Finch-lane, bill-broker.

HANSOM, J., and E. Welch, Birmingham, builders.

HARRIS, G., Broad-street, corn-factor.

HOCKNELL, G., Stone, Staffordshire, inn-keeper.

LEWER, W., Wellington-st., Strand, news-agent.

ROBINSON, J., Bridge-street, Westminster, boot-maker.

WATSON, W., Bringcrown, Flintshire, timber-merchant.

WEST, R. A., Leeds, draper.

WYATT, C., Banbury, Oxfordshire, inn-keeper.

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

GREEN, J., Cheltenham, draper.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SWALES, W., Great Portland-street, Oxford-street, mercer.

BANKRUPTS.

ARKELL, J., Cheltenham, miller.

AUGHTIE, J. W., Cheapside, jeweller.
 BRIDGE, W., sen., Manchester, timber-dealer.
 BUGLER, R., Clutton, Somersetshire, inn-keeper.
 GORE, H., Liverpool, merchant.
 OAKLEY, R., Shrewsbury, Shropsh., builder.
 PRINCE, J., Bath, innkeeper.
 SCRIVENER, T., Mark-lane, and High-street, Wapping, corn-dealer.
 SNUGGS, W., Vauxhall, builder.
 THOMPSON, G. T., Bishopsgate-street, dealer in snuff.
 WEAVER, T., South-st., Spitalfield-, cheese-monger.
 WILSON, J., Liverpool, upholsterer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DONALDSON, R., Pulteneytown, Caithness-shire, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 28.—The supplies of Wheat from Essex to this morning's market were liberal, but moderate from Kent and Suffolk; millers still exhibiting a reluctance to purchase, caused the trade to rule extremely heavy, and though the finest samples sustained no alteration in their previous currency, yet all other qualities were neglected, though they might have been purchased at a decline of fully 1s. per qr. In bonded Wheat we heard of no transactions.

The refreshing showers which were experienced last night and early this morning have damped the speculative spirit which was arising in favour of spring corn, and rendered trade, particularly in Oats, much less animated than last week. Malting qualities of Barley, however, being scarce, and meeting a partial inquiry, supported the rates of this day's night. In distillery and grinding sorts no alteration, and the demand limited.

Malt continues difficult of disposal, and secondary qualities quite nominal in value.

The supply of Oats was again very small, and as dealers refrain from purchasing as much as possible, a slow sale was experienced for the article at worse prices than Wednesday, but equal to last Monday's rates.

Beans were scarce, and 1-2 dearer.

White Peas steady in value, and few samples offering. Grey and Maple both advanced 1s. per qr.

The Flour trade was dull. Ship marks supported last week's improvement, but less disposition was shown to purchase at the advance.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Boilers | 32s. to 37s. |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| — Grey | 30s. to 33s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potato | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 95s. to 100s. |
| — Mess, new | 50s. to 55s. per barl. |
| Butter, Belfast | 66s. to 70s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Cork | —s. to 62s. |
| — Limerick | —s. to 62s. |
| — Waterford | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Dublin | 44s. to 46s. |

SMITHFIELD, April 28.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Porkers but limited. Trade was, throughout, dull.—With Lamb, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the beasts were Scots; the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with about 100 Herefords, as many Irish, and about fifty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About a third of the Sheep were South-Downs; about the same number new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in about the proportion of two of the former to five of the latter; and the remaining third about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled, Norfolk, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of black-faced Berkshire Sheep; horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

The Lambs, supposed to be in number about 4,000, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South-Downs, Dorsets, and new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 1,000 of the beasts, full a moiety of which were Scots, the rest about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few home-breds, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about eighty, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Scots, Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 2.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.
Cons. Ann. } 91½ 91½ 91½ 90½ 90½ 90½

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INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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THE SHILLING MAGAZINE.

FOR MAY,

Just out, conducted by the Editor of
COBBETT'S MAGAZINE.

No. I. contains the following original articles.—I. A Colloquial Essay on Modern Literature, by the late Andrew Pickens—II. Criminal Characters, by the author of Old Bailey Experience—III. An Island not mentioned by Captain Ross by Miss Isabella Hill—IV. Shakspeare and his Prefacers—V. The Progress of the Fine Arts in England—VI. To the Reader, by the Editor—VII. The Beggar of Bethnal Green—VIII. Imprisonment for Debt—IX. The Insurrection in Barbadoes—X. The Creation, a Poem—XI. My Clerkship—XII. Calf Love—XIII. A Hackney Coach Adventure, and several poetical articles.

Published at 11, Bolt court, Fleet-street.

THE ONLY REMAINING LOTTERY.

ON the 22nd JULY next, the Commissioners under the Act 1st and 2nd William IV., Cap. 8, will distribute by lot all the remaining property, funds, and assets, of the Glasgow Improvement Company, in 2,036 lots of various amounts and value, at COOPER'S HALL, in the city of London, according to the mode and manner in which the prizes in State Lotteries were formerly drawn. The scheme contains the following capitals, besides smaller Prizes of 800*l.*, 500*l.*, 400*l.*, 300*l.*, 200*l.*, &c. All to be drawn in One Day, the 22nd JULY next:

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------|
| 1....of.... | 16 000..... | 16,000 |
| 1..... | 10,000..... | 10,000 |
| 1..... | 3,000..... | 3,000 |
| 1..... | 2,000..... | 2,000 |
| 1..... | 1,600..... | 1,600 |
| 1..... | 1,500..... | 1,500 |
| 2..... | 1,100..... | 2,800 |
| 1..... | 1,100..... | 1,100 |
| &c. &c. &c. | | |

All the Prizes in the Scheme will be paid in money if required, subject only to a commission of five per cent. on the value above 50*l.*, which is deducted to cover the risk and expense in selling the property. In the First and Second Glasgow Lotteries the Prizes were all sold to the public, and money for each paid on demand as soon as drawn. The Tickets and Shares, divided agreeably to the Act are on sale at all the Offices in Town and Country.

Printed by William Cobbett, John-on's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt court, Fleet street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 84.—No. 6.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 10TH, 1834.

Price 1s. 2d.



COBBETT-CORN.

Farnham, 7. May, 1834.

I FIND that I am short of my quantity of seed; and I beg of my friends, or of any gentleman who saved some of my corn this last year, who can spare it, to forward me a little to Bolt-court, without delay. I shall want in the whole, three bushels of ears, at the least; but any quantity will be very gratefully received, only it must come as quickly as possible.

MY HEALTH.

BETTER; but slow work. They say "slow and sure"; and if this be as sure as it is slow, it will be a very fine affair. Of all the mortifications which this ailment has occasioned me, none equals that of compelling me to be absent from the discussion on Mr. HARVEY's motion; which, taken altogether, is by far the most interesting thing which has taken place since the reform of the Parliament.

PENSION FIGHT.

LET me first give the history of it. Mr. HARVEY, member for COLCHESTER, on the 5. of May, made a motion for an address to his Majesty, "praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct inquiry to be made into the consolidation of each pension, as it appears in the list ordered to be printed by his faithful Commons, on August 29, 1833, with a view to be assured that

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

"such persons only are in the receipt of the public money, as have just claims on the royal munificence, either by services rendered to the crown, the performance of duties to the public, by useful discoveries in science, or by attainments in literature and the arts, which have deserved the consideration of their Sovereign, and the gratitude of their country."

After Mr. HARVEY's speech, and a speech from Lord ALTHAM, Mr. STAURT moved an amendment in the following words: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expenditure charged on the civil list and the consolidated fund, in order to ascertain the nature and extent of any abuses which may exist, with a view to give full effect to the resolutions of the House, passed on the 18. of February last."

When the House divided on Mr. HARVEY's motion, there were

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Noes | 390 |
| Ayes | 148 |

Majority against the motion 242

When it divided upon Mr. STAURT's motion, there were

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Noes | 311 |
| Ayes | 230 |

Majority against it 181

There! That is a true account of the reformed Parliament. Now the public know exactly what it is. Before the Parliament was reformed, and the nation was petitioning for a reform of the Parliament, these petitions always stated what the petitioners wanted the reform FOR; and no petition ever presented for a reform of the Parliament omitted to pray for "an abolition of all sinecures, and of all pensions not merited by well-known public services." The language of these petitions was this: "Your petitioners humbly pray that your honourable House will be pleased

"to originate, or give your assent to, laws for abolishing sinecures, pensions, and grants, not fully merited by well-known public services." This was the language of every petition of the years 1816 and 1817, praying for a reform of the Parliament.

To be sure, the people did not want the reform of the Parliament for nothing: they did not want a reform of the Parliament merely to hear a TALK about corporation and poor-laws and church-rate and tithe-law and local-court-law and courtesy-of-England law: the people did not want a reformed Parliament merely to get a *talk* about these things. They did not want a reform of the Parliament to transfer the church-rates to the land-tax; and so make the people of Scotland and Ireland pay the church-rates of England. They did not want a reform of the Parliament, in order to get an additional eight hundred thousand pounds a year to pay in taxes, and in order to add twenty millions to the enormous and irredeemable debt, for the purpose of giving the West India aristocracy twenty millions to pay off the mortgages upon their estates, while the howl of humanity was set up, and echoed back again from the cracked-skull county of York. There are not the things that the people wanted a reformed Parliament for. They did not want a reformed Parliament for the sake of hearing the *Althorpean* hum about liberality, towards the Dissenters while he discovers the intention of the Government not to give up one inch in favour of those Dissenters; but, on the contrary, develops scheme after scheme, contrivance after contrivance, for preserving to the church, that is to say, to the aristocracy, every bit of power and property which they now enjoy. In short, the people did not want a reformed Parliament, in order to have exhibited to them a sort of *cafetery*, in which Whig and Tory should unite, or should divide, as occasion might serve, in order to keep on extracting the same sums from the pockets of the people.

Of one thing the people thought they were certain; and that was, of the de-

molition of this odious pension list. They thought that they were *sure of that!* They thought, to be sure, that a reformed Parliament never could suffer that to exist for one month. Nineteen-twentieths of the members, I believe, were pledged to it; but, indeed, it was a thing looked forward to with so much certainty, that there could not be said to be any doubt upon the subject. Yet we see the result; and who is to expect otherwise, when you consider the way in which the people have exercised their right of election. If men have chosen a man to represent them who is himself a pensioner, or who lives on the taxes, can they complain if that man vote against a motion like that of Mr. HARVEY?

One thing the people will have remarked upon this occasion; namely, the open, the visible, the acknowledged, the predetermined, and the *justified*, union of the two old parties, against the motion of Mr. HARVEY. It was always foreseen by me, and I foretold it in all my lectures in the North, previous to the meeting of the reformed Parliament; that, if the Ministers meant to make a real reform, they would have the people and a majority of the House of Commons, and would set their old enemies at defiance; that, if they meant to carry on the system of secret-service-money, *Six-acts*, pensions, and police and standing army, they must be joined by the Tories; that the Ministers must do that which the people wanted to have done, or must unite with the Tories. They have chosen the latter; and, therefore, the reform of the Parliament has effected nothing at all for the people.

This affair of the pensions was the great affair of all; because it is so flagrant; because it is so clear a case; because it is a thing in defence of which no man has a word to say. In the case of the dead-weights; the "*fighting*" and "*bleeding*" affair; the "*glory*" and "*Peninsula*" affair, there is a *pretence*, at any rate: there is a *something* to say: very little, to be sure; but there is a *something*; but for the female and children pensioners, there is absolutely nothing. The men are in the

same state: they have no more claim than dead BURKE has. This case is so flagrant: it is saying, "We have agreed to take this money from the working classes, and to give it to the wives of widows, daughters, and sons, of the aristocracy: we have agreed to do this because it has been our pleasure to do it; by the two parties joining together we have the power to continue to do it; and we will continue to do it." This is all that they have to say. They do not pretend that the parties deserve it: they do not pretend that they have any claim to it at all, other than that of their will; and upon this point it is that the "reformed" House of Commons have determined, by a majority of three hundred and ninety! against one hundred and forty-eight, that it will stand by those who thus apply the public money.

A great deal has been said about the comparatively small amount of these pensions; but these pensions, to which Mr. HARVEY's motion applied, make but a small part of this branch of waste of the public money. If we take in sinecures, grants, diplomatic pensions, civil retired allowances: if we take in the whole, Irish, Scotch, compensation, four and a half per cent, West India; if we take in the whole, royal family and all, and still allow plenty for every branch of that royal family, we shall find that the amount is upwards of three millions a year.

Now, then, Lord ALTHORP, whose "gentlemanly feeling" will not suffer him to agree even to inquire why these pensions have been granted, has a poor-law project before the House, the adoption of which he represents as absolutely necessary to prevent the poor "from swallowing up the whole of the property of the country." Now, mark! The money raised under the name of poor-rates, amounts to about eight millions a year; but, only about five millions and a half are actually paid for relief to the poor. The rest is laid out for the benefit of the rich, for the building of prisons and bridges; for the preservation of the game; and, in fact, not a farthing of it for the relief of the poor. This worthy

man, this honest lord, is afraid that the country will be devoured by this relief to the poor; but not at all afraid that it will be devoured by his swarms of pensioners that swallow up nearly as much as the poor! I should like to know why poor-houses are not to be erected for these high-blooded paupers? The poor labourers are to be separated, wives from husbands, lest they should breed. Why not separate these state paupers in the same manner, and for the same purpose?

The people should know that the fine carriages that roll round Hyde Park are filled with these people. They should know to whom it is that they bow, and be sure that it is not a pauper of their own keeping. But the thing the most necessary to be done is, to make out and to publish an accurate account of all these people, with every particular that can possibly be collected against each name. There have been many lists of the kind published; but never one that has been perfect and intelligent and useful; applicable to practicable purposes. We must come to a settlement with these people. I, for my part, would not only stop their pay, but make them pay up their arrears. Before I go further, let me insert here what Lord ALTHORP, the official defender of these people, had to say in their defence; and to say in defence of the expenditure of one half of the amount of poor-rates. He made two speeches: one after Mr. HARVEY's proposition, and one after the proposition of Mr. STURTT; and now let us hear what this official defender had to say in defence of this monstrous waste of the public money.

Speech after Mr. Harvey.

"Lord ALTHORP was indistinctly heard, owing to the low tone in which he spoke, and to some occasional interruptions in the gallery, occasioned by the anxiety of strangers to obtain admission. He said that he had opposed the former motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he had great objections to the present one. (Cheers). It appeared to him that the proposition of the hon. and learned

"Gentleman was one which it was utterly impossible that any gentleman could accede to. The proposition was to call on this House to address his Majesty to take away those pension which his Majesty had confirmed. They were asked to call on the King to do that which no man of *gentlemanlike feeling* would consent to do viz. to deprive persons of the pensions which he himself had bestowed. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to a speech which he (Lord Althorp) delivered on a former occasion in relation to this subject. He said then what he was ready to maintain now, which was, that he did think that the Minister who recommended a pension was responsible for such recommendation, and he thought it was perfectly justifiable to call for the list, in case any improper grant had been made. The hon. and learned Gentleman went on to say, that when he (Lord A.) proposed the civil list, he at that time stated that the pension list should be open to inquiry; certainly he did so; but that was only till the list was finally settled. He, at the period referred to, had to ask of the House a vote on credit; it was then necessary for the House to make advances from quarter to quarter. Ultimately, however, they did go into the question; and the House decided that the pensions should be charged on the Consolidated Fund. When they did so, it never entered into his head that this pension list would be opened again. He did feel that persons on the pension list had a *right established by custom to be continued on it*; and the *present Government* taking this view, had, when they came into office, recommended that they should be. If the House agreed to the motion—if they agreed to address his Majesty to take the pensions away—they would agree to what was *unjust*! The honourable and learned Gentleman seemed to expect honourable gentlemen to get up to defend each individual grant; but he (Lord Althorp) did not intend to do any such thing. He did not hold himself re-

sponsible for the acts of former governments. (Cheers). The first Minister of the Crown was, he admitted, responsible for the pensions having been retained; but he had acted in concurrence with what had been the practice at the commencement of every reign since the Revolution. King William continued the pensions granted by James II. The present motion, then, of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he considered more objectionable than his proposition for an inquiry before a committee of the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to an expression made use of by the right hon. Secretary of the Treasury, who had spoken of the desired inquiry as a '*disgusting examination*.' His right hon. Friend did not allude to the cases to be investigated, but to the feeling which he supposed every one would entertain, who of necessity might be engaged in the examination. He (Lord Althorp) thought it could not fail to be a '*disgusting inquiry*' to any gentleman who took a part in it. (Hear, hear). The hon. and learned Gentleman had argued this as a popular topic. He (Lord Althorp) admitted that it was so. (Hear, hear). He was quite aware that persons held pensions who had other public employment; and he was ready to admit that when persons had large property, 'at least (said his lordship, breaking off suddenly), I am sure that if I were in that situation, I would not take the pension.' (Great cheering for a considerable time). He admitted that this was a topic which influenced, considerably, popular feeling; but this was quite beside the question as to the propriety of their taking away that from men to which in their judgment they had a right, the law having established that right. This did not appear to him to be a question requiring any length of argument. It was simply this—would they deprive those who had a *legal right* to the pensions of that right by a vote of this House? and if they would do that, would they employ, as a medium of doing it, the King who

" had conferred the grants? (Cheering).
 " The question lay in a narrow com-
 " pass, and it was quite impossible for
 " him to sanction such a proposition.
 " (Cheers.)"

Speech after Mr. Strutt.

" Lord ALTHORP, though he admitted
 " that there was a distinction between
 " the original motion and the amend-
 " ment, inasmuch as the proposition o-
 " the honourable Member for Colches-
 " ter would go to take away the pen-
 " sions, still considered them both ob-
 " jectionable. One of the grounds on
 " which the inquiry was sought, was
 " the excitement of the public mind
 " with regard to this question of the
 " pension list; and it had been urged
 " that the object was not to deprive the
 " holders of pensions of what they re-
 " ceived. It was said that the inquiry
 " alone would satisfy the public. They
 " assumed too much who said this,
 " though the honourable Member for
 " Derby insisted that the exhibition of
 " the gross abuse was all that was
 " required. In his (Lord Althorp's)
 " opinion, such a result would not be
 " satisfactory; nor did he see the ad-
 " vantage which would follow the in-
 " quiry, if the House would call to its
 " recollection who they were who ad-
 " vised the crown when the grants com-
 " plained of were made. As to what
 " had been urged with regard to the ar-
 " gument of preventing abuse in future,
 " what was said on that head had been
 " by anticipation replied to by the reso-
 " lution passed on the 18. of February,
 " by which a distinct principle was
 " acknowledged, and which was not
 " admitted in former times. Either as
 " to the past or the future, the inquiry
 " would be productive of *no benefit*.
 " *If the House inquired into the past,*
 " *with a view to censure the proceedings,*
 " *they should pass censure on the dead,*
 " *as the grants were made on the recom-*
 " *mendation of persons now in the grave.*
 " (Hear, hear). Besides the inutility of
 " the inquiry, there was another objec-
 " tion which, though it had been ridi-
 " culed by the honourable Member for
 " Colchester, must still have its weight,

" and that was, *that the investigation*
 " *would be calculated to wound the*
 " *feelings as well of those who conducted*
 " *as of those who were the objects of the*
 " *inquiry.* For these reasons then, the
 " inutility of the inquiry, and the un-
 " necessary pain it would occasion to
 " individuals, he should, notwithstand-
 " ing the obloquy which may attach
 " out of doors both to himself and those
 " who went with him on the question,
 " feel himself bound in the exercise of
 " his duty to vote against both the
 " motion and the amendment."

Now, readers of the *Register*, this is
 the defence which the noble and honest
 Lord ALTHORP has to offer for defend-
 ing an expenditure of our money,
 against which you and I have been
 petitioning for more than twenty years.
 We complain of the waste of our
 money; we complain that our earnings
 are taken from us unjustly, to be given
 to the aristocracy; we complain that
 the working people are reduced to rags,
 and to live upon potatoes and garbage;
 we assert that this poverty and misery
 arise from the tax on their malt, the
 tax on their sugar, the tax on their tea,
 the tax on all the necessaries of life;
 that they arise from these oppressions,
 which beggar the farmers and the trades-
 men, and disable them from giving due
 employment, or from paying due wages.
 My Lord ALTHORP brings in a bill to
 put a stop to relief being given to the
 indigent, and to erect houses to cause
 males to be kept from females to pre-
 vent them from breeding. He proposes
 to overturn the greatest of all the laws
 of the kingdom; and imputes to the
 labouring people the poverty in which
 the kingdom is steeped; proposes,
 against all law, all justice, all reason,
 to pinch the labouring poor, in order to
 relieve the country from its distresses.

In this state of things comes the able,
 the acute, the bold, the clever, member
 for Colchester; and, as if forgetting,
 or resolved to cast aside the wasting of
 his precious time and talents, any more
 upon the benchers: comes, I say, the
 honourable Member for Colchester,
 and says: "Stop, my good poor-law-
 " projector, and let us, if you please,

"before we proceed to these points—
 "eating paupers, look a little at those
 "who devour their substance, and cause
 "them to be paupers; and here I find
 "immense sums of money taken from
 "the labour of these poor people,
 "amounting, in the first list that I lay
 "hold of, to *more than the whole of the*
 "*poor-rates of Bedfordshire and Berk-*
 "*shire*; let us, my noble Honesty, if
 "you please, inquire what right these
 "people have to swallow up the amount
 "of the poor-rates of these two coun-
 "ties? Your colleague, Sir JAMES
 "GRAHAM, proved to us, while he was
 "out of office, that a hundred and thir-
 "teen of the aristocracy swallowed up,
 "annually, six hundred and fifty thou-
 "sand pounds. That alone is a sum
 "equal to the whole amount of the
 "poor-rates of *Bedfordshire, Berkshire,*
 "*Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire,*
 "and *Cheshire*! Yes: only a hundred
 "and thirteen of them swallow up as
 "much as the poor-rates of these five
 "counties; and yet, according to you,
 "the nation is beggared solely by the
 "poor people, who cannot get work, or
 "who are afflicted with age or in-
 "firmities! Now, then, my good LORD
 "HONESTY, I propose to you, that we
 "should inquire into the justice and pro-
 "priety of giving all this public money
 "to these aristocratical families; that
 "we should inquire into the grounds
 "upon which this money is given to
 "them."

Such is the proposition of the Mem-
 ber for COLCHESTER; and what is the
 answer of noble Honesty? Why, this:
 "That no man of *gentlemanlike* feeling
 "could consent to the proposition;
 "that the persons on the pension list
 "had a *right by custom*, to be continued
 "on it; that he was not called upon to
 "defend the propriety of the grants of
 "these pensions; that the motion would
 "lead to a *disgusting examination*;
 "that, for his part, he thought that no
 "'gentleman' would like to be con-
 "cerned in the inquiry; that, if the
 "House inquired into the past, they
 "would pass censure *on the dead*; that
 "the investigation must *hurt the feel-*
 "*ings* of those who were the objects of

"the inquiry; and that, finally, such
 "inquiry must give *unnecessary pain*
 "to the *individuals* who were the ob-
 "jects of it."

This was the defence set up by the
 official defender! This was the answer
 to the famous speech of the honourable
 Member for COLCHESTER, who has now
 answered the BENCHERS in the best
 possible manner! What! and is this
 all that is to be said in justification of
 the squandering of about three millions
 of money every year? For, observe,
 Mr. HARVEY took hold of only one little
 branch of this enormous tree. Is this
 the answer to the honourable Member
 for COLCHESTER? Oh! oh! "*Gent-*
 "*lemanly feeling*," is it! There is much
 "*gentlemanly feeling*" to be sure, in
 proposing that a poor man, who is des-
 titute of work and of food, because these
 cormorants have beggared his master;
 there is much "*gentlemanly feeling*," in
 refusing him relief from starvation;
 and also a great deal of "*gentlemanly*
 "*feeling*" in proposing forcibly to keep
 poor husbandis from their wives to pre-
 vent them from breeding; also a pre-
 cious deal of "*gentlemanly feeling*" in
 an abolition of the laws of bastardy, so
 as to produce forcible abortion, and
 infanticide by intention. This is very
 "*gentlemanly feeling*," without doubt.
 In short, this answer was worse than
 silence itself: it was every thing that
 was bad, and every thing that was fool-
 ish, every thing that was, at once,
 brazen and childish. There was the
 orator, knowing that he was supported
 by Tories, and relying on that support,
 setting the people at defiance.

However, this motion of Mr. HARVEY
 has disclosed the intentions; disclosed
 the whole of the policy of this miserable
 Ministry, who, it is now clear, intend to
 do nothing effectual in the reform of
 the corporations; in the reform of
 the church; in the reform of any
 thing. Hampered with the Tories;
 hampered with the Lords, they can do
 nothing at all against the will of these
 two, or of either of these, without hav-
 ing the whole of the people at their
 back; and they have *none* of the people
 at their back. They had the serious

part of the Dissenters. They have now deceived them, and they will be trusted by them no more. They pretend that they *never expected to hear of a separation between church and state*. What might their wisdoms expect to hear? For, short of this, what can they do for Dissenters, or for church-people either? It appears that Lord WALSHINGHAM, for instance, is one of Mr. HARVEY's pensioners for six hundred a year! This Lord has three church livings in Hampshire. He is *Archdeacon of Surrey*; and, in that capacity, is owner of the great tithes of the parishes of FARNHAM, of ELSTREAD, of SEAL, of TONGHAM, of the great parish of FARNHAM, and of the great parish of BENTLEY; all this within my own knowledge; and yet he is one of Mr. Harvey's pensioners for six hundred a year! And yet Lord HONESTY says, that he has a right to the pension, and says that no man of "gentlemanlike feeling" would even inquire into the grounds of his having this pension; and this the noble Honesty says, at the very moment that he is denying the right of the labouring man to have a maintenance out of the land on which he was born, and on which he has laboured all his life! Well said, HONESTY!

In short, this discussion, and this result, fix the character of this Whig Ministry and the reformed House of Commons. In other cases there might be room for dispute: there might be allowances to be made; time might be wanted to bring things a little about; but, if this reformed Parliament is not able to lop off pensions, sinecures, and grants, not merited by well-known public services, this reformed Parliament is not what this nation wanted.

Of Mr. HARVEY I would say, if I could, what I feel; but I cannot: his conduct is beyond all praise: the manner, as well as the matter, of his proceeding was so excellent. Lord HONESTY seemed to complain of Mr. HARVEY for taking advantage of this "*popular topic*." Had he not a right to do it? Was he to take a topic that the people did not understand? was he, in order to accommodate this Whig Ministry, to fix upon

something that might be mystified or bothered at their pleasure? Oh! wicked and malicious man! to take hold of something that the people understood well; and to disturb the sleep of so many sweet ladies! Ah! all these wailings will have no effect: the motion has been made, and made in earnest; the effect has been produced; and to rub out that effect is not in the power of the Whigs.

One other thing has been brought to light by this motion, and placed beyond all doubt; namely, that the Whig and Tory parties have come to a *clear understanding*; and that that understanding is, that they shall stand by each other upon all occasions, when any part of the system is in danger. This is now manifest. The Tories if they could come in, would be afraid to come in. They would rather that the Whigs should remain until they can make a junction, which I think it is likely they will attempt very soon; for this must be the case in effect, in order to resist the Dissenters. The miserable tithe-bill, the church-rate bill, the marriage bill: all these are only so many attempts to amuse the Dissenters; to put off the evil for the present; and to hatch some mode of defeating them altogether. At last, it must come, however, to open hostility; and then we shall see the two parties join. This, I take it, will be the result; and then comes the second chapter of Parliamentary reform. Again, however, I thank Mr. HARVEY; and the country have to thank him, for this above all other things, that he has now laid this Whig Ministry bare; and that he has exhibited its honesty stark naked, before the eyes of the whole nation.

A GREAT DEAL BETTER;

AND, I do believe, produced, in some measure, by reading the following paragraph in an American newspaper last night:

(From the New York Commercial Advertiser.)

"It will be seen, from the interview between General Jackson and the

" Delaware committee, that he had
 " *adopted the opinions of the notorious*
Cobbett, and had determined to apply
 them to the commerce and institu-
 tions of the United States. We have
 " in our possession *two letters addressed*
by the arch-radical to General Jack-
son, in October and November last,
 " in which he extols to the skies the
 measure of removing the deposits, and
 recommends the *very course* which the
 President expressed his *determination*
 to the committee to follow. Should
 he succeed in the 'experiment' which
 " he resolved to try, of **BREAKING**
ALL THE COUNTRY BANKS,
 " we may consider ourselves as not hav-
 ing yet a tithe of our thick-coming
 " distress. The very avowal of such a
 " determination, on the part of any
 " other man than Andrew Jackson,
 " would be regarded with dismay and
 " horror in every section of the country.
 " His political life cannot extend to
 " *more than three years longer*, and yet
 " he is resolved to try an 'experiment'
 " that must involve a whole people in
 " *ruin and desolation* for ages to come."

This is taken from a newspaper devoted to the paper-swindlers of New York; hence the "*notorious Cobbett*," and the "*arch-radical*." Oh! my God! how great is the pleasure which I derive from the thought of having been able to disturb this band of robbers! It is sufficient, to use the words of MILTON, "to create a soul under the ribs of death." That I, sitting at BOLTCOURT should be able to trouble these robbers these plunderers of the working classes these bands of miscreants, who have brought the happy Government of America into jeopardy, and who have stripped thousands and hundreds of thousands of farmers of their farms, and made misery reign in a country, which I knew so abounding with happiness! What pleasure, what pride, do I feel, what a guarantee for immortality; what a disregard for what becomes of this body when I witness these effects of the emanations of my mind!

However, this base, lying, fraudulent and swindling newspaper, grossly misrepresented here. It appears that a depu-

ation from the State of DELAWARE had waited upon the President, to paint their mistresses to him; and he, it seems, told them his ultimate intentions. These intentions this scoundrel finds to square with my advice to the President, or rather, with my principles upon the subject; and thereupon it asserts, that he is acting, and is resolved to act, on the advice contained in my two letters. This I intended to throw odium upon him, as being guided by me. But, the truth is, he is acting upon his *own principles*, which he laid down so fully, and so boldly, in his veto message.

But, is it for the *occasion* that I have written now upon the subject? Quite the contrary. I wrote just the same at the time when the Bank of the United States was about to be established. A reference to the *Register* of 1816 will show, that I then proved, first, that such a Bank was a violation of the constitution of the United States; that it must lead to the creation of a most dangerous aristocracy; that it must destroy the happy mediocrity of fortune and of means in the United States; that it must destroy the happy freedom of elections; and, finally, that it must destroy the republican Government of America. This was what I wrote before the Bank was established. God in his goodness has raised up a man to seize the monster by the throat before it was quite accomplished all this; but look at the country at this moment; behold it to be a question whether there shall be a total revolution or not: see the monster struggling to stifle industry, and hold its ill-gotten power; behold neighbour against neighbour, employer against workman: look at a hundred and twenty banks actually broken, and the note-holders in part ruined: look at nineteen banks broken in PENNSYLVANIA alone: judge of the ruin that has taken place, and of the greater ruin that is yet to come. Look at all this; then look at my protest against the establishment of this Bank, before the Bank was established, and say whether my opinions be not worthy the attention of even this greatest of men, the President of the United States.

But, look at a paragraph farther on in this *Register*, where you will find that hellish Bank is now sustained, according to the American accounts, by whom, think you? By the *English aristocracy*! By *English dukes, earls, and so forth*, who are the principal stock-holders of this most monstrous institution. The amount of their sinecures, pensions, and grants, goes to uphold this monster in the overturning of the liberties of America! Curious process! Thus are taxes squeezed out of the industry of England, sent across the Atlantic to root out liberty in that country! Ought a damnable thing like this to exist? And ought we not to rejoice at the prospect of its being utterly destroyed?

It appears to me that the President is disposed totally to destroy the paper-money; and this will soon be done by the constant breaking of the country banks. People will soon cease to touch their notes. Silver will get into plentiful circulation. Fifty thousand failures of merchants and traders will take place; but that is not a country where starvation follows failure. Business will resume its usual course in hard money; the swindlers will disappear by degrees or become a sort of beggars; and, at last, nothing will remain of banks but their execrated memory. Then there will be one country fit for a man to live in; then there will be one country where villains who live by sleight-of-hand are no longer to suck up the fruits of industry. Only think of the *English aristocracy* being the supporters of this infernal Bank, which is waging war against the Government, the President, and the people of America! Only think of that. The last war was intended to destroy the constitution of America: that war was intended to root out the last of free institutions; but fleets and armies were nothing, when compared with *English taxes*, applied to the creating and upholding of an infernal Bank, the inevitable tendency of which is totally to destroy the liberties of that country.

However, liberty is safe in the hands of the people of America; and I am im-

patient that they do not dethrone NICHOLAS BIDDLE and fling him out into the street, and tear his bank all to pieces. The people must, at last, actually put down these swindlers by force: I think it must come to this; for it is an evil too great to be abated, without recourse to physical force: this Bank and its adherents are guilty of treason: they have been committing treason for a long while: they are conspiring with foreigners to destroy the constitution; and the people are justified in rising upon them, resisting them, and putting them down; and that they will do this is my most sincere wish: to suffer the last remains of liberty to be extinguished by bands of contemptible robbers like these would be a shame indeed.

In another part of the *Register* there is an address to me from the people of HULL, to which I beg them to accept the following answer:

Normandy Farm, 8. May, 1834.

GENTLEMEN,—You will be sorry to hear that your address finds me in a state of health which makes me unable to attend to my duties in Parliament. Still that state is such as to give me leave to hope, that I shall be able with safety to resume those duties before the close of the present session.

The subjects which you have chosen, whereon to bestow your praise upon my efforts, show that your judgment is equal to your zeal and your gratitude. I apprehend with you great danger to the liberties of the country; I see all in commotion; I see power every where on the side of oppression; I see very great difficulty in the people maintaining anything like their rights. I see in this *reform of the Parliament*, as it is called, no reform at all. The result of the motion of Mr. HARVEY has put this matter beyond all doubt.

Still, however, I see, and you must see, THAT THINGS CANNOT LONG REMAIN AS THEY ARE. A resolution "*that tithes shall no longer be collected*"; a resolution that the church-rates shall be transferred to the general mass of taxes; the

manifest fear of refusing the claims of the Dissenters; the wild and revolutionary project relative to the poor-laws: all these prove that things cannot go on in the present way for any length of time.

Therefore, I am by no means out of heart. I know that there must be a change, and a very great change; and I know that that change must be for the good of the people.

Gentlemen, I have to repeat to you my best thanks for your very kind address; and I give you my solemn assurance that, as long as life and health permit, you will always find me that which has now drawn forth your valuable and most highly estimated praise; and

I remain

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Members of the Society
of Liberals, Hull.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT,

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR OLDHAM,
AND ONE OF THE REAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

SIR,—We, the members of the Society of Liberals at Hull, conceiving it due from the people of this country that they should acknowledge any benefits they receive from those, who, in the House of Commons, stand forward to assert their rights, would, on the re-assembling of Parliament, express our acknowledgments to you.

We have seen with disgust, that, in a House of Commons vaunting itself reformed, in a time of peace, and when the Ministers through the King have declared, that the country is upon terms of amity with its neighbours; at a time also, when the repeal of oppressive taxation is loudly demanded, and the admission made by our liberal-professing administration, that the remission of certain taxes ought to take place; that the most enormous grants for our military and naval establishments, are proposed with unblushing effrontery; and that a majority of the members of

the House, regardless of the pledge they gave to their constituents, consent, by their votes, that these grants shall be made without reduction. For the part you have taken in opposing, especially, the army estimates, we conceive you to be entitled to the gratitude of the nation, and we would tender our thanks to you, for the stand which you, in conjunction with others (among whom we are proud to count Mr. HURT, the member for this town), have made on these subjects. We would especially place upon record, as eminently deserving approbation, your manly and determined conduct in dividing the House upon the question of granting half-pay to disbanded foreign officers.

The Ministry we have seen descend to acts worthy the school of CASTLE-REAGH. A system of espionage was about to be introduced into this country; and, had it not been for your great and laborious exertions in the notorious case of PORAY the spy, and for the triumphant exposure you then made of the intentions of Government in this respect, we doubt not they would have succeeded in establishing a reign of terror so complete that no man would have been able to trust his neighbour. As it is, we fear that they have, to some considerable extent, succeeded in finding men base enough to play the spy to serve their ends, and by mingling in the associations of their fellow men, prevent the reasonable demands of the people being granted.

With intense and painful interest we have watched the conduct of the Government with respect to the Dorchester Unionists, and generally towards the Trades' Unions of this country; and, from what we have seen developed of the intentions of the Government, we do not hesitate to say, that, unless they are closely watched and their measures thoroughly investigated, it will be found that they meditate some dangerous blow at the liberty of the subject. Here we would have them beware. The ebullition of feeling in favour of the condemned Dorchester victims is such as we trust will cause them to pause ere they proceed to ulterior measures, which

must draw down upon them the indignation of the labouring population.

In thus advocating the cause of these men, we do it perfectly disinterestedly. Many of us are in the situation of masters employing several workmen, and we are not aware that any of our members are connected with an union.

Your eminent foresight, and the knowledge which you possess on the subject adverted to, we doubt not, sir, will enable you to see much farther into the intentions and motives of the men composing the Government than we can. That such foresight and knowledge will be exerted in behalf of the people of England we doubt not; our hope is, that the Government may be induced to lend an ear to your warnings; and that they may, before too late, profit by and adopt the counsel you shall give them; and our prayer is, that you may long be spared so to counsel and warn them.

JOHN PICK, Chairman.

THOS. LARARD, Treasurer.

WM. NOBLE, Secretary.

Hull, 21. April, 1834.

EXTRACT FROM MR. HALVEY'S SPEECH.

I HAVE not room for the whole of this speech; but I insert a portion of it, which I recommend to the attention of my readers.

His object was to come at a full understanding of the terms, and condition, and foundation of each grant; he would seriously put it to the administration, that distillation of Whiggism—(a laugh) whether they were really determined to ask what character they had in defending a pension list which had called forth an expression of disgust and abhorrence from every man who read it. (Hear, hear). Would the reform Ministry sacrifice the character they had earned, and shadow the benefits they had conferred on the people by standing forth as the champions of a set of pensioners, about whom the only difficulty was to say whose claims were the most suspicious or unfounded in justice. (Hear, hear). The hon. Member for Oxford had

said that the service of any committee appointed to investigate this subject would be so disgusting that a man of honour would shrink from undertaking it. (Hear). This was no great compliment to the names on the list, some of the fairest and highest names in the country. (Hear, hear). The difficulties which had been objected to his former motion were obviated in the present one. The advisers of the crown were responsible for the pensions; they could surely not refuse to have those pensions investigated, for they could have no personal motives to prevent them; and it would be a great satisfaction to the people and the House to see that Ministers were not in this matter taking too much responsibility on themselves. (Hear, and a laugh). Besides this, he was pretty sure that not above ten per cent. of the amount of these pensions would bear scrutiny, and thus, if justice were done, the rest of the money would become a fund at the disposal of Ministers. Perhaps, however, they would not like to seem eager after having this at their disposal, for they have been so often taunted with putting after every possible place and pension for themselves and their friends, that possibly they would object to subjecting themselves to any additional reflections. (Hear, hear). If they would undertake it, however, the chances were that out of the 144,000l., 120,000l. might very justly be made to revert to the Government. Any person who ran his eye over the list must be struck with the obnoxious description of most of the pensions: it would be injudicious in him to refer to any one particular name in the list, as he might thereby run the very great chance of a division of opinions in that House, for it would be impossible to name any individual out of the 1,300 in the list, in whose favour some honourable Member or other would not start up, declaring that "however disgraceful the list in the case of every other pensioner, yet in the instance of the individual alluded to in so unhand-some a manner (a laugh), if any man ever deserved a signal reward at the hands of his country, that was the

"man," (a laugh), and so on through the whole list; collectively, all would be protested against, individually all would be defended: the affecting tale of the Miss Gossetts would be adopted as the model by the defenders of each lady and gentleman pensioner. (Hear, and a laugh). But it might be necessary to mention a few of the "leading particulars." They were about to enter deeply into the poor-law system; they were about to bring in a bill, and were determined to maintain its soundest details; yet while they declared that, after a given day, no person who had been a recipient of parish bounty should continue to receive it unless he could make out that he was deserving, how could they justify to themselves the preservation of the pension list? (Cheers). The pauper might have received the parish money for a long time, he might almost have run a race with the venerable in this list (laughter); yet he was to be told that he had no longer any right to consideration; he was to be informed that he had no vested rights. It was only your venerable dowagers, your flitting shadows of fashion, the fair and seductive forms (hear, and laughter), who presented themselves on this list, and whose only recommendation was that they were of retired habits and unknown; it was only for such as these that they had any sympathy. (Vehement cries of No, no, and cheering). Why, it was a disgrace to the country, and must bring down on the parties themselves the deepest condemnation; if any individual was found on this list who had a relation who, with wealth at his command, nevertheless suffered his relative to remain thus a burden on the country. (Loud cries of hear, hear, hear). We had laws by which we could compel the son, if he should so far forget the everlasting obligations of his nature, to support his father, and even his grandfather. We could bring such an individual by summons before the quarter-sessions, where he (Mr. D. W. Harvey) knew orders were often made for children and grandchildren, out of their small earnings, to support those who had supported them in the hour of

their helplessness. Why should not the same principle be put in force against the parties on this list? (Cheers). He was the last man who would deny that there might be some on the list who might have been fair objects of the royal bounty, having been recommended by their indigence as well as their worth; but who would deny that there were others also, who owed their being there to the perseverance of their applications, or to the accident of their relationship or connexion? And in this respect his present motion had an advantage over the motion he originally made on the subject, which was for the appointment of a committee. The course he now proposed would be adopted by the crown acting under the advice of the present administration, and would come, therefore, with more force than would the strongest resolution of a committee of the House. He had been looking at the list, and he had been picking up such information as he could get respecting it, in order that he might submit it to their consideration. He could assure the House that this motion had been no sinecure to him, either as regarded the examination he had made of the dull speeches that had been delivered on the subject, or as respected his reading and answering the almost boundless communications with which he had been favoured. (A laugh). In one he was told that, "In going through the list he would find many favoured pluralists. Many were in the public service, and, in addition to their pensions, were receiving emoluments on that account. There were others whose pensions ought surely to have ceased when they became otherwise provided for, as in the case of their obtaining fortunes by birth or by marriage." Such were the remarks that accompanied one communication. The hon. Member then read the following statement and list:

The following list will enumerate some of the favoured enjoying pensions, who are pluralists by holding situations under Government. It will designate many who have never performed any public services, and consequently obtained their emoluments from Court or

Ministerial patronage. It will also point out those whose pensions should have ceased when otherwise provided for by marriage or inheritance. The noblesse, whose poverty has arisen from their forefathers' extravagance, may claim assistance from their own order, but can have no right to be quartered on the revenues of the country.

"Lord Aylmer's pension is 356*l.* per annum. He is a Captain-General of Canada (some thousands a year), and "Colonel of the 18th Foot." Now, he asked whether that was true. He wished for an answer, aye or no. A word from his Majesty would stop this pension.

"Lord Aston has good church preferment, besides a good private fortune." Was that true? His lordship's pension was very small; but then it was the more contemptible in him to receive it. (Hear, hear). Nothing, however, was too small for the pensioners to grasp at. Some persons in the list received in dribblets five or six pensions of 50*l.* Such persons were always at the elbow of the Minister or the Monarch, and their importunities were not unfrequently bought off by a pension. Lord Aston condescended to receive 97*l.* out of the labour of the working classes. (Hear, hear).

"Lord Auckland is Master of the Mint, President of the Board of Trade, and Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital; his pension is 300*l.* per annum, which he foregoes whilst holding his present offices. Lord Auckland did not receive his pension whilst he was in office, and he wished that principle to be applied to all pension-receivers. If they derived a good income from other sources, they ought not to receive their pensions. He would not then stop to ask what was done with the amount of Lord Auckland's pension whilst it was in abeyance, but he did not recollect that any reduction was made from the last grant on that account. (Hear, and a laugh).

"Sir John de Blaquiére enjoys a pension of 1,072*l.*, and again, as "Baron, of 893*l.* 13*s.*" This was a monstrous case. Sir John received

his first pension in 1794, and having served an apprenticeship of eight years, he was raised to the peerage, and received 893*l.* 13*s.* a year more. (Hear, hear).

"Lord Bloomfield is colonel of a battalion of artillery, and has 936*l.* 16*s.* per annum." No doubt a whole host of members would rise in their places to eulogise this noble Lord, and to express their regret that he had not received some more solemn and substantial mark of his country's approbation.

"Charles Oldfield Bowes, and Elizabeth his wife, have a pension of "192*l.* He was a private secretary to "Mr. Goulburn for a short time. (Hear, hear). He is colonel of the Oxford Militia, from possessing a large property "in the county." He supposed the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge would by-and-by favour the House with a biographical sketch of this happy couple. (A laugh). It would be observed, that he mentioned the names of no person who were not likely to have some friend in the House to speak in their behalf.

"Sir Henry Brown has 200*l.* per annum, and 200*l.* more, as Thomas "Henry Brown. He is on half-pay of "the 23rd Foot." His rewarded services consisted in having been the aide-camp to the present Lord Londonderry (hear, and a laugh), when ambassador at Vienna, and he was sent to Milan on the delicate mission of gaining information relative to the conduct of Queen Caroline. (Hear, hear). He never before knew the value of a title; but it was clear that the being made "Sir" was worth 200*l.* a year to Mr. Brown. He was desired to refer any person who wished to know how well this gentleman had earned his pension, to the trial of the Queen.

"The Earl of Cavan has a regiment, "and is a governor besides. He has 226*l.* a year."

"The Baroness Cathcart, wife of Lord Cathcart (he is colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards, 1,800*l.* per annum; and a retiring pension, from having been ambassador and

"governor of Hull), enjoys a pension."

"Dowager Lady Clare has 780*l.*, the widow of the late ex-chancellor."

"The Marchioness of Carmarthen 700*l.* Her husband is heir to the dukedom of Leeds."

"Marianna Cockburn, sister to Viscount Hereford, 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; the wife of Sir James Cockburn, who has 1,000*l.* per annum as inspector of the Marines. She and her four sisters had pensions granted of 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* when young, but it never was contemplated that on their marriage these pensions should continue." This was a case which came within the principle he had laid down, that pension should be superseded on the success of the receivers of them in other departments. (A laugh).

"Juliana Maria Eyre, is another sister, a widow, with a good jointure of 600*l.* a year."

"Georgiana Maria Gwynne, another sister."

"Charlotte Wellington, another sister; and

"Catherine Eliza Watkins, the fifth married sister, lately married (from her widowhood) to R. Stretton, Esq. High Sheriff this year for Breconshire; her former husband left her 2,000*l.* a year jointure."

"Lord Elphinstone has 138*l.*; also 276*l.* 10*s.*, and again 138*l.*

"Eliza Mackenzie and Ruth Elphinstone, 276*l.* 10*s.*

"The Eden family have 407*l.* per annum."

"Mary Gwynne, the widow of General Gwynne, has a pension; she besides receives 400*l.* pension."

"The Earl of Howe is too wealthy a nobleman to receive 276*l.* per annum. 'This is too bad.'"

"Viscount Hereford receives 115*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, which was granted to him at the same time similar annuities were granted to his five sisters. What makes this case most glaring, is, that he inherits also his father's pension of 467*l.* He has two seats in Wales, Fregoyd ancribba; and lately bought of the Crown a manor adjoining the

"town of Hay, thereby extending his own grouse manors."

"Thomas Knox Holmes (hear, hear), 500*l.*" This was the only case in which the paper he was reading from stated the consideration for which the pension was granted. It was stated to be given to Mr. Holmes, as son of the whipper-in of the late administration (a laugh); and he (Mr. Harvey) could honestly say, that a more faithful whipper-in Government never had. (A laugh).

"Sir Herbert Taylor is the Colonel of the 85th regiment, notwithstanding he has 930*l.* pension."

"Sir William Johnstone, 714*l.* per annum: a rich baronet."

"Lieutenant-General Knollis, 400*l.* per annum: he receives, besides a Lieutenant-General's pay, and is also Governor of Limerick." (A member on the Treasury Bench said, He is dead.) "That," rejoined Mr. Harvey, "is the best thing that can be said of him." (A laugh).

"The Rev. William Kuper, 400*l.* 15*s.*: a chaplain to the German Chapel."

"Dame Fanny Lushington, 350*l.* per annum, and the Honourable Anne Lushington, 624*l.* per annum, and her four children." A governorship in India ought to satisfy the Lushington family, who have enjoyed good situations for so many years."

"George Leigh, and Mary his wife, 700*l.*; he was a personal friend of the late King, and commanded the 10th Light Dragoons." This is a pension *extraordinaire*.

"The Earl of Minto, an ambassador, 924*l.*

"Lady Louisa Murray." Of this only he would say nothing, because her husband had been successful in another place. (Cheers and laughter).

"Lord Montford, 467*l.*; ditto, 155*l.*

"Lord Strangford, condescended to take a pension, of 85*l.* (Hear, hear). He has the retiring pension of an ambassador, 2,000*l.* per annum; Maria Dowager Strangford has a pension of 283*l.*; ditto, 266*l.*"

"Lady Ann Culling Smith, 600*l.*,

"sister to the Duke of Wellington; her husband a rich man."

"Sir Simeon Stuart, 200*l.*; a rich baronet, who never performed any public service."

"Lieutenant-Colonel Meyrick Shaw, 500*l.*; ditto, 499*l.*" He was private secretary to the Marquis Wellesley, in India, and also in Ireland. One pension would be adequate. He is now employed again.

"The Earl of Tyrconnel, 600*l.*; ditto, 445*l.*" He married Miss Crow, of Kiplin Park, Yorkshire, a very rich heiress. (Hear.)

"Thomas Lord Walsingham, a dignitary of Winchester Cathedral; he has 636*l.* per annum.

Lady Matilda Wynyard, 467*l.*; the wife of General Wynyard."

Sir R. Watson, 936*l.*"

"Emily Marchioness of Westmeath, sister of the Marquis of Salisbury, and wife of the Marquis of Westmeath; cannot expect to be supported by the public. She has 386*l.* per annum."

"The Rev. Alexander Sterkey, the Swiss minister, 400*l.* 15*s.*"

PAPER-MONEY WAR

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*, 29 March, 1834.)

BRITISH BANK PARTY.-FOREIGN CAPITAL.

FROM the documents published by order of Congress, we learn that EIGHT MILLIONS and upwards of the stock of the United States Bank is owned by *British dukes, earls, baronets*, and other *aristocrats*. Taking this fact in connexion with another remarkable feature in the conduct of the Bank party, it shows an intention, half revealed and half hidden, which is sufficient to make every independent man pause and reflect on the present political crisis. The directors and managers of a great monied institution are but the agents of the stockholders: they are influenced by their views, animated by their spirit,

prejudiced by their prejudices, and imbued by their intentions. This is as natural as that the clap of thunder should follow the flash of lightning. Accordingly, we see the Bank party, in taking the lead of all the other fragments of the opposition, manifest a more aristocratic tendency in its views and purposes than any party before ever dared to exhibit in this country. This, however, it is attempted to conceal under the cry of *foreign capital*, the *value* of foreign capital, the folly of refusing it. Well, what is foreign capital? When the free spirit of our fathers, in 1776, resolved to throw off the shackles of foreign tyranny, there was quite as great a cry made in favour of foreign capital, and the advantages of a foreign connexion. The Tory party of that day was as noisy about foreign capital as are the Bank party of our day. They had reason to be so. The old colonial aristocratic Government spent immense sums upon the country; they brought into it plenty of foreign capital, as fertilizing, as useful, as beneficial, as the present foreign capital of the United States Bank. Were the great fathers of the revolution blind to these advantages? Did they not feel, and see, and appreciate, the usefulness of foreign capital? They did. Why, then, did they not act upon the paltry brokers' arguments about the value of foreign capital? Because they were made of sterner stuff than modern patriots.

The men of the revolution did not hesitate a moment to choose between *liberty* and *foreign capital*: they broke the shackles of foreign *tyranny*, at the risk of losing the *foreign capital*. They did not balance in their minds the profits of foreign capital with the price of liberty. Our revolutionary fathers were clear-sighted, virtuous, brave, prompt, and unhesitating. The question presented to them was liberty or slavery, self-government or political vassalage, native frugality or *foreign capital*. Money, wealth, power, everything was to be lavished upon the colonies, if they would only deign to part with their darling liberties. They spurned the bribe; they dashed the foreign capital

to the ground; they decided the question like freemen. They unsheathed the sword; they fought the battle, they drove the enemy across the ocean and in a few years they obtained liberty, commerce, honour, wealth, and capital by their own efforts and their own toils.

At the end of half a century we have the question presented to us in a new dress; the same demand in a more insidious tone. The Bank of the United States is the *modern* colonial government of British capitalists and British nobility. They have their viceroy and privy council, occupying a princely palace, in Chesnut-street, Philadelphia, under the name of the president, directors, tellers, clerks, &c. &c. They have their sub-governments spread throughout the country, under the name of branches and agencies; they have their newspaper organs, their political organizations, their leaders and agents, their ministers and negotiators, as much as any modern government. American commerce and manufactures are subject to this *new* British colonial government, and a new party, with principles the most dangerous to freedom, has been rapidly forming and attaining power under its auspices.

The coming contest is in fact a revival of the great question of the revolution in a more imposing form; it is a question between internal freedom and foreign monied power; between liberty and foreign monopoly. The descendants of the revolution are called upon to decide at the ballot box what their fathers decided in the field and on the ocean. The men of 1776, in their great decision, poured out their blood like water, and wasted their substance like air. Their descendants have only to march up to the polls and put in their ballots for the men of the people. It is a question between Nicholas Biddle and Andrew Jackson, between the heroic defender of New Orleans and the British colonial government in Philadelphia, between the conqueror of Pakenham's soldiers and the grand purchaser of men and votes in Philadelphia.

Are the people ready for the question?

from all parts of the city the deep whisper of liberty is heard — All ready.

EFFECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEASURES.

A Bank paper says that "the currency" is reduced *twenty millions*, in consequence of the measures of the President with regard to the Bank. Now it is well known that the *specie* of the country has been *increased*; so that the *reduction* must have been a reduction of the *paper* currency. Well: there are twenty millions less of *paper money* in circulation than there were six months ago; consequently the bankers and loanmongers are getting interest on twenty millions *less*, and, of course, the people are *paying* interest on so much less.

"But" say the bankites, "are not many mechanics thrown out of employment, by preventing their employers from obtaining their *accommodations*?" We answer, *yes*; employers who have depended upon paper-money "*facilities*," have, in some instances, been *compelled* to discharge their workmen, and, in others, they have discharged them for *political effect*. But what will be the consequence? There will be the same *demand* for every article of industry as before, and if one man cannot, as formerly, employ a hundred, by means of *fictitious* capital, to produce an article demanded, those among the hundred who have obtained the most *real* capital by their labour, will employ the rest, or the hundred will *associate* to carry on the business.

Therefore, if the paper currency has been *reduced*, and people do not again allow it to be *increased*, they will be better off than before, and if they will go on reducing it, their prospects will continue to improve until the whole rag-money currency is got rid of.

If there be any mistake in the above statement of the case, let the bankites show it: and if there be none, let the cry of the useful classes be "Hickory, Homespun, and Hard Money."

TYRANNY OF THE BANK ARISTOCRACY.

We have already recorded several instances of bankite employers discharging their workmen, because they have spoken and acted in favour of the patriotic measures of General Jackson, for getting rid of "the curse of paper-money and banking." We have a few more to add to the catalogue:

Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1834.

This is to certify, that I have been employed at the works of the canal West Philadelphia, by William Ingraham, and that on Saturday he made inquiry of me, "if I was not a Jackson man." My reply was, "Yes." He then gave me directions that there was no further employment for me, and I was discharged in consequence of my political sentiments.

Witness my hand, at my residence, Schuylkill Fourth-street, near Market.

WILLIAM O'HARA.

The *Pennsylvanian* says:

"We have heard of several cases where working men have been discharged on account of their political opinions; and we have good authority for saying, that respectable [?] individuals have advocated and recommended such a course as necessary and proper to enlighten the workmen."

The *Boston Post* says:

"Mr. William Wilkins has called upon us, in company with Mr. John Nason, and stated that he was discharged from the employ of Messrs. Hayward and Bachelder, through the influence of Mr. Hayward, because he refused to sign the memorial in favour of re-chartering the U. S. Bank, and was told so by Mr. Hayward, in the presence of Mr. Nason, at the Franklin Bank."

We have now in our possession a certificate, showing that a type-founder of this city, who failed a short time ago, has avowed that no man shall be employed by him, or by any one "under" him, when he re-commences operations, who is in favour of the measures of the President, and that, in allusion to Bank employers generally in this city, he has

said, "We have ALL agreed to act on those principles."

Thus the principal question for the working men to decide at the approaching election, and at all future elections, will be, whether they will elect men favourable to the perpetuation of a system which enables employers to exercise such tyranny over the operatives, or whether they will choose such as will prostrate the whole rotten, swindling system in the dust.

It is banking that enables one employer to monopolize the business of many, and, by lessening the number of employers, to increase their power of oppression. It is banking that enables some men to live in splendour on the labour of the operatives, without labouring themselves. It is banking that gives an unnatural impulse to business at one time, and at another throws large classes of workmen out of employ. By these and various other means, the system is ruining the country. It should therefore be opposed through the ballot boxes. The coming election will afford one opportunity of giving a blow to the monstrous contrivance of robbing useful labour of its reward.

THE CRISIS.—NONCOMMITTAL.

We have observed, lately, in the *Sun*, several no-sided, noncommittal political articles, cutting right and left against those arrayed on both sides of the great questions which now agitate the country, but calculated, we imagine, to convey the impression, that to remain neutral, or lukewarm, is more praiseworthy than to engage warmly on either political side. We protest against his doctrine. We have not the least unfriendly feeling towards the *Sun*; if it chooses to be merely a news and miscellaneous paper, to suit the taste of the greatest number of readers, well and good; it should not be molested, any more than a gentleman should be molested who might choose to fold his arms and look on when his neighbours' houses were on fire, rather than assist to quench the flames at the risk of spoiling his clothes; but if it attempt to cast censure

upon those who exert all their energies to eradicate an acknowledged evil without fear of consequences, it must expect to be treated as the man would be treated who should not only not assist in putting out a fire himself, but should endeavour to prevail upon others to be inactive.

We may have misunderstood the *Sun*. We hope we have misunderstood it. It has a large circulation, and might do much good on the *right side* in politics; and we are inclined to think it will take the right side, if any. But if it chooses to remain neutral, we trust that hereafter it will not endeavour to neutralize others. Instead of saying, "Put the *Bank* down if that is wrong, and put the *President* down if he is wrong," we hope the *Sun* will either say *nothing*, or say which it is that ought to be "put down."

We believe that a crisis has arrived, which requires the action of every man, to the extent of his abilities; and we think that every one will be censurable who shall remain idle. The patriots of the revolution did not pause to consider the inconvenience, or even danger, to themselves, when it was announced that the good of the country demanded their services. They made no dollar and cent calculations, except those in which principle was involved. Their motto was, "*Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute.*" And have their sons degenerated? Did their sires displace a foreign aristocracy, that they might tolerate a domestic one in its place? Could they be re-animated for a moment, would not they frown indignantly at the bare suggestion? Would they not say that the worst of all aristocracies is an aristocracy of wealth; and that the worst shape an aristocracy of wealth can assume, is a *rag-money bank*, against which they took such especial pains to guard in framing our now-dishonoured constitution? Instead of advising us to remain inactive, would they not urge us to regain our lost ground, and restore the constitution to its purity? All these things they would do, and therefore we cannot be neutral in the present crisis.

Those who do the work are now compelled to support in uselessness 6,000 bank officers, and probably 60,000 stock-jobbers, brokers, counterfeiters, and other vermin connected with the rag-money system. And these 66,000 Bank vermin do not merely support themselves out of the crib of the producing classes, but they consume at least three times as much as the producers themselves. Is this right? Let the question be answered at the ballot boxes.

The revolution which is to be effected, is not to be consummated by rose-water. It will require much nerve and perseverance; sacrifices of private comfort, and exertions of public duty, great nerve and manly perseverance to put down an aristocracy of thirty-five millions of capital. When the Bank Bill was about to pass the House of Representatives, Mr. J. Randolph warned them of the mischiefs they were about to inflict upon the country: "You are creating a monster," said he, "which nobody can control. Who will bell the cat? Who will take the bull by the horns and subdue him? You cannot control it; and you might as well try to conquer Gibraltar with a pocket pistol." But Andrew Jackson has made the first stroke at it by his veto. For one, we will never despair of the republic. The struggle will be a violent one; but success must crown the effort. Virginia will rush to the rescue. Her voice will be heard in April next.—*Richmond Inquirer*.

Correspondence of the Working Man's Advocate.

Troy, March 19, 1834.

I think from present appearances, that your paper will soon become more popular in this place, and for one I shall lose no opportunity in endeavouring to render it so. Here, as in all other places, the question respecting banks is likely to be examined by the people. The false capitalists seem to be nearly exhausted, and I hope to see mechanics, ere long, devising some other mode of procuring a livelihood than the long-established one of making themselves tributary to banks. Like yourself, I have long wished for a revolution in the currency; but it is likely to take place with more rapidity than I ever expected or even

wished. I should have been glad to change the system gradually, so as to injure no one's circumstances; but it cannot be expected of reformers to sympathize much with those who ruin themselves by endeavouring to uphold an unjust and oppressive system.

Many of the mechanics of Troy, as well as merchants, seem to understand scarcely any thing more about banks than that they discount their notes. It seems never to have entered their minds that there were evils connected with a banking system; and to witness the manner in which many of them speak of the malignity they manifest against the opponents of banks, reminds one of the ignorance displayed by certain quadrupeds who have neither sense nor courage enough to attack their real enemies, but who foolishly bite whatever is put in their way.

Some who have pretended to be great friends of Jackson, and have hitherto rejoiced at his hostility to the Mammoth Bank, begin to back out, now when it is too late, for fear their business may be deranged, but, as such selfish characters are a disgrace to human nature, I hope for the honour of the nation they are but few.

There are others who are beginning to discover the aristocratic tendency of banks, and to question the policy of drawing large communities together to depend for their daily bread upon the success of a few individuals who depend on the favours of banks and loan-mongers for the means to transact an extensive business. They begin to discover that industry and economy will not, as formerly, enable a man to become his own master. In all commercial places, under the present system, there is only a choice of two evils for the poor man; he must either submit to depend for daily labour (to support a family) on one who is manufacturing extensively on false capital, and likely to fail with any change of times; or, he must, in violation of the honest feelings of his heart, run headlong into debt, and trust to the chances of fortune for the result. He must place himself in competition with every overhearing tyrant, and oppress and screw his fellow-beings to the lowest extremity, by reducing wages from time to time, or even then he will be undersold and driven to destruction. The truth is, the present banking system is well calculated not only to enslave the labouring classes, but to encourage vice and immorality in every form, and to drive every one who has not independence enough to be unpopular, of every virtue that renders society a blessing to mankind.

We hear much from the Bank presses that savours of a rebellious spirit: for one I look upon the question now pending as one of sufficient importance to be decided by a resort to arms, if it cannot be decided without; and I would as cheerfully risk my life in support of the measures of the administration, as any other measures for human emancipation which have ever come within my knowledge.

[We admire the spirit and independence of

our correspondent (who is a mechanic), and cannot refrain from saying, that all he has uttered is in perfect accordance with our own opinions. With him he would willingly "GO TO THE DEATH," should the bankites make it necessary, for the measures of the administration to restore an honest constitutional currency.—ED. ADV.]

To the Editor of the Working Man's Advocate.

SIR,—In a late number of your valuable paper, I noticed some remarks respecting an article that lately appeared in the *Albany Argus*, speaking of the Bank party in New York, style themselves "friends of the constitution," asking what constitution? in which you state your ability to inform the *Argus* what constitution they are friendly to, and give it as your opinion that it is the *British* constitution they mean, in which opinion I fully concur. My object in making this communication, is to state another instance of an avowal by an individual of the same principles as those of the person with whom your agent had an interview.

I have been in the habit of visiting daily an eating-house in the lower part of this city during dinner hours, and have often met at table a certain "proprietor of a large drug store in this city," who uniformly, during the mastication of his meal, introduced the very subject spoken of, and in a loud, pompous manner (no doubt for the edification of all within the sound of his voice), draws comparisons between our weak and contemptible form of government, and that master-piece of integrity, the *British constitution*, condemning, in unmeasured terms, the acts of President Jackson, and predicting our speedy and remediless ruin if he persists in his present policy, but more particularly his publicly advocating the cause of the weak (poor), and thinks nothing but the existence of the U. S. Bank can save us. I would have thought (and to save you some trouble) that the gentleman I have noticed was the same Drug store proprietor, who vents his bitter feelings against the President, that your agent encountered, if you had not mentioned that he was an American. The individual I allude to is an ENGLISHMAN.

A SUBSCRIBER.

(From the New York Evening Post, 25. March, 1834.)

We hasten to lay before our readers to-day the following message from Governor Murey to the legislature, delivered yesterday, submitting to them for their consideration two financial measures, with a view to assist the people of the State of New York in the war which the United States Bank is waging against the public prosperity, and in

which the monied institutions of this State are, in a particular manner, the objects of direct attack. Of one of the proposed measures, the project of a ten millions state bank, we have already unequivocally expressed our disapprobation; and we are glad to perceive that the executive suggests the same objection to that scheme which has been insisted upon in this paper. To the other measure, the proposed five per cent. loan on state stock to the amount of four millions of dollars, we can perceive no very strong grounds of objection; while there are certainly various and important reasons to be urged in its favour. We have not, however, time nor space to enter into the merits of the question this afternoon.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the Assembly:

Since my communication to the legislature at the commencement of the present session, the unusual derangement of the business operations of the community has been such, as in my judgment to render it the duty of the executive to call your attention to the subject.

It was not then perceived that the order of the treasury department, directing the accruing receipts of the public monies to be deposited in the local banks instead of the Bank of the United States, could essentially interrupt the business transactions of the community; nor is it now supposed that any necessary connexion exists between that act, and the present state of commercial embarrassment.

Although it was known that the Bank of the United States had commenced a rapid curtailment of its debt anterior to the action of the government upon the deposit, and had actually reduced it more than four millions of dollars during the sixty days previous to the 1. of October, when the order of the Secretary took effect; yet as the Government had directed the change to be made in a manner best calculated to avoid any pressure upon the Bank or injury to the community, it was not reasonable to suppose that the occasion would have been seized for the purpose of giving an unnecessary shock to business, much less of exciting a causeless panic. Certain it is, however, that since the change referred to, such has been the attitude assumed by that institution in regard to the local banks, that the latter are unable to afford to the community those assurances of future accommodations, which are so essentially necessary to inspire confidence among business men in entering into new engagements.

The partisans of that institution, and certain presses devoted to its recharter, by systematic and persevering efforts in dissemin-

ating distrust of the credit of our monied institutions, particularly those of this State, of the credit of individuals, of the resources of the country, and its ability to meet the crisis; and by endeavouring to fasten public opinion upon this act of the Government as the cause of the depression which has been experienced, as well as that which is daily predicted and held up to the public view in a distorted and exaggerated form; have also produced an excitement among the business community, calculated essentially to aggravate the pressure, and prolong its existence.

Looking at the immense wealth and resources of the country, presenting externally, as indicated by the course of exchange, an appearance of prosperity unknown for many years, and internally, until within a short period, the same favourable appearance, as indicated by abundant crops, fair prices, active mercantile and manufacturing operations; it appears to be impossible that the existing state of things should have sprung from a cause so inadequate as the mere substitution of one place for another as the depository of the accruing receipts by the Government.

Although the removal of the deposits, effected as it was prospectively, and operating upon the funds in hand, not by withdrawing the whole suddenly, but gradually, as the wants of the Government required, furnished of itself no sufficient cause for the results, which, in point of time have followed it; yet it is said that its operation has been to derange the currency, to destroy confidence, and thus to produce the present embarrassment.

It is undoubtedly true, that much of the pressure upon the money market has been occasioned by the destruction of confidence; but it is not easy to perceive how that is to be charged as the necessary consequence of the action of the Government. It is the consequence of the attitude assumed by the Bank of the United States towards other banks—an attitude not necessary, although its advocates attempt to justify it, either as a measure of retaliation upon the Government, or for the purpose of compelling those institutions to surrender or to refuse to accept the public deposits.

Nor is it easy to perceive how the action of the Government should of necessity derange the currency or the commercial operations of the country, through the medium of domestic exchanges. The ability of the Bank to convert all ordinary business has been essentially impaired, and its amount of discounted bills of exchange is at this moment as large, or about as large, as it ever has been. Whatever inconveniences may have resulted from its refusal latterly to furnish drafts at sight between its different offices at the usual rates (and these inconveniences undoubtedly have been great), would seem, therefore, to be of its own creation, or the result of that position in regard to the other banks which it has chosen to assume.

It is believed that the principal causes of the present embarrassment have no essential connexion with the removal of the deposits.

In December, 1830, the Bank of the United States commenced a rapid increase of its loans and circulation, and continued augmenting them until May, 1832, having within that period added about twenty-eight millions of dollars to its accommodations to the public, and over four millions to its notes in circulation. The necessary consequences of such a large and sudden increase of facilities to business men, was to encourage a corresponding liberality on the part of the local banks, over action in trade, and to stimulate to excess the industry and enterprise of the country. At all events, since that period, foreign commercial operations, domestic trade and manufactures, speculations in stocks, lands and produce, have been carried on to an extent and upon a scale before entirely unknown.

The policy of contraction on the part of the Bank, which immediately followed this unexampled expansion; had scarcely been commenced, when the tariff law of July, 1832, went into effect, the operation of which, with its subsequent modification, was well calculated to develop the injurious consequences of the overtrading which had preceded.

Under the former law, duties to the amount of about fifteen millions annually accrued upon imports at the port of New York, the payment of which was secured by bonds payable at different periods, some as long as eighteen months. As the merchandise was generally sold by the importer, soon after the execution of his bond for the duties, it is obvious that the credit afforded by the Government, was to him equivalent to so much capital, until the time of payment should arrive. Before this time, a fresh importation enabled him to create a new credit, and thus a very large amount of capital was constantly in use among those engaged in commercial pursuits.

The law of July, 1832, considerably reduced the amount of duties, while that of 1833, operated still further to diminish the capital of the importer thus derived from Government credits, by admitting many new articles to the free list, by shortening the bonds in some cases, and by substituting cash payments on many articles subject to duty.

This law took effect on March 4, 1833 and during the past year the bonds of the preceding year have been falling due, while the shortened bonds and cash duties have created an additional demand for money, thus casting upon the importer the burden repaying the capital formerly loaned to him by the Government, and also of paying the cash duties required upon his recent importations. It has been estimated that the effect of this law has been equivalent to the withdrawal from the commercial investments of from twelve to thirteen millions of capital.

The depressed state of foreign exchange, also, although an indication favourable to the general condition of the country, has, it is

understood, prevented the drawing of considerable sums of money from Europe, the proceeds of produce as well as of stocks sold abroad.

These causes, together with the rapid curtailment of its debt by the United States Bank, between the first days of August and December, amounting to nearly ten millions of dollars, and all operating upon a state of trade unusually and extravagantly extended, are supposed to be sufficient to account for most of the distress hitherto experienced.

The severity of the pressure in New York, has undoubtedly been very much mitigated, by placing the public deposits in the local banks, which have thereby been enabled to discount, and have actually discounted upwards of four millions more than they otherwise could have done.

And as the charter was soon to expire, and the Bank had actually commenced its curtailments sometime previous to the action of the Government, that action would seem to be indispensably necessary for the protection of the public, so far as the funds of the Government would afford the means. This measure, however, which as we have seen, involved no necessary destruction of individual confidence or credit, no necessary derangement of ordinary commercial operations, much less any necessity to the panic which has followed, has furnished to the Bank the pretext for placing itself in a new and menacing attitude, and to its partisans the occasion of wantonly sporting with the fears of the timid, the standing of the weak, the stability of the currency, and the credit of monied institutions.

This corporation brought into existence for the purpose of subserving the general good, (if for any justifiable purpose,) seems to be bending the whole of its prodigious energies towards compelling the people, by force of pecuniary suffering, to acknowledge the necessity of its recharter.

Our constituents have distinctly expressed their unbiassed judgment upon the question of recharter; and I cannot doubt that they possess sufficient patriotism to meet any crisis, which the controversy may produce, and that in the maintenance of principles of vital importance to themselves and to posterity, they will be ready to endure any pecuniary privation rather than submit to the dictation of a great monied power.

From recent debates in the national legislature; from the tone of the presses which advocate the cause of the Bank; from the language of public meetings; from the organizations of party; and from other indications too plain to be mistaken, the efforts on the part of the Bank seem to be directed especially against the monied institutions and the business relations of the State of New York. Under such circumstances, I deem it the imperative duty of the state, to put forth its energies to aid these institutions in the struggle, and to protect its citizens from oppression. Connected as these institutions are,

with the industry and prosperity of the state, all classes of our constituents, whether agricultural, mercantile or manufacturing, are equally interested in their welfare.

I am furnished by the Bank commissioners, with a statement of the condition of the banks subject to their supervision on the 4. of March instant, by which it appears that their circulation had been diminished since the 1. day of January last, more than three millions of dollars; and that the country institutions, or those located out of the cities of New York and Albany, while they had reduced their loans and discounts only about 600,000 dollars, had reduced their circulation about two millions of dollars. The entire resources of the country banks on the 4. of March, excluding the bank fund, amounted to 21,984,000 dollars, and their entire liabilities to 12,462,900 dollars. Notwithstanding the redemption, between those dates, of about two millions of their paper, the reduction of their specie was less than 25,000 dollars; and their immediate means of redemption, consisting of specie at home and funds on deposit in Albany and New York, subject to be drawn at sight, amounted to more than thirty-five per cent. of their whole circulation.

So far, therefore, as the banks themselves are concerned, I entertain not the slightest doubt, either of their present or future ability to meet any crisis that can occur; but under a state of things which may be imagined a proper regard for their own safety, may put in out of their power to afford those accommodations to the public, which its interest may require.

The Bank of the United States has recently declared its intention to continue its operations, but on what ratio we know not. It probably has done so in this State about seven millions; and what portion of this amount our citizens may be called upon to pay before the next session of the legislature, cannot now be determined. If this amount shall be called in rapidly, our banks must necessarily strengthen themselves by calling in a portion of their debt; and thus it will be in the power of the Bank of the United States, if it should have the disposition, to occasion serious embarrassment to all classes of the community, unless the legislature make some suitable provision to guard against such a result.

It has been suggested to me by several intelligent and practical gentlemen from the city of New York, for whom, and for whose opinion I entertain the highest respect, and who, I am sure, were governed by no motives of individual interest in the matter, that the establishment of a large banking institution in that city was called for at the present time. A capital of eight or ten millions was mentioned, and it was proposed that the State should take one half, and pay for it by a five per cent. stock, bearing an interest of four or five per cent., redeemable at the expiration of the charter; the balance of stock to be distributed by commissioners to be appointed by the go-

vernor and senate, or in such other manner as should be thought best; the State to appoint its share of directors: the rate of discount to be fixed at six per cent., and if deemed proper, the surplus profits over six or seven per cent. per annum to be paid into the State treasury; the institution to issue no notes under twenty dollars, and in other respects to be made subject to the laws of the State, reserving to the legislature the usual right to modify or repeal the charter.

It was urged, that the stock issued by the State might readily be disposed of in Europe for specie, and that such a charter would furnish a sufficient inducement to ensure the necessary subscriptions for the residue of the capital; and that such an institution would be able to take the debt now due to the United States Bank in this State, whenever it should be called in; to furnish the requisite facilities to the commercial interests of the city of New York in the discount and collection of domestic exchange; to acquire a character in Europe, which would enable it to sustain mercantile credit in times of revolutions in trade; and, in short, to exercise a healthful influence over all the diversified interests of that great city, and consequently over every branch of industry throughout the State.

Although many of the advantages anticipated from an institution of such a character, might, and probably would be realized, there are, nevertheless, objections to this proposition, of serious if not preponderating weight. It is deemed by many to be objectionable in principle for any Government to engage in the ordinary pursuits of individual enterprise. Such an institution, possessing ample powers over the currency of the State, which, properly directed, might be productive of salutary effects, might also, by a misdirection of its efforts, be equally capable of producing serious and extensive injury. It might, in its administration, be subject to the fluctuations of political power, and thereby be in danger of becoming an engine wielded to subvert the interests of a party. It might, by the acquisition of political influence, paralyze the controlling power reserved to the legislature; it might, for the purpose of acquiring this influence, openly take the field of party politics, and exhibit the disgusting spectacle with which we are already too familiar, of a large mounted corporation arrayed in political opposition to the Government of the country.

Unless, therefore, such an institution, or one of a somewhat similar character, should be found indispensably necessary, to enable us to counteract a greater evil, I should be unwilling to hazard so dangerous an experiment.

It has occurred to me, that a remedy as well for the existing evil, as for the inconvenience which may in any event result from the withdrawal of the capital now employed by the Bank in this State, may be provided, by the issue of a State stock, if necessary, to the amount of four or five millions of dollars, and

by increasing the ability of the banks in the city of New York with loans of this stock, in such manner as would be perfectly safe to the State, and at the same time enable them to extend their accommodations so as to supply the amount of capital to be withdrawn by the branch in that city. It is due to the city banks to say, that this suggestion does not proceed from them; they have thus far sustained themselves with creditable ability, and feel a perfect confidence in their resources to do so under any emergency that may happen; but the suggestion is intended for the relief of the whole community, by sustaining the markets for our agricultural and manufactured production, and giving activity and vigour to commercial enterprise.

Should this measure be adopted, the necessity will at once be perceived of imposing upon certain persons to be designated by the legislature, the power and responsibility of carrying it into effect. Ample provision should be made to secure the regular payment of interest, and the ultimate redemption of the stock by the banks to which the loans may be made, so that the State will neither be subject to inconvenience, nor incur any responsibility beyond the loan of its credit to stable and well-conducted institutions. It may also be necessary to provide, that during the continuance of the loans to the banks, they shall possess the power of discounting upon them as upon so much additional capital, without allowing them to extend their circulation beyond the limits now prescribed by law. The banks in New York, from their position, must necessarily meet and sustain the first shock of any pressure upon the money market, and by strengthening them theretofore, we aid every branch of industry throughout the State. A depression in the city necessarily affects prices in the country, and operates to the injury of the agricultural, as well as the manufacturing and mercantile interests of the whole State. Should it be deemed advisable, a portion of this stock might be disposed of, and the avails loaned in the different counties of the State through the agency of the country loan officers, as has heretofore been done on several occasions, to the great relief of the community.

It is not doubted that the State, by the loan of its credit in some such manner, may, without incurring any loss or inconvenience, do much to sustain the great interest of the people, if the necessity for it should arise; and I cannot entertain the slightest doubt that the measure would meet with their cordial approbation.

Being perfectly satisfied, that the energies and resources of this State, will enable it to bear up against any temporary depression of business which can be anticipated; that in this desperate struggle by a great monied power to perpetuate its own existence by the force of its pressure upon the community, the patriotism of the people will be found to rise, regardless of mere pecuniary sacrifices; and

that it is the duty of the State to stand forth in its strength, and by the use of its credit and the sanction of its name, to shield its institutions and its citizens from harm; I commit the entire subject to your deliberate consideration.

W. L. MARCY.

Albany, 23, March, 1834.

THE ARISTOCRATS AND THE PEOPLE.

The memorial against the United States Bank and the restoration of the deposits to its vaults, has been sent back to this city by Harmer Denny, to be, as he terms it, "re-examined." The motive for sending it back, however, is well known here. It was to enable the monied aristocrats of the city to prosecute every poor man who chanced to be in any way within their power. Already has this fiendish spirit begun its operations. Mechanics and labourers, employed by Bank men, who signed the anti-Bank Memorial, have been since this development of their names occurred, discharged on this account alone. Force and persecution are the only arguments the Bank men think of in this city, and we regret to say that they have enough power to do temporary injury. They have fattened on banks, and become powerful through their means—while the honest mechanic, depending on his labour for all he possessed, remains as poor as when he began life. Banks have reared up in this place a mushroom aristocracy, more insolent, worthless, and intolerant than in any other city in his State. The aristocrats of other cities often have the slight palliation of having existed as a separate class for some time. Ours have arisen almost in a day, and forgetting the source from which they have sprung, attempt to trample on the rights of the people. Rag-money institutions, denominated banks, have been the means of changing these men from honest, industrious persons, into a set of dealers, speculators, and stock gamblers. We, therefore, should consider the cause which produced these aristocrats, as more censurable than themselves, and endeavour to rid our land of it. Working men, in fact, have no alternative between remaining slaves, or ridding themselves

of a ruinous paper currency. The great hydra-headed monster of the banking and paper-money system is the United States Bank. If it stands, a false currency that will purchase labour for less price than a song, will also exist. It must be annihilated, or we, the working people, are little better off than slaves. —*Pittsburgh Am. Man.*

Philadelphia, March 1, 1834.

* * Biddle's screws are turned in every direction; wages are curtailed, under the plea of scarcity of money, but in reality to make the workmen feel the pressure, and men are discharged from like motives. "These are the times that try men's souls," for most men's souls now lie in their pockets, and I begin to think the present generation unworthy of liberty. I fear for the result. An eminent philanthropist of this city has said, "That if the Bank is re-chartered, he will sign over all his claim to the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, for our liberties would then be an empty name." And I say so too. * * *

Still we have many, and I am proud to say that in the number are a large majority of the working men, who are ready to dare all, and do all, and bear all the evils they can inflict before they will submit to a renewal of the charter. It was in conversation with one of these that a wealthy employer said a few days since, "The fact is that the Government does not suit everybody; I would prefer the Government of England." "I thought so," said the workman, "I thought so long since, and doubt not there are many of your opinion, but if you were a poor man, and had to work for your living, as I do, you would prefer a republic." "I don't know that I would," said he, "but mind what I tell you, in ten years it will be a monarchy." "Them," said the workman, "I suppose you will have a Government to your liking."

And yet these are the men who cry out that we want to make a king of Jackson; these are they who tremble for the safety of our republican institutions, who are the opposers of tyranny,

guardians of the constitution, &c. &c. &c. ad infinitum.

A Methodist preacher, who is foreman in a grate and stove manufactory, and who, because he lives without work, doubtless considers himself a member of good society, told me, "that a majority of the INTELLIGENCE of the country was not in favour of the removal of the deposits; that the poor, the lower classes, who, though the first to suffer, could not be convinced of the necessity of a sound currency, (meaning the currency of the Bank,) were alone on the side of the President, and they were the friends of all anarchy, tyranny, and despotism, and were not to be trusted with self-government." He was a Tory Englishman, and such a one I should have thought would have stayed at home.

Our TRADES' UNION goes into operation on Tuesday, the 11. of March.

TRADES' UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*.)

To the Editor of the *Working Man's Advocate*.

SIR,—In my last letter, (see *Advocate*, No. 30.) I stated that the labouring classes were hourly looking, with the greatest anxiety, for some public measure tending to promote the social happiness and elevate the moral character of man. I likewise stated my desire, that my fellow-labourers should exert themselves to obtain knowledge on all subjects, but especially political knowledge, for that is of vital importance to us all. I assert, and will maintain, that here cannot be any such thing as neutrality in the present crisis. You must either be slaves or freemen. Take an instance of your revolutionary fathers, and particularly that venerable and last survivor, Charles Carroll, who added "of Carrollton" to his name, that the innocent might not suffer, and to evince that he was willing to brave the tyrants of that day.

Tyrants are all over the world. The rights of man have been too long assailed

and trampled upon. The weapons I should recommend to you in the coming contest are, *reason, common sense, and experience*. Fellow-labourers, do not allow yourselves to be gulled and duped by designing knaves and cringing sycophants. Rely not on their promises and above all do not inflame your mind with that deadly poison, *rum*, which will destroy your reasoning powers and arouse the weaker passions of your nature. Let me remind you of what Pope says:—

“ Know thyself, nor Reason scan,
The proper study of mankind is man.”

How can you know *yourself* when you sip the inebriating cup? No: show yourselves independent at the polls. Read in the working men's papers, (the others withhold such information,) and you will see what is going on in England. The people, I mean the *working* people, of that country are making rapid strides towards the advancement of social happiness. Unions, Trades' and Political Unions, are every where springing up, and America is not far behind. I will venture to predict that ere fifty years are passed, man will attain to a perfect social order and state; but you, the “bone and sinew of the nation,” must be firm as the rock of ages. Look at Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and this city, the emporiums of the United States of America; in every one of these cities they are establishing Trades' Unions for the protection of honest industry, and I hope the several Trades' Unions will not forget to tender their assistance, and if practicable to examine into the situation of the female labouring part of the respective communities where such Unions exist, and render them all the aid possible. Shame to the employers of female labour! But I say to them, beware! To use the language of the Derby placard (in England), *your kingdom shall shortly be taken from you*.

I shall, at some future period, suggest a plan whereby the *price* of labour may be increased, and labour itself decreased. The news from abroad respecting Unions, I think, should encourage you all to fall into the ranks of the New York Union, and to enlarge its shield; and

my advice to you is, *get information*. Remember, bankers, brokers, and speculators are passing sleepless nights nowadays; and for what are they doing that? you will ask. I will tell you: planning schemes for you and your children's destruction; trying to enslave the free-born minds of men: and laying snares and traps for you all.

If you are negligent and indifferent to your welfare, now, when *you* are mouldering in the cold grave your *children* may have to drag the galling chain of slavery, and heap curses on your heads, while they are lingering out a miserable existence as some of *you* do at present. Therefore, learn wisdom from the folly of the past, and resolve, for the future, to make amends, and then your children will bless you.

A WORKING MAN.

A meeting of the factory girls at Dover, N. H., to the number of 600, who were standing out against a reduction of wages, was held at the Court House at that place on Saturday last, when resolutions, evincing on the part of the girls a thorough knowledge of their rights and interests, were passed unanimously. These resolutions, with appropriate comments, are published in the *Dover Gazette*, and will appear in this paper next week.

PROSECUTION OF PAPER-MONEY MAKERS.

(For the Working Man's Advocate.)

WASHINGTON BANK AT HACKENSACK.—We learn that the grand jury of Bergen county, N. J., have found bills of indictment for conspiracy against John de Groot, the president, F. Peltier, and Mr. Solomons, brokers, Wall-street, all of whom have been arrested. It is said that about one hundred thousand dollars in bills are afloat on the community, and that the assets are about two thousand.—*Daily Advertiser*.

Should these gentlemen be convicted, I am curious to know in what manner the laws of New Jersey will deal with them. I should like to know whether the court have the power to send them

to that school, where they may gain a competent and practical knowledge of the why and the wherefore God in his justice ordained that there should be such things as *NOTTEN EGGS*, or whether the court can merely send them to assist in carrying forward some of those vast sublime improvements of the age, which consist partly of broken stones, and which, when properly adjusted, go by the dignified name of *M'Adamized roads*. I am curious to know these things, not so much for the mere purpose of gratifying an idle and prying temper as for the sake of the "gentlemen" themselves.

This, in my view, is an important matter, even if we were to rest here, but, when we carry our inquiries on, in order to ascertain how the holders of the *one hundred thousand dollars' worth* of the gentlemen's "promises to pay" will proceed, in order to obtain satisfaction or recompense for the grievous wrongs inflicted on them; I say, when and while we are doing this, the question assumes such vast importance that we cannot afford to spend our thoughts upon the "gentlemen." It matters not to us, whether their *HEADS* be employed in *breaking rotten eggs*, or their *hands* in *crushing stones*. The suffering note-holders are not, in my opinion, out of the pale of the law. The law, if it be good for any thing at all, will assuredly recompense these innocent sufferers. I am no lawyer; I cannot, therefore, point out the way in which redress is to be sought; but I know, that the law is made to protect the weak against the unrighteous attacks of the strong; the innocent and virtuous against the craft and wiles of the wicked; and knowing this, I cannot believe that these sufferers are to have no redress, should they deem it proper to seek redress. I do not know, but I think, should the note-holder sue the *STATE OF NEW JERSEY*, in a court of the *United States*, "*Uncle Sam*" would deem it his duty to make the State of New Jersey pay such damages as would make the note-holder whole.

In support of this opinion, I argue thus:

- 1st. No State has a right to authorise, corporations of money-makers.
- 2nd. That all banks are such corporations.
- 3rd. That the State of New Jersey, contrary to law, authorised the Washington Bank, at Hackensack, to do at last, led them to do, or at any rate has empowered them to do, that which has now brought them into the hands of a grand jury.
- 4th. That as the prerogative of coining money for the whole nation is specially confided to Congress, it is the duty of Congress to see that no infringement on this prerogative be practised by any one; and that such infringement leads to the injury of innocent citizens.

There are other mighty matters involved in this. Such, for instance, as this: had Congress done her duty, the State of New Jersey could have made no bank at Hackensack, and therefore the blame would come home to "*Uncle Sam*" himself. However, the *note holders* are not to suffer all this wrong, and be told that they must pocket the loss; that they have no redress; that there is no blame any where; that they cannot be helped. To tell this, is to tell them too sad a story of that country, and of those laws, that they have ever been proudly boasting of as theirs.

GEORGE WOODWARD.

Brooklyn, 23. February, 1831.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay be-

fore the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

POST-OFFICE, ROADS, AND LOCOMOTIVE CONVEYANCE.

SIR,—My letter of the 25. ult. was addressed to you on the expectation that Mr. Wallace's motion respecting the Post-office would come on upon Tuesday last, and in the hope that your health would be so far restored as to enable you to take part in the discussion. The protracted debate, however, upon the repeal question has postponed the consideration of that important subject; and much, I trust, for the advan-

tage of the particular object for which I am anxious to procure your support, and that of the numerous body whose opinions you influence. Mr. Wallace's motion now stands for the 6. of June; and, as the session will be then well advanced, is changed from a motion for a select committee, to one for the appointment of a special commission. This is what I prayed for in my petition to Ministers, and, if it is granted, it is to be hoped that it will also embrace the subject of roads and locomotive conveyance. As your health, I trust, will long before the day of cause be sufficiently restored to enable you to resume your valuable labours in Parliament, I shall rest on the hope that you will embrace the opportunity of bringing it before the attention of the House. For I infer from your having given my letter a place in your last *Register*, that you approve that such an inquiry should be made. Had I anticipated that you would have laid my letter before your readers, I would have entered a little more fully into the nature of the PROPOSAL which forms the subject of my pamphlet published by Messrs. Cochrane and McCrone, and which I hold, if adopted, will cure the three grand evils of our social condition, viz. *excessive labour, dear food, and accumulation of capital in the hands of individuals*. As the subject is new, and not much promulgated, and as the most important effects may arise from its being taken up by the public previous to the introduction of Mr. Wallace's motion, you will perhaps further oblige me, as well as serve the cause, by allowing me to continue it in your next number. With respect to the first—*excess of labour*: at the lowest computation there are two millions of horses in the United Kingdom, one half of which are exclusively used in raising the crops, and carrying on the transport of the country. These horses at 20*l.* per head, have sunk in their purchase 20,000,000*l.* sterling, which sum is vested in a perishable article, in the fabrication of which there is no manual artifice whatever. Their removal will save the country the total loss of this sum once every twelve or

fifteen years from deaths, and further will invest it in machinery, which by human hands must be dug out of the bowels of the earth, smelted in the foundry, and fashioned in the smithy. Human hands must also smooth their way, and provide what is necessary to keep them in motion,—fuel. Hitherto steam has been applied to purposes only which have greatly abridged manual labour, but its extension to the removal of *brute* labour will undo that evil; for it will give an impulse to our iron-trade, coal-trade, road-making, &c., sufficient to improve the general industry of the country. Secondly, it is allowed that each horse consumes what would support eight individuals; the removal, therefore, of a million of horses will save food sufficient for eight millions of people: in short the adoption of a cheaper system of husbandry will enable the farmers to provide for the reduction in prices that will accompany this saving. Thirdly, it will distribute capital; for including the poor-rates, (which I propose should be applied to introduce a system, which by absorbing surplus labour will soon work out their own cure,) and the sum annually sent out of the country for flax, hemp, grain, tobacco—(all which the removal of horses will enable us to raise at home); there is a yearly sum of 40,000,000*l.* engaged in the Post-office, roads, and stage-coach conveyance, one third of which, if my plan is adopted, will be brought into the Exchequer for the reduction of taxation. The following is a rough estimate of the items which make up this sum.

| | |
|--|------------|
| Annual gross Post-office Return .. | £2,053,720 |
| Ditto, maintenance of Roads in England and Wales | 1,600,000 |
| Stage Coach Horses in Great Britain; their keep; replacement, interest on purchase money, duty, &c. | 11,007,315 |
| Duty on Stage Coaches, Licenses, &c. | 1,500,000 |
| Roads in Scotland and Ireland, and Stage Coach Establishment in the latter country, say | 6,000,000 |
| Poor-Rates | 8,255,315 |
| Sum annually exported for flax, hemp, corn, tobacco | 10,000,000 |

£40,416,350

The adoption of my PROPOSAL will, therefore, in its operation; absorb the whole surplus labour of the country; eventually add an island to Britain as large as that of Ireland, without the drawback of her distressed population; and reduce taxation to the extent of nearly 15,000,000*l.* yearly. Shall, then, this mighty boon bless the whole families of the land, the countless mass of the poor and laborious; or shall it be appropriated by the two or three hundred thousand individuals who are already wallowing in wealth and luxury? This is the question which I desire to force upon the attention of the community. Now is the time to bestir ourselves upon it, else the chance will be lost which will not again occur. We have a strong party amongst us, determined to have cheap bread from abroad; though that determination can only be realized by destroying our agriculturists at home. Another is moving heaven and earth for a repeal of the window tax, which, however paltry, the impoverished state of our exchequer renders a matter apparently impossible to be granted. Whilst a third look forward to equitable adjustment and an agrarian law, as the only cure for the evils of their case. Here is a method by which all their objects may be more than accomplished, without any breach of honesty, and by one which will prove mutually beneficial. Why should they not then combine to force this matter upon the attention of Government? Something practical must be done: and if we may judge of the feeling of the House from the favourable manner in which Mr. Gurney's petition was received last Wednesday, it would not be indisposed to entertain the PROPOSAL, provided the means are adopted necessary to bring it forward. One or two of the daily papers during the last week have given leading articles in recommendation of it, and I hope during the month that their example will be widely followed. Your having opened your columns to the subject will no doubt enlist many in the cause. Considering the exigent character of our distress, a more important measure never claimed the co-operation of the British

ion; for it will accomplish that which will alone prove a relief—the *improvement of the employed classes, by and through the improvement of the employing classes*. But I have already exceeded the limits of a letter; and, returning thanks for the favour which you have done me, shall conclude with an extract from the review of my pamphlet by the *True Sun* of the 28. ult.:—"We cannot doubt, after taking a view of this plan, and of the subject which it refers to, that with improved communication and reduction of taxes, employment to manual labour will be afforded, food cheapened, and capital distributed, to an extent that must guarantee the most important change in the social condition of the country. "We really think that the project holds out the fairest promise for a realization of this result; but then, in proportion to our conviction upon this point, is our doubt whether Ministers will have the spirit, prudence, and judgment requisite for the adoption of a proposition so novel and important. The change is too complete and sweeping, and we might almost add, the advantages of it are far too probable and definite to allow us to suppose that the plan will meet with the approbation of our Reform professors, who hold the reins of Government. Yet we do trust that the proposition will be strenuously advocated in Parliament, and that it will be urgently enforced upon the Government to accede to the appointment for a commission of inquiry into the subject of a consolidation of the Post-office, roads, and locomotive conveyance, with a view to the ascertaining of the mode in which their accruing revenues can best be appropriated for the service of the state."

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
R. BROWN.

5. May, 1834.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

STOCKER, G., High-street, Whitechapel, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWLES, R., Spalding, carpenter.
CRANFIELD, S., Colchester, Essex, inn-keeper.

CHILTON, J., Trinity-terrace, Southwark, boarding-house-keeper.

EDGAR, R., Harp-lane, Tower-street, wine-merchant.

FISHER, M., Huddersfield, Yorkshire, provision-dealer.

GOULD, W., Star-court, Rosemary-lane, brewer.

GREEN, J., Cheltenham, draper.

HILL, W., Cradley, Worcestershire, nail-manufacturer.

HUNT, T., St. Mary-axe, bookbinder and stationer.

POLTON, T. W., Bath, fruiterer.

STEVENS, W., jun., Old Jewry, auctioneer.

WEBB, F., Fleet street, robe-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'CALLUM, J., and Son, Glasgow, coopers.

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SHAW, T., Charlesworth, Derbyshire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

BACON, J., Greenwich, plasterer.

BRINDLEY, J., Altou, Staffordshire, colour-manufacturer.

DODGE, R., otherwise R. D. Dodge, St. Austle, Cornwall, saddler.

FORSTER, S., L. Smith, and J. Jewitt, Manchester, cotton-spinners.

GODSON, S., Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate, wine-merchant.

HARTLEY, R., and R. S. Farr, St. John-st., West Smithfield, chemists.

IVESON, F., Beverley, Yorkshire, dealer.

MAKIN, R., sen., R. Makin, jun., and L. Makin, Liverpool, corn-merchants.

RILEY, S., Farnley, Yorkshire, clothier.

WALTER, S. E., Madeley, Shropsh., printer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

PETERSON, P., Glasgow, writer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 5.—We have been liberally supplied with Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, fresh up to

this morning's market, which, with the quantity left over from last week, caused the stands to exhibit a good show of samples. The market was again thinly attended by buyers, and millers evincing little disposition to purchase beyond their immediate wants, rendered the trade extremely heavy; even the finer descriptions experienced a slow sale at a decline of 1s. to 2s., and all other descriptions were difficult of disposal, at a reduction of full 2s. from the rates of this day a fortnight. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley continuing in short supply, needy customers took off the better descriptions of malting quality at rather better prices than this day week, distilling and grinding sorts also supported steadily their former rates.

There was not much doing in Malt, but no alteration was made in the quotations.

The arrival of Oats from Ireland was large, and liberal from Scotland, but extremely limited from England. The market opened heavily, but improved towards the close, when the article experienced a steady sale, at nearly as good prices as last Monday.

Beans were dull, and 1s. cheaper.

Peas of all descriptions come very sparingly to hand, and prices are fully supported.

The Flour trade ruled dull, and ship qualities barely maintained their previous prices.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Boilers | 32s. to 37s. |
| — Grey | 30s. to 33s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potato | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 95s. to 100s. |
| — Mess, new | 50s. to 55s. per barrel. |
| Butter, Belfast | 66s. to 70s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Cork | —s. to 62s. |
| — Limerick | —s. to 62s. |
| — Waterford | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Dublin | 44s. to 46s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 5.

This day's supply of Beasts, was, for the time of year, moderately good; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porks, rather limited. Trade was, with prime small Mutton and Lamb, somewhat brisk; with the larger and inferior kinds, as also with Beef, Veal, and Pork, very dull, at Friday's prices.

About a third of the beasts appeared to be Scots; the remaining two-thirds about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with, perhaps, 100 Herefords, fifty Norfolk home-breds, as many Sussex, the same

number of Irish beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About two-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about the same number new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks; with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs, the whole of which were supposed to number about 4,000, were South-Downs, the remainder about equal numbers of Dorsets, and new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, with a few Kentish half-breds, nondescripts, &c.

About 1,800 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, interspersed with a few home-breds, &c., about 100, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, and Herefords, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about eighty, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, runts, Scots, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 9.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | |
|---|--|
| 3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur. | |
| Cons. Ann. } 92 92 92 92 92½ 92½ | |

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to be valued accordingly. We are again happy to meet the author of 'Old Bailey Experience.' His 'Criminal Characters' in the present number embrace Fenn. What a scene of horror, what a moral lazar-house does the writer exhibit to us! His remarks on the abused 'pardon power' of the King are deeply important. Law-makers and law-breakers should read this series."—*The Sunday Herald and United Kingdom*.

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WM. COBBETT.

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REPEAL OF THE UNION.

Farnham, 15. May, 1834.

It is useless for me to repine at not having been present to vote in the minority on this question - but it may not be entirely useless for me to state the reasons, or, at least, some of them, which would have induced me to give that vote.

I have never been able, for one single moment, to look upon Ireland or Scotland, other than as parts of my native country, to which I am bound by all those considerations, the observance of which, and the adherence to which, and the being bound by which, constitute that which is properly called patriotism; and which is no more of kin to the base and servile thing, commonly called "loyalty," than I, thank God! am akin to such a two-legged thing as William of Orange was. I never have been able, for one single moment, to view an Irishman other than as my own countryman, and, I could appeal to the acts of my whole life, in proof of my practice having been consonant with the principle in this respect. Therefore, I have always considered the wrongs done to Ireland (and they are beyond all number, and beyond all calculations as to magnitude); I have always considered these wrongs as participated in by myself.

Thus viewing the matter, the question of repeal of the union, or non-repeal of the union, is, with me, a question of good, or of evil, to the whole kingdom; and not at all whether it be good for Ireland alone. Deron-

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court]

shire cannot suffer without England suffering, that one country cannot be despoiled, beggared, and degraded, without injury to the rest of England; and precisely the same must take place with regard to the beggaring and despoiling of Ireland. I defy any man to show that injury can be done to Ireland, in any way whatever, without that injury recoiling upon England. The question, therefore, is, whether a repeal of the legislative union would, or would not, tend to the peace, happiness, and real prosperity of Ireland. I am of opinion that it would, and for this opinion I shall give the reasons under the following heads, which will embrace an answer to every thing worthy of attention that I have read, as having been uttered upon the subject, in the House of Commons.

1. A repeal of the union would do a great deal to put an end to the absenteeism.
2. It would give the Irish a legislature in which they would be really represented, and the members of which must, of necessity, have a deep interest in the welfare of the country.
3. It would save England the expence of thirty thousand troops, besides a Bourbon-like police, now found necessary to keep the people of that country in subjection.
4. It would, of necessity, prevent the misery, the famine, the human degradation, which now mark that fertile land, and that laborious people.
5. It would remove the constant danger which England is in, during war, in consequence of the discontents of Ireland; and, particularly, it would remove that greatest of all dangers, the deadly and justly to be-dreaded hostility of the United States of America.

Now, before I enter upon any of these topics, let me trouble you with an observation or two upon the first.

H

doctrines, put forth by the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, relative to the *very nature* of the Irish people. And this very servile tool of the Whig Ministry has had the baseness to rip up all the old stories about the "*wild Irish*"; he has told his readers the vile things that SWIFT said of the Irish people; and has reminded the public, that SWIFT, though an Irishman himself, said that he could not fix his eyes upon any piece of ground two feet square, in Ireland, "*without beholding something offensive to his sight.*" All the world knows, that SWIFT was of English parents, he being born in DUBLIN, and that he says, in one part of his writings, that he does not belong to that vile country; but that he was merely dropped in it by accident. All the world knows, that he was an eccentric sort of misanthrope; and that, into the bargain, he was a disappointed politician of great ambition. In his early years he was patronized by Sir W. TEMPLE, lived a great deal at Moor Park (about six miles from where I am now writing), one of the neatest and most beautiful spots in the whole world, and where the custom of the country renders it necessary to fair reputation, that the cottage floor should be as clean as a parlour in a palace. This was all that SWIFT ever saw of England; some parts of which he might have found not so very much unlike that which he found in Ireland. In short, he is the worst of all possible authorities to quote in such a case, to say nothing about his description being in the exaggerated style of poetry; and yet even this is conjured up to show that the Irish always were a *miserable people*.

They have been a miserable people, and, perhaps, more or less so from the time of the assumption of the sovereignty of England over Ireland. Certainly from the time of the Reformation, as it is falsely called; from the time that "old Brass" sent over her Protestant parsons; from that time there has been great suffering on the part of the people of Ireland, and from a very obvious cause; but, what does this prove as to the native character of the

Irish people? For three hundred years it has been a Catholic people, tyrannized over by a Protestant hierarchy: and unprovided, observe, with any of that relief for the indigent, which the Roman Catholic church so amply provided for them. It is notorious; it is recorded in the most authentic documents, that rebellion after rebellion was excited for the express purpose of forming pretences for confiscation. It is notorious that JAMES the First seized upon whole counties, as his property, unless the owners and possessors of the soil could produce the original grants from the crown, and that his Attorney-General ousted them by ejections in behalf of the King, as sovereign lord of all the land. And, because a people became miserable under such Government as this; under such at once savage, cool, and hypocritical tyranny as this, having what they deemed a damnable heresy imposed upon them at the same time, as the sole condition of their preserving their property; is it surprising, that, under treatment like this, a people should become miserable and almost barbarous?

It is not here that we are to look for proofs of the natural disposition of the Irish, or of their capability of civilization as great as the world ever knew, or ever can know. They were treated badly enough under the *Plantagenets*, though of the same religion; but, the way to judge of the nature, or natural character, of the Irish, is to look at what they were before the Reformation; before the confiscations began. And, here we have something like proof. Here we see that, as to monasteries, churches, charitable foundations, and all those proofs of solid wealth, of great industry, of piety, of good order, good habits; here we see that Ireland was equal, not to Lincolnshire, not to Norfolk, not to Suffolk, not to Kent, not to some other English counties, but that she very far surpassed several of the English counties. Why, monasteries could not be founded, the buildings erected, the monks and nuns residing there; cathedrals and churches innumerable; or, at least, not less than four thousand

in number : all these could not be, and yet not "two square feet of ground to be seen which did not present some thing disagreeable to look at"! So that, proceeding upon the monstrous supposition, that what SWIFT said was literally true, instead of its being what it was, a poetical lie, told by him when he was in one of his most ferocious of humours, Ireland was not in that state till the end of two hundred years of Protestant domination. These monasteries and churches, as well in Great Britain as in Ireland, appear to have been erected for the purpose of giving the lie to those greedy monsters of the present day, who bid us be contented with potatoes and salt, by telling us that our forefathers were a set of rascally beggars, who lived upon dirt, and went about naked. Our forefathers seem to have foreseen the present times ; and they seem to have said : "A time will come, seven or eight hundred years hence, when a set of greedy scoundrels will arise, and get power into their hands ; and, in order to live in idleness themselves, while our poor posterity will be made slaves to work for them, they will tell the poor souls, that, if they have roots and grass to eat, and smoky cabins to creep into to sleep, they ought to think themselves well off ; for that we their forefathers were a set of poor lousy beggars, who had neither money nor goods ; and, of course, not the means of living any better than the beasts that perish ; and that, as to science, we did not possess enough to be able to erect a building sufficient to shelter our bodies from the pelting of the rain. Now, in order to provide our poor posterity with the means of putting this lie down, at once, let us erect churches, that time will hardly destroy ; and let our posterity ask these greedy villains, how we came by the means of erecting these durable buildings. How we came to be able to carry the stone hundreds of miles for the purpose ; how we came, without science, to discover the means of making the immortal cement that binds the stones together.

"The greedy villains will fly into a passion, and talk of our 'superstition,' and of the 'priestcraft' that we submit to ; but still our poor, slaved, and degraded posterity will answer, 'Yes, they might be very superstitious, to be sure ; but, if they had not had good victuals and some clothing, they never could have built these churches : a good deal of 'priestcraft' very likely ; but the priests must have been crafty, indeed, if they could have made naked creatures find them money to build churches with.'"

Here stand these monuments, which even the present parsons have not been able to cause utterly to fall down : here they stand all over the kingdom, at suitable distances, constantly giving the lie to these greedy and all-devouring monsters ; and there is enough of them yet left in Ireland to give the lie to all the blackguards, who would persuade us that the Irish people are, in very essence, untameable barbarians ; and yet this is a notion very general in England, and very industriously inculcated by the hands of miscreants who are pushed hard to find a justification for the treatment of Ireland. Whatever there is of bad in the national character of the Irish, has been the natural effect of most savage ill-treatment ; which is proved beyond all doubt, when we look at them in the United States of America, where we shall have to take a view of them, before I have concluded this article.

Having bestowed these observations on this general charge against the Irish nation ; a charge intended to still our consciences, when we are bidden to look at the deplorable state to which we have reduced that country ; having made these observations, which I could not find it in my heart to suppress, I shall now proceed, under the several heads, as before stated, to give the reasons for which I should have supported the repeal of the union ; for, in fact, to have voted for Mr. O'Connell's motion would have been voting for that repeal.

1. *That a repeal of the union would do a great deal to put an end to the absenteeism.*

Nobody will attempt to deny that two houses of Parliament, sitting in Dublin every year, would put an end to the absenteeism, in a very considerable degree: nobody will attempt to deny this: no, say the prostituted knaves and the prostituted Scotch knaves, in particular, who oppose the repeal of the union; but, "*there is no harm in the absenteeism*"; and it does not signify a farthing to the working people of Ireland, whether "the rents of Ireland be spent in that country, or at Rome." This monstrous proposition was first broached by PETER MACCULLOCH: it has since been universally scouted; but it is now revived again for this especial purpose; and all the principles of all the statesmen in the whole world are set at naught for the purpose of finding out an excuse for oppressing poor Ireland.

What has been, for five hundred years the main justification of the *game law* of England? That these laws are against the laws of nature every one allows; that they are wholly unknown to the common law of England, every lawyer knows well; that, upon the face of the thing, it is monstrously unjust to prohibit the enjoyment of so evidently a natural right, as that of taking wild animals, no man will attempt to deny; and especially to inflict bodily punishment upon him who attempts to enjoy it. The game is no man's *property*, while it is alive and at large; and reason says, that you have no more right to prohibit the taking of it than you have to prohibit the breathing of the air. What, then, has been the apology for the passing and enforcing these severe laws? Why, this, and this alone: that the game could not be preserved in sufficient abundance without these laws; that, if it were not so preserved, the *great inducement for gentlemen to reside in the country would cease*; that gentlemen residing in the country, was necessary to the well-being of the common people of the country, because, by expending their incomes there, they diffused happiness around; and that, therefore, in fact, the preservation of the game was necessary

to the happiness of the common people themselves.

Now, I do not say that this argument has always appeared to me satisfactory, or that it ought to appear satisfactory to any body. To a certain extent, however, it is true; and, at any rate, it has been made use of for five hundred years, and nobody ever doubted that it was true to a certain extent. Come, however, PETER MACCULLOCH and his Scotch crew, and they tell us, that it is just as well for a country, that all its meat and all its bread should be carried out of it, and eaten in other countries, while the people living in that country lived upon dirt and grass, or roots approaching to dirt, and herbs approaching to grass: and they have the audacity to call upon us to believe them. Why, one of the great evils existing in England at this time, is absenteeism. The church of England totters to its base on this very account. If there had been no lay impropriations; no ecclesiastical corporations also impropriators; if all the tithes had been collected by the clergy, and all spent by a resident clergy, the Dissenters, though well founded in reason and gospel, would never have had encouragement to *petition* for any one of those things for which they are now petitioning. This sort of absenteeism is general; the absentees have all the great livings; so that nine-tenths of the whole of the tithes, I might say nineteen-twentieths, are taken away from the parishes, carried away; come not back in any shape whatever, to renovate the labourer or the soil; come not back to give a hunch of bread to the destitute; but are actually taken away for ever.

Then there is the *breaking up of the small country gentlemen*. Is there a gentleman in England who does not see and lament this? I have never met with one who did not, in the whole course of my life; and, observe, in proportion as these gentlemen have disappeared, the manners and the morals of the common people have degenerated. It must be so: there is nobody left to be a guide: there is no standard of character: there is nobody for the bad to

stand in awe of: there is nobody for the good to look up to, for friendship, or support, or encouragement: the *natural magistracy* is gone; the parental sway is at an end: force, sheer force, detested force, comes to supply the place; and all is misery; all disregard for character; all is changed. New men do, indeed, in some cases come: in thousands and thousands of instances the very houses of the small gentry have tumbled down, or have been converted into stables or cowsheds. *New men* do, however, sometimes come; but they bring not with them the traditional respect, the habitual obedience, which belonged unto their predecessors.

It is impossible that Ireland ever should be tranquil and happy, while she is drained as she is now, by the proprietors of the land; while she is treated as a mere colony, out of which to squeeze as much as the planters can squeeze: this is impossible: and as a native and resident Parliament would necessarily, in a great measure, put a stop to this draining of the country, I, were there only this one reason, should be very strongly disposed for giving her that resident Parliament.

2. *It would give the Irish a legislature, in which they would be really represented, and the members of which must, of necessity, have a deep interest in the welfare of the country.*

A great deal was said about the native Parliament which the Irish had before the union, and about the bad manner in which they carried on the concern. Bad enough, sometimes, to be sure; but, is no account to be had of the change which has taken place in consequence of the *emancipation* of the Catholics? Is it recollected, that the Parliament which Ireland had before was exclusively a Protestant Parliament, governing a Catholic people; that, in fact, it was an *Orange Parliament*; and that now it would be a Catholic Parliament? And, indeed, *this is what they are afraid of*; they would give them a repeal of the union to-morrow, if they could be sure, that the Parliament at DUBLIN would be as Protestant

as the Parliament now is at WESTMINSTER. In short, the repeal of the union would be a repeal, a total repeal, of the Protestant church in Ireland. In 1829, just after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, I, wishing to have upon record, other than that of the *Register*, my opinion that the Catholic Emancipation Bill would by so means restore peace to Ireland, but, on the contrary, make that country more disturbed, *unless the Protestant hierarchy were completely removed from that country*; I, therefore, petitioned the House of Commons to pass an act to nullify and set aside for ever that hierarchy. The Duke of WELLESLEY and Sir ROBERT PEEL asserted, on the contrary, *that Catholic emancipation would tend to strengthen the Protestant establishment in Ireland!* Good God Almighty! Not choosing to call these gentlemen names, I expressed my fears, that they must have been labouring under a "*temporary delusion*." It did seem to me such madness to entertain the notion of sustaining that hierarchy in future, except by mere military force: it did seem to me that a man must be absolutely mad to think of supporting that hierarchy after the passing of that bill. The public know well; every man knows well, that, from the hour of passing the Emancipation Bill till this hour, there have been thirty thousand soldiers, thirty thousand bayonets employed to uphold that hierarchy. Gracious God! what has this church not cost this nation? One King brought to the block; another King driven from his throne; a debt of eight hundred millions; and accursed paper-money, that may send all by the board in an hour; fifty millions in taxes every year, instead of the three quarters of a million which JAMES the Second collected; a standing army of a hundred thousand men, in time of peace; a military noblesse, for the drawing up of whose titles the people are taxed to pay; last, and most horrible of all, a Bourbon-like police, which would have driven our fathers mad, if they could have ever entertained the thought of its ever existing in England. All these

we owe to this Protestant hierarchy : all these have been produced by the divers monstrous efforts to uphold this church. The revolutionary scheme relative to the poor-laws is one of the consequences of these monstrous efforts. But, now, thank God ! this church has reached the length of its tether. Hitherto it has kept out of the battle, and made others fight for it, without knowing what they were really fighting for. But now, at last, the eight hundred millions of debt, contracted to uphold it, has *brought it up tight*. And, now, let its bands of pluralists ; now let its clerical corporations ; now let its Lord GUILDFORDS and Lord WALSHINGHAMs come forth and fight its battles. The Marquis of ANGLESEA recommends the *re-forming of it* ! Alas ! my Lord ANGLESEA thinks that the church can be reformed now, as it was in the reign of HENRY the Eighth ! It is a strange thing that my lord cannot see the wide difference in the two cases. The Parliament and the King reformed the church then BY TAKING EVERY FARTHING'S WORTH OF ITS PROPERTY TO THEMSELVES ! I beg my lord to observe that, if it be reformed now, its property will be TAKEN FROM THEM AND GIVEN TO THE PUBLIC. The noble Marquis, like Lords GABY and ALBANY, professes his sincere attachment to the *principles of the church of England, as established by law*. Why, so do I ; that is to say, I am very sincerely attached to the religion of the church, always, however, excepting its having a King, or a little girl or boy, at the head of it. But, the "*principles of the church of England, as connected with its temporalities*," and as illustrated in its practice of pluralities and lay-impropriations : to these principles it is, I am half afraid, that these noble and respectable persons are so *sincerely* attached ! The Dissenters mean, however, I perceive, to put this attachment to the test ; to the test in England. Why, therefore, such a fright at the possibility of the overthrowing of the church of Ireland by a Catholic Parliament ?

At any rate, the worst that they anti-

cipate from the dissolution of the union, and a Catholic Parliament ; the very worst that they can anticipate, is an overthrowing, a total overthrowing, of this church in Ireland ; and the choice of England is this : pay three millions a year for an army and a police, to uphold that church ; or let that church be overthrown. This is the alternative, and the only alternative. That church has kept Ireland in a state of servile-rebellion for three hundred years, or thereabouts ; a repeal of the union would put an end to it ; and this brings me to my third proposition.

3. *It would save England the expense of thirty thousand troops, besides a Bourbon-like police, now found necessary to keep the people of that country in subjection.*

The annual cost of army and police, to say nothing about contingent expenses and secret-service money, amounts to more than FOUR MILLIONS A YEAR, sweated out of the industry of the people. The poor-rates, as far as go to the relief of the poor in all England and Wales, do not amount to *five millions a year* ; and here are four millions a year expended to support this church in Ireland only ! One wonders how the aristocracy can be so mad as to waste the money in this sort of way. Ah, faith ! But there is something more than the bit of the church in Ireland ; and the aristocracy knows surprisingly well, that a total repeal of the church in Ireland would soon take from them that much fatter thing, the church of England, which, my readers must now all understand, is the property of the aristocracy, who have the sense to perceive that lay-tithes never could exist, if clerical tithes were all abolished ; and who must know, or, at least, who do verily believe, that the abbey lands, which are held by precisely the same tenure as the lay-tithes, would be the next object to attract the attention of an over-burdened, a harassed, and a ruined people.

These are the reasons for opposing the repeal of the union ; and these are amongst the reasons which would have made me vote for that repeal. How-

ever, as a matter of arithmetic, the plain question for England is, will you have a repeal of the union; or, will you continue to pay four millions a year to maintain an army and police to hold the Irish people in subjection? This the people of England should deliberate well upon. If they have no generosity; if they have no justice, they, at least, understand something of their interests; and, if they do not, time and sorrow will teach it them.

4. *It would, of necessity, prevent the misery, the famine, the human degradation, which now mark that fertile land, and that laborious people.*

You are asked, first, why the mere passing of an act of Parliament would be sure to produce effects like these. That act of Parliament, be it remembered, would make a new government for Ireland; would give them law-makers of their own choosing, instead of sending a hundred and nine members in amongst the rest of six hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch members. I presume that it would give the Irish *good government*; and it is good government that makes a happy people. There is a famine to a greater or lesser extent every year. We have heard nothing publicly of any famine this last winter. A Catholic priest has written to me to say, that, during the last winter, great numbers of his poor parishioners were driven to live upon sea-weed; that he wrote to the absentee-proprietor, begging some little assistance from him for these poor creatures; that he not only got no assistance from him, but received a very insolent and abusive answer. He wrote also to the clerical tithe-owner, who takes six hundred a year out of the parish; and, like a true Levite, he gave him not one farthing. Now, I put it to any man of common sense, whether any thing but hatred and bitter hostility is to be expected from such a people; and I also put it to any man of common sense, whether these ill-treated people are not acting *rational*ly, in resolving to support that man who has made their ill-treatment known to the whole world, and who has scorned

to make a compromise with their enemies.

Of these ordinary *annual famines*, the English people hear nothing at all; but we have had, *since the union*, which was to make the Irish so happy, **THREE GRAND FAMINES**. And here is a spectacle such as this world never beheld, except in Ireland. What did we behold? Hundreds of thousands of living hogs, thousands upon thousands of sheep and oxen alive; thousands upon thousands of barrels of beef, pork, and butter; thousands upon thousands of sides of bacon, and thousands upon thousands of hams; ship-loads and boat-loads coming daily and hourly from Ireland to feed the west of Scotland; to feed a million and a half of people in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in Lancashire; to feed London and its vicinity, and to fill the country shops in the southern counties of England: we beheld this, while famine raged in Ireland amongst the raisers of this very food, to such an extent, that half the population of hundreds of parishes, actually received the extremeunction as a preparation for death from starvation. Aye, and while this was the case, thirty thousand soldiers, ten thousand of them with fat horses, were kept in Ireland on full pay and full diet, **IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE PEACE!** While Ireland was sending us provisions to choke up our ports, the begging-box was going from door to door in England, *by royal edict*, in order to raise the means of sending potatoes and oatmeal to the relief of these starving people, who had raised all this food by their labour! Talk of danger from a change, indeed! Danger to the grinding absentees there might be, indeed; but, how is it possible for any government on earth to produce effects worse than these? Could a Parliament, with the devil for its speaker, produce effects more monstrous, more unnatural, more disgraceful, more cruel than these?

In answer to this, Mr. SPRING RICE has his very neat tables of *exports and imports*; and he tells us that these have gone on increasing since the union. It

would seem that, in this gentleman's view of the matter, that the *people* and their happiness are objects pretty much beneath notice. Why, nobody will deny that the people of England, the working millions, are poorer, more miserable, more degraded than they ever were before; yet the exports and imports have gone on gradually increasing with their misery. The miseries of the people of England at this very moment threaten a dissolution of the Government; yet the exports and imports are seven times as great as they were when PITT began his fatal career. There is greater monopoly; greater riches in few hands; but what has this to do with the happiness of a people? Our exports and imports have prodigiously increased, and are, perhaps, increasing at this moment; but the miseries of the people have increased to a pitch that makes it impossible that this frame of Government can continue to be what it now is. I suppose that lords think sometimes, as well as other men; and, if ours do think; if they do look at the change in their own situation and prospects, which has taken place since the beginning of the French war, what would they give to be *back again* to the year 1792! Yet the exports and imports are seven-fold now to what they were then.

This, therefore, is the shallowest, the most childish, the most contemptible, of all the arguments in support of the union. The sole question is: "Is Ireland happy?" That question answered in the negative, as it must be, "Can a repeal of the union make it more unhappy than it is?" My opinion is, that it must make it less unhappy than it is; and, therefore, I am for the repeal.

In answer to the general charge against the Irish people of laziness, negligence, carelessness, I want nothing but the sight of the droves of live provision, and the barrels of dead provision, that that country sends forth. British North America lives out of the produce of Ireland: the navy is provisioned by Ireland: West Indies, East Indies, the places in the Mediterranean, all fed by

Ireland; besides, observe, when our ports are open for corn, Ireland always sends four times as much as the whole world beside. And can all this come without prodigious labour? Can it be a lazy people who thus feed all the world; and can that be a good Government, under whose laws and regulations this laborious people are living upon roots, or weeds, or half-stinking muscleds? No. Every reasonable man in the world will exclaim, *No*; it cannot be a good Government. *Ought this people to remain thus?* No: every just man will indignantly exclaim; and as it is thus, under a legislature in which Ireland has but a handful of representatives; why not let her have a legislature chosen by herself, among her own native citizens, under laws made by whom it would be utterly impossible for her to remain in her present state of degradation and suffering.

It is not to be believed that a legislature, consisting, as it must, principally of Catholics, would suffer their poor countrymen, and of the same religion too, to experience the calamities which the laborious people of Ireland now experience.

It would remove the constant danger which England is in, during war, in consequence of the discontents of Ireland; and, particularly, it would remove that greatest of all dangers, the deadly and justly-to-be-dreaded hostility of the United States of America.

I should not wonder if the sublime statesmen were to lift their lips upon reading of this; draw their nostrils gently up; give a shake of their heads; and perform all those antics which amount to what we call a *sneer*. Mr. PAINÉ, in a letter to Mr. JEFFERSON, written in the year 1795 or 1796, and the main subject of which letter was, the base policy of HAMILTON, who, in order not to disturb his *FUNDING SYSTEM*, prevailed upon WASHINGTON not to join the republican French in the war against England. In that letter, which I saw in PAINÉ's handwriting in 1819, and which was not published until a year or two afterwards (if, indeed, it be

published now), he described the sort of war that ought to be made upon England by the United States; and his grand stroke was, *an invasion of Ireland*. "Ah! my dear sir," said he, "five thousand Americans, with forty thousand stand of spare arms, landed in Ireland, would make a *great change in the affairs of this whole world*!" I never shall forget the words: they struck me forcibly when I read them; and I have never thought of them since, without dreading the consequences of another war with America, and with France at the same time, probably, *Ireland being in her present state*. Our statesmen may curl their lips, draw up their nostrils, and shake their heads; but I can tell them this, that an invasion of Ireland by the United States, was seriously contemplated towards the close of the last war, though it was a war single-handed against England. We have a *great navy*; at least, we have one that costs a great deal. We have *more than three admirals to every ship of the line*: we have *more than two hundred admirals*: and the Americans have *none*. We had four generals and three or four admirals at New Orleans; and the Americans had only a lawyer, *the son of a poor Irish emigrant*! We know the result on that occasion; and the devil incarnate is not an object of greater terror to the enormously guilty sinner, than the name of that son of an Irish emigrant is to the "*sister services*" of this "*mighty empire*."

We can fit out great fleets; but we cannot employ them all in the watching of Ireland; and if we could, it is by no means certain that there would always be a fleet in the right place; and if there were, who is sanguine enough to hope that that fleet would defeat the American fleet, of greatly inferior force. The gun-boats and other naval force stationed on the Irish coast, were employed, the newspapers told us, last year, in aiding the land forces, in the *collection of tithes*! It is a pity that such gallant persons, who call themselves, "*officers and gentlemen*," had not something else to do, than to assist a christian clergy in "*collecting the*

oblations of the faithful." An expedition, such as that recommended by PAINÉ, would give them something *else* to do; something very different from the "*heroism of the Peninsula*."

But, it is not the power of the United States; it is not the bravery of her people, though that surpasses all other bravery in the world; it is not the matchless skill and adroitness of her seamen; it is not any of these that we have most to dread: it is the hostility; the deadly hostility; the mortal revenge, of those, and the descendants of those, who have been driven from Ireland to the United States! Let our statesmen curl up their lips, reader; but I beg you not to believe that this is an imaginary danger, merely because the justly vindictive persons are three thousand miles off. I beseech you, in the name of prudence and self-interest, if generosity and justice have no weight with you; I beseech you, first, though I am the compiler of it, to read the *Life of Jackson*, just published by me. I beseech you to trace him from his poor Irish emigrant parents, to the time when he swept an English army back into the sea. I beseech you to look at him, urged on by his mother to fight against the English in the first American war. Then I beseech you to view him at the present moment, striking at the very vitals of that paper-money system, which was intended, by the haters of American freedom, to accomplish that which they were unable to accomplish by arms. I beseech you, then, to read the extracts taken from American papers, and which extracts are in the present *Register*. In these extracts you see the full verification of all my opinions relative to the danger to England from this source. The state of things in America, however our statesmen may curl up their lips, is such that it *must* produce great embarrassment here. It has already produced great embarrassment; and that embarrassment is only beginning.

To say that the man, whose measures are producing this embarrassment, is the son of a poor ill-treated Irish emigrant, is nothing: that might be *accident*;

but it is not accident that thousands upon thousands of Irishmen are holding public meetings in America to support General Jackson against the partisans of England, and avowedly because it is against England that his measures tend. This is something. It appears that the Irish, and the descendants of the Irish, for more than one generation or two, perhaps amounting, very likely, to more than a million of adult males, are avowedly giving this support because they look upon the villainous banks as favourable to England; and the views of England. I beseech the reader to look at the account of a meeting which took place in New York, to raise a subscription for Mr. BARRETT! Let our statesmen curl up their lips; but such a meeting, in such a city, will make every man reflect on ultimate consequences. Let the statesmen curl up their lips, but sensible men will not bestow a smile of contempt on the votes of thanks passed by the Irish throughout the United States to us who had the resolution to oppose the Coercion Bill. Never was there an object in this world so interesting; never was there anything so manifestly pregnant with mighty consequences as that which is now passing in the United States of America; and I must beseech my readers to withdraw their minds for a moment from things immediately pressing upon their attention, to contemplate the scene now exhibited on the other side of the Atlantic, and which I will endeavour to describe adequately, with sufficient clearness, in as few words as I can possibly make use of; as follows:

1. That, after the establishment of the independence of America, there were certain certificates given to those who had served in the war which certificates, as they were to be paid at a very distant day, became of little value in the hands of the poor men who held them.

2. That a Scotchman, of the name of HAMILTON, who was a lawyer, who had been aide-de-camp to Washington during the war, and who was a great partisan of England after the war, but who had gained

a great ascendancy over the mind of Washington, conceived, secretly, the project of prevailing on the Congress to pay these certificates in full, after they had got into the hands of rich men. This was the beginning of a sort of funding system, which was soon made to lean upon the funding system of England; and this was the real cause of America not joining the republicans of France in the war against England.

That, after the last war, which was the people's war, a war which the people would have, the enemies of freedom seem to have given up the hope of destroying the American constitution and Government, by force of arms. They had caused France to be loaded with a National Debt; and a NATIONAL BANK, which had been so effectual in breaking down the English and depriving them of their liberties, was thought of as the certain means of finally effecting the purpose.

That, in 1816, the Congress was prevailed upon, though in violation of the constitution of the United States, to charter a Bank; and to cause the taxes to be deposited in this Bank, after the manner of the English Government.

That the principal Bank shareowners were English noblemen, gentlemen, noble ladies, and English loan-mongers! So that this institution was, in fact, an English institution, leaning upon the Bank of England.

6. That the evils of this Bank soon began to make their appearance. The Congress having violated the constitution of the United States, the state governments violated their constitutions also, and they chartered banks, called State Banks. The country was inundated with paper money; and these pestilential money makers caused prices to rise and fall, stripped men of their estates, and robbed the working classes of the fruit of their labour.

7. That, when Jackson became Presi-

dent, he, who had always been an enemy of this paper-system, soon discovered a disposition to check it in its progress. This being discovered by the aristocracy, which had thus sprung up, and which was devouring the substance of the people, they, though there was no necessity for it, had influence sufficient to cause an Act of Congress to be passed by the two houses, for renewing the charter of the Bank, which charter expires in 1836.

8. That the President's four years were to expire, and he was to be re-elected, if re-elected at all, in a few months after this bill was passed by the two houses. This bill, therefore, was to put him to the test: if he gave it his sanction, he gave up all his principles; if he put his veto on it, the vile aristocracy thought he would lose his re-election: he bravely put his veto on the bill, and appealed to the democracy for his re-election.
9. That he was re-elected by a great majority, notwithstanding his veto, and notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands of dollars which he detected the infamous Bank in having expended in bribery, to prevent his re-election.
10. That the law which established the Bank authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to remove the deposits from the Bank when he pleases; and that the Secretary of the Treasury, who is chosen by the President, has removed the deposits, and left the Bank without the public money to sport with.
11. That this has compelled the infamous band of aristocrats to lessen the quantity of their paper-money; that this has caused thousands upon thousands of bankruptcies, and has actually broken about two hundred banks already.
12. That the infamous aristocracy set up a cry, that the President has caused all this distress. Begging deputation after deputation have been sent to him from all parts of the country, to beseech him to give

way. He remains firm to his purpose; the paper-money is diminishing in quantity in a prodigious degree, and gold and silver are pouring in from all parts of the world, particularly from England, to the monstrous injury of the traders and manufacturers of England, who are compelled now to send money, instead of goods, in exchange for the produce of America.

13. That the whole of that immense republic is now in a state of agitation quite inconceivable, unless to an eye witness, that the damnable aristocracy of paper, seeing their plunder about to be put an end to, are using every means in their power to oppose the industrious democracy, but that these latter stand firmly by the President, who is resolved to persevere till he has destroyed this aristocracy supported by England.
14. That, however, the most interesting part of this interesting history applies to our question of a REPEAL OF THE UNION; that the Irish, and the descendants of the Irish, have come pre-eminently forward to uphold the President; that they assert that it is for the *English Government* that the Bank was established, and that the banking system tends to subjugate America to England; that, therefore, it is their bounden duty to stand by the President to the last; to crush the vile monsters that have been plundering them; and to be avenged for the ill-treatment of Ireland, by upholding the man who is giving her system a mortal blow.

This is a very brief history of this most interesting affair. Every man, who knows anything at all of America, knows that in all the great cities and towns the Irish have it in their power to decide the elections; and it is the elections which decide every thing else. I do beseech the reader to go attentively through all the extracts which I have subjoined to this article. He will

does perceive that, when the wretched people of Ireland are driven abroad by bad government, they are **NOT DRIVEN OUT OF THE WORLD**. They are still in the world; and there we see a million of them now assisting to inflict an injury, and a deep and lasting injury, on those from whom they have received the treatment which I have before described, and which Mr. O'CONNELL has so much more forcibly described so many times before. I do beseech the reader to look well at the proceedings and the language of these emigrant Irishmen. All of them retain an ardent love for their native country; all of them resent every injury now inflicted upon her. Mr. BARNETT's imprisonment made no noise in England, but it has made a noise in America; made a noise in that country whence Ireland may be invaded at any time, in any future war.

Now, is it nothing to have continually before our eyes a danger like this? Is it nothing to know that there are two hundred thousand volunteers, under thirty years of age, always ready for the enterprise; and that a three weeks' sail may bring them to the destined port. I have seen this danger for more than twenty years. In 1812, I described the danger to the Government and to the country. The danger is every day greater and greater, and there is no earthly way of putting an end to it, but that of making the people of Ireland contented with their Government; and contented with it they never will be, so long as they shall live under the domination of a Protestant hierarchy, and be deprived of a native and resident Parliament.

Thus have I stated some of the reasons which would have induced me to vote for the motion of Mr. O'CONNELL; and which motion I should have liked still better if it had been, at once, for a repeal of the Act of Union.

Before I conclude, let me beg the gentle writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, to read the account of the proceedings of the Irish in America; and then to tell me, or tell his readers, whether those are SWISS barbarians, who cannot

make a piece of ground two feet square fit to look upon without producing pain. What! does the mere salt-water breeze change their nature? My reader must read their speeches, their addresses; and their resolutions, with admiration; he must observe with astonishment how clearly they understand, and in what a masterly manner they describe, all the intricate workings of that system of banking, of which not one English gentleman even out of one thousand, has anything like a clear idea. What! were these men barbarians only the other day? I declare most sincerely, that their speeches and resolutions have taught me, whom these men are condescending enough to consider as their teacher. The *NEW YORK EVENING POST* is the best-written publication that I ever read in my life, without one single exception: it is the voice of Ireland coming athwart the Atlantic; and, curl their lips up as long as they please, those who rule Ireland will, finally, be compelled to listen to that voice.

It would not be just for me to take my leave of this subject, without some remarks on the pitiful; nay, the *very base*, aspersions cast upon Mr. O'CONNELL, on account of the pecuniary compensation for his mighty labours, which he receives from the people of Ireland. What! Is it dishonourable for a man to be supported by the people; by their voluntary and free-will offerings; and that, too, when all the world acknowledges, that the services which he has rendered that people, and which he is constantly rendering them, are beyond all praise? The *PITTITES* used to caricature CHARLES FOX with a *begging box tied to his girdle*; and there was some reason there; for he was kept by the contributions of a band of place-hunters; he was the paid month-piece of a faction; and that, too, for party purposes. Is that the case of Mr. O'CONNELL? Is he the tool of a party; or has he ever been? It is very curious that the two or three thousand pensioners and hangers-on, though they have no pretence to ever having performed any service at all, pocket the earnings of the toiling people, without

the smallest scruple; aye, and Mr. HARVEY was reproached with "*indelicacy*," with a want of "*gentleman-like feeling*," because he moved for an inquiry into the pretensions of these receivers of the people's earnings, taken from them observe, by compulsion! And, Mr. O'CONNELL is mean, because, in lieu of his own great professional income, he receives the voluntary offerings of a grateful people, who have witnessed his twenty years of toil in their service.

All the world knows; all the world has acknowledged, that he himself extorted Catholic Emancipation from its bitterest enemies. I remember that I said, at the time, that every Catholic peer; every Catholic peeress, and every son and daughter of a Catholic peer, ought to have gone to him, thanked him for their restoration to their honours, and ought to have taken by the hand, and to have cherished, every member of his family. I am glad that they did not do it; I am glad that they gave proof of their ingratitude towards him, and left the gratitude to be shown by those whom the *Morning Chronicle* chooses to represent as essentially barbarians.

A gentleman in Ireland wrote to me not long ago, ascribing Catholic Emancipation to my "*History of the Protestant Reformation*." It is very true that that book broke down the prejudices of the people of England; and did a something to disarm the abominable efforts made still to mis-represent the Catholics and their religion. The book did a great deal in this way. But, it was his personal exertions and personal influence, amidst personal perils of every description, that brought the question to a speedy issue, and compelled its enemies to give way; and this, too, according to their own acknowledgments. Therefore, he is entitled to every species of support, to every mark of gratitude which his Catholic countrymen can bestow upon him; and the difference between him, and the endless swarms, who live upon us, is this; that he receives voluntary contributions; the oblation of grateful hearts; whereas they receive what they receive, by

compulsion, exercised, on those who yield it, nothing to them with grudging and with curses.

More than this I need not say, and less than this would not have been justice to the man, who has made every sacrifice of what love of gain and ambition tendered to him; and who has bestowed a life of labour, and an exertion of talent such as it was in the power of no other man to bestow. Eat! what should such a man want to eat for? Family! what should such a man want his family to be any thing but beggars for? Quite *ungentlemanlike*, to want to eat and to wear clothes, in him and his; but equally *ungentlemanlike* to ask why the people should be compelled to work to earn carriages and silks and diamonds, to show off and to decorate the he and she pensioners. Two hundred and thirteen pounds a year given to a person who has two livings in the church, for five months' service, or pretended service, as *Chargé d'Affaires* at Florence; very *ungentlemanlike* to inquire why the parson, whose livings are in Essex, while he lives in Berkshire, at a landed estate of his own; very *ungentlemanlike* to inquire why this parson should have this pension for one-and-twenty years, and why he should have it still: nothing mean in the parson's continuing to sack this pension; but, horror of all horrors, for Mr. O'CONNELL to receive from the Irish people, as a voluntary offering, that which is necessary even to enable him to continue his exertions. I shall be told that Ireland contains other men besides Mr. O'CONNELL. So it does; and very clever men, too; and very brave, and very much devoted to their country; but, leaving his great and peculiar talents out of the question, where has she another man surrounded with twenty years of circumstances such as surround him? All the world must see that he himself has made a great change in the affairs of his country; and it is of the utmost importance in the times which are fast approaching, that he should retain his weight of character entirely undiminished.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT-CORN.

I say out too much. I am extremely grateful to those gentlemen who have been so expeditious in sending me the corn, delighted beyond measure to see it coming from so many countries; but I have now more than enough, and beg my friends not to give themselves any further trouble about it.

MY HEALTH.

I beg leave to retain my bet thinks to all those who have had the goodness to call at Bolt-court to make inquiries on this subject. My cough is gone, and, though a great weakness remains, I have begun to rise early in the morning. I have often had to observe, in the course of my life, that that which I have thought the most unfortunate thing, has, in the end turned out to be the most fortunate. Such was my imprisonment, such my flight to Long Island, which, hating the shippings, which never gave me a moment's pain, were good in their effects, and I am now satisfied that this tormenting cough, and its consequences, have removed an ailment of another sort, which had been for some time creeping on upon me. When I shall be able to resume my duties in London I do not know, but I hope that I shall be able to overtake that monster of all monsters of a measure, the *Poor-Law Bill*. This is a pretty time, indeed, voluntarily to encounter a trouble like that. I have viewed the matter in every light in which I can get at it. The Ministers do not see that it is the last vital stab to the influence of the clergy and aristocracy. Pass this law, and the parson and the squire are of no more weight in their parish than the bricklayer or the carpenter or the blacksmith or the wheelwright, nor of so much. There are other effects, however, still more dangerous than these. These Ministers have been dabbling in revolutions during these two sessions of Parliament. When you mean to get a house down, you begin by taking away the holdfasts, the perches, the braces, and knocking out

the pins. These men have been at this work during these two sessions of Parliament, loosening every thing, refixing nothing; and, by-and-by, all the preliminaries having taken place, down comes the building about their ears.

Sir ROBERT PEEL called in question my pretensions to the character of prophet. While he and the Duke of Wellington were passing the Emancipation Bill, in order "to strengthen and perpetuate the Protestant church in Ireland," I was petitioning the Parliament to beg them to abolish the church in Ireland, at once, for that to pass the Emancipation Bill and not do that, was to lay the foundation of incessant war or rebellion in Ireland. I was right in that, at any rate. Indeed, I have been a true prophet all the way through, but there remains one prophecy unfulfilled as yet. It was put forth in the address in which I took leave of the people of England in the month of March, 1817. "In all human probability, then, the whole of the interest of the debt, and all the sinecures and pensions and salaries, and also the expenses of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up, by taxes, by loans from the Bank, by Exchequer-bills, by every species of contrivance to the latest possible moment, and until the whole of the paper system, and the war of opinions, of projects, of interests and of passions, shall go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

This prophecy remains to be fulfilled, and, is it possible for any body to look at what is now passing, without anticipating the fulfilment? There are petitions coming, and particularly from the agricultural people in Yorkshire, for a reduction of the interest of the debt. This was my remedy. Is it now too late? Not if the Ministers were wise and firm. Changes must take place, but the main fabric might yet be preserved, but, Lord bless those men! they seem to think that while the building is rocking to and fro with the winds, they can coax it to stand; they can cajole it into durability. They think they can do this, amidst all the state of all the elements which is now going on!

MR. HARVEY.

I HAVE always blamed Mr. HARVEY for his attempts to get to the bar. To quit his seat in Parliament, unless a committee report in his favour, really does appear to me like madness. Who are his accusers? The Benchers of some inn of Court. I declare before God, I should think it an honour to be accused by them of anything, no matter what. This is a sort of fancy of Mr. HARVEY. He has a fancy for wiping off what he calls a stigma, fixed on him by HORACE TWISS & Co! What! Is he not satisfied with repeated elections at COLCHESTER? I hope we shall hear no more of such nonsense from a man of such excellent sense, and of so much ability to serve the country.

JACKSON'S OPPONENTS.

(From the New York Evening Post.)

When an intelligent and rational people is called upon in a contest between two great political parties, it is proper for them to know, who are their opponents, and what they are fighting for; whether for something or nothing; principles, or men. Although the question of restoring the deposits, and perpetuating the monopoly of the Bank of the United States mingles, and indeed is inseparably associated with the result of the coming election, it is by no means the only point involved in the contest. The party we have to contend with is manifold; it is headed by the most discordant leaders, wielding opposite weapons; each marching under his own banner, and each labouring in his own cause. Let us then pass in review and contrast their avowed principles and purposes, that the people may judge whether such discordant materials could possibly be kept together, except by the strong cement of a common interest.

In the first place stands Henry Clay, the parent and champion of the tariff and internal improvements; of a system directly opposed to the interests and prosperity of every merchant in the United States, and calculated and de-

voted for the purpose of organizing an extensive and wide-spread scheme through which the different portions of the United States might be bought up in detail, with money contributed by themselves. By assuming the power of dissipating the public revenue in local improvements, by which one portion of the community would be benefited at the expense of many others, Congress acquired the means of influencing and controlling the politics of every State in the Union, and of establishing a rigid, invincible consolidated government. By assuming the power of protecting any class or portion of the industry of this country, by bounties in the shape of high duties on foreign importations, they placed the labour and industry of the people entirely at their own disposal, and usurped the prerogative of dispensing all the blessings of Providence at pleasure. They could at any time decide what class of industry should be enriched, and what class impoverished; whether commerce should flourish or decay; whether the manufacturer of cotton, wool, or iron should become a king, while the common labourer sank into a pauper. In short, they took into their hands the entire control of the industry of the labouring classes, and assumed the dangerous, nay, ruinous discretion of regulating the private occupations of individuals. Out of this system grew those great manufacturing establishments, which have monopolized almost all the pursuits of single mechanics, and converted them from independent men presiding over their own homes, masters in their own shops, and proprietors of their own earnings, into the pale, and sickly, and half-starved slaves of companies and corporations.

It is against this great system for making the rich richer, the poor poorer, and thus creating those enormous disproportions of wealth, which are always the forerunners of the loss of freedom; it is against this great plan of making the resources of the general Government the means of obtaining the control of the States by an adroit species of political bribery, that General Jackson has

arrayed himself, his character, his personal weight, and his constitutional powers. He has arrested the one, by his influence, the other by his veto.

The next person of the heterogeneous trio, now leading the ragged remnants of defeated factions against the great democracy of the United States, is John C. Calhoun. Reflecting and honest men may perhaps wonder to see this strange alliance between the man by whom the tariff was begotten, nurtured, and brought to a monstrous maturity, and him who carried his State to the verge of rebellion, in opposition to that very system. By his means and influence, this great union was all but dissolved, and in all probability would at this moment lie shattered into fragments, had it not been for the energetic and prompt patriotism of the stern old man who had said, "The union—it must be preserved." Even at this moment Mr. Calhoun is fomenting an excitement in South Carolina, which is driving some of its worthiest citizens from their native State to escape proscription and disfranchisement; and arraying those that remain in direct and bitter hostility to each other. He still threatens to separate South Carolina from the confederacy, if she is not suffered to remain in it with the privilege of a veto on the laws of the union.

It is against these dangerous doctrines, these unwarrantable assumptions, which have been repudiated by every other State in the Union; which find no kindred or responsive feeling in the breasts of the people, that General Jackson stands arrayed, in behalf of the integrity of this great confederation. He appears as the champion of union, and appeals to the people to support him in his struggle for their happiness.

The third of the triumvirs of this strange confederacy of contradictions, this unnatural union of chemical antipathies, is Daniel Webster, who, with excellent talents for following the hounds, seems totally incapable of leading the chase. Without firmness, consistency, or political courage to be a leader, except in one small section of

the union, he seems to crow to any good purpose only on his own dunghill, and is a much greater fowl in his own barn yard than anywhere else. He is a good speaker at the bar, and in the House; but he is a much greater lawyer, than statesman, and far more expert in detailing old arguments, than fruitful in inventing new ones. He is not what we should call a great man, much less a great politician; and we should go so far as to question the power of his intellect, did it not occasionally disclose itself in a rich exuberance of contradictory opinions. A man who can argue so well on both sides of a question cannot be totally destitute of genius.

This gentleman is known as the champion of high old fashioned aristocratic doctrines. If he has ever been consistent in any thing it is this. He carries his devotion almost to fanaticism in this instance, and would as soon rejoice over one of our victories in the late war, as sanction the heresy of nullification. He has always been in stern opposition to General Jackson, except on occasion of the late proclamation, which he first interpreted to suit his own principles, that he might afterwards support it with a clear conscience.

And here these three gentlemen, who agree in no one single principle—who own no one single feeling in common, except that of hatred to the old hero of New Orleans, stand battling side by side. The author and champion of the tariff, and the man who on every occasion denounced it as a violation of the constitution; the oracle of nullification and the oracle of consolidation; the trio of antipathies; the union of contradictions; the consistency of inconsistencies; the coalition of oil, vinegar, and mustard; the dressing in which the great political salad is to be served up to the people.

We must not deny, however, that these gentlemen have a sort of paternal, or maternal influence, watching over and co-operating with them in the great cause of domestic industry and internal improvements; nullification

and consolidation; state rights and federal usurpations, thus harmoniously jumbled together, biggledy-piggledy. It is the Mother Bank—the *Alma Mater*, under whose petticoats they are fighting the great battle, every one for himself, and Mother Bank for them all. The piramoor of the old lady, who has the sole management of business, is connected with the partnership as a sort of Commissary General of purchases. He holds the purse-strings, which are equivalent to both bridle and spur, arms and ammunition, in modern political warfare. To all these mighty powers and potentates the honest democracy of this city have nothing to oppose but their ancient, invariable principles, their inflexible integrity of purpose, and their invincible old leader, Andrew Jackson. Is not this enough? We think it is; and wait the issue without a single throb of apprehension.

(From the *Working Man's Advocate*)

New York, April 12, 1834

*Glorious Triumph! The Bank defeated!
The People victorious!*

We are enabled to announce with CERTAINLY that LAWRENCE is elected MAYOR of New York by a majority of TWO HUNDRED! The SIXTH WARD was the last canvassed, and she has nobly done her duty, in spite of *traitors*, by giving the anti-Bank candidate a majority of 312. Every ward inhabited principally by the useful classes, particularly the glorious *eleventh*, has done its duty, and but for the *State loan* business, the majority would have been at least *five thousand*. DOWN WITH THE BANKS! is the voice of New York!

(From the *Glasgow Chronicle*.)

In our last was mentioned the triumph of the Jackson party over the Bank candidate in the election of Mayor of New York. We have since received New York papers to the 17. ult. The total number of votes polled was 35,147. The majority for Mr. LAWRENCE is 240. Though the majority be small, considering the power of the Bank

in the largest city of the States, where preliminary action is more important than in any other, the victory may be considered as quite decisive.

(From the *New York Evening Post*.)

GREAT MEETING OF ADOPTED CITIZENS—ANOTHER TRIUMPHANT EX-PRESSION OF THE VOICE OF THE DEMOCRACY!

The meeting of adopted citizens last night at Tammany Hall and in the Park, afforded one of the most gratifying expressions of public sentiment ever heard in this city. Long before the hour fixed for the meeting, Tammany Hall was crowded to excess, and when the doors of the great room were thrown open, the whole vast space was instantly and completely filled with a dense mass of citizens, all eager to raise their voices in behalf of the object for which the meeting was called. Not one third of those who had assembled on the occasion could get within the building, and an immense number, not less probably than from four to five thousand, adjourned to the Park, where they duly organized themselves in the most orderly manner, and entered upon proceedings, with the utmost enthusiasm and unanimity, in perfect congruity with the object for which they had been convened.

The meeting inside the building was organized by the unanimous call of Dennis McCarthy to preside; and by the selection, by acclamation, of Cornelius Heeny, Thomas O'Connor, David Bryson, and Garrit Byrne, as vice-presidents, and of Thomas S. Brady, Dr. Maurice Power, and John McGrath, as secretaries. Never was there a more signal and triumphant refutation of slander, than the harmonious and enthusiastic proceedings of this great meeting stamped on the fabrication issued from Masonic Hall, that the adopted citizens of New York, of *Irish birth*, as a body were opposed to the noble and patriotic and truly democratic course of Andrew Jackson. Their veneration for that honest, sagacious, and inflexible old chief was spoken in a man-

ner that admitted of no misinterpretation; and the thunders of applause with which the resolution approving the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, and deprecating the re-chartering of that institution, were received, evinced how deeply seated is the detestation of that odious and dangerous monopoly in the hearts of the entire democracy of New York, as well among our adopted as our native citizens. The sense of the meeting as to the course pursued by Dr. Macneven was also strongly expressed; but with regard to that misguided individual we are unwilling to speak, further than to express our sincere regret for the delusion under which he has acted.

The meeting in the Park adopted with loud acclamations resolutions of a tenor strictly concurring with those which were expressed by the dense throng in the Council Hall of old Tammany. The name of Cornelius W. Lawrence, whenever mentioned by any of the speakers, was received with the heartiest cheers. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and unanimity of these two great meetings—or rather of this great two-fold meeting. A sentiment of regret seemed to pervade the whole multitude that the mad course of the Bank party in calling upon the adopted citizens at Masonic Hall, and endeavouring to misrepresent the sentiments entertained by a great majority of them in relation to the important questions which agitate the nation, had rendered it necessary for them thus to come out as a distinct class, but upon them, not upon the democracy, rests the sin of these attempts to sow disunion and discord among our citizens; and upon them, not upon the democracy, will rest the scorn of every honest man.

We copy below the proceedings of the meeting as they are given in the *Standard* of this morning:

The meeting was organized by the appointment of

PRESIDENT.

DENNIS M'CARTHY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

CORNELIUS HANRY.

THOS. O'CONNOR
ALDERMAN BRAYSON
GARRETT HYNE,

SECRETARIES.

THOMAS S. BRADY
DR. MAURICE POWER
JOHN M'GRATH,

The speakers were, Thos. S. Brady, Dr. C. C. Rice, Mr. Gaffney, Mr. Thos. M'Laughlin, Mr. Walsh, M. M'Grath, and a gentleman of English descent, whose name we could not learn. There has never in our recollection been so much sincere, such enthusiastic attachment, manifested at any public meeting to the principles and welfare of the democratic party as on this occasion, and the expectations formed of our adopted citizens, will be fully and triumphantly realized. They love liberty for itself, and will stand shoulder to shoulder in support of its institutions and advocates.

The following resolutions were moved by T. S. Brady, Esq., and were adopted amid enthusiastic cheers.

Resolved, That as American citizens, entitled to equal privileges, and a full communion of rights, we deprecate all attempts to create a distinct interest from the natives of the country of our adoption, and that we will use our best exertions to prostrate that spirit which has on the present occasion created a necessity for this meeting, by endeavouring to array us against the best interests of the people of the United States.

Resolved, That the course pursued by Dr. William James Macneven, in suddenly abandoning the support of the administration, in opposing those measures which he so recently sustained, in avowing his adherence to the cause of an odious monopoly, and in throwing himself into the ranks of a party, whose leaders endeavoured to prevent the Irish patriots of '88 from receiving an asylum in America, meets with the decided regret and disapproval of this meeting.

Resolved, That the respect suddenly acquired and expressed by, Charles King, William L. Stone, and the

ral company for adopted citizens, is the more extraordinary, as but a few months since they were considered by these worthies as troglodytes, the "spawn of cellars and garrets"; foreign renegades.

Resolved, That the measures of Gen. Jackson and his administration, in removing the public deposits from the United States Bank; in refusing to re-charter that institution, and inculcating a strict interpretation of the constitution, are eminently calculated to promote the happiness and secure the liberties of the people.

Resolved, That the attempt made by the Bank and its partisans, to outrage and coerce our mechanics and working men, by discharging them from employ for the free exercise of the honest political opinions, and by boasting that they have raised a large fund to corrupt and influence the voters, meets with the decided indignation of this meeting.

RIOTS AT NEW YORK.

(From the *Working Man's Advocate*,
April 11).

FURTHER EFFLUIS OF BANK DISPLEASURE.

More rows took place yesterday in the Sixth Ward, in consequence of the incendiary attempts of the bankites to collect their forces in that ward under pretence of its being necessary to preserve the peace. The disturbances commenced opposite the Masonic Hall, from whence the bankites came out shouting, as then a model ship was passing, and attacked and beat severely a few Jackson men who were on the sidewalks; when the latter retreated to the Sixth Ward polls (near by) and procured a reinforcement, who in their turn attacked and routed the Masonic Hall party, sticks and stones having been used freely on both sides.

Shortly afterwards a large party of watchmen, under the command of their captain (who had been sent for by the Bank party), went from the hall down Augustus-street to Duane-street, and attempted to arrest some persons who

had taken part in the proceedings at Masonic Hall, and who were still armed with sticks; but after considerable fighting, in which several of the watchmen, and particularly the captain, received severe injury, the watchmen were driven off, and the conquering party, who were principally Irishmen, immediately gave up the sticks, with which they had armed themselves.

In the meantime some of the leaders of the Bank party, who had witnessed the defeat of the watchmen, among whom was Redmon Fisher, posted off to Masonic Hall and persuaded their party to proceed to the arsenal, and arm themselves, and they actually did so and broke down the arsenal gates, in defiance of Mr. Arcularius, who endeavoured to prevent them, when they rushed in and seized upon such arms as they could lay their hands on. By this time, however, the mayor, accompanied by some other officers, and some peaceable citizens, had arrived, and the Bank rioters were disarmed, partly by force and partly by persuasion, and compelled to abandon their rash attempt, which, had they been allowed to carry it into execution, would no doubt have cost some of them their lives, for we are assured that many of them were stripling clerks of eighteen and nineteen years of age, and there were thousands outside the arsenal waiting to disarm them, and possibly to turn their weapons against themselves the moment they might make their appearance.

Hearing of the rioting, we proceeded to the spot, and collected the above particulars from various persons who had witnessed the proceedings. All was quiet when we arrived on the ground, (about two o'clock). The disturbances commenced about twelve. We heard a great many different stories, but we believe the version we have given is very near the truth.

There were many reports in circulation, that the mayor had been severely injured, that several persons were killed, &c. &c.; but the mayor was not hurt, nor could we learn that any person, except the captain of the watch, had been dangerously wounded.

We were informed that the captain of the watch led his men to the ground without receiving orders to do so, which was a very unfortunate procedure, for there was no occasion for them at the time they appeared.

The mayor and his assistants are entitled to great credit for their exertions to quell the disturbances, and to check the mad proceeding of the Bank rioters who broke open the arsenal.

There is little doubt that these disturbances were excited by the Bank party, (we shall probably further allude to the means asked hereafter), in order to create an excitement against the warm-hearted but easily excited Irish citizens, to afford them an argument against the rights of universal suffrage, and to enable them to say, in case of defeat, that they were intimidated from going to the polls. But we hope to be enabled, before the close of our paper, to announce their defeat by a majority which will blast all their hopes of deceiving the public.

THE RELATIVE RIGHTS OF THE RICH AND THE POOR.

The rich perceive, acknowledge, and act upon a common interest, and why not the poor? Yet the moment the latter are called upon to combine for the preservation of their rights, forsooth the community is in danger! Property is no longer secure, and life in jeopardy. This cant has descended to us from those times when the poor and the labouring classes had no stake in the community, and no rights except such as they could acquire by force. But the times have changed, though the cant remains the same. The scrip nobility of this republic have adopted towards the free people of this republic, the same language which the feudal barons and the despot who contested with them the power of oppressing the people, used towards their serfs and vassals, as they were opprobriously called.

These would-be lordlings of the paper dynasty, cannot or will not perceive, that there is some difference in the situation and feelings of the people of

the United States, and those of the despotic governments of Europe. They forget at this moment our people, we mean emphatically the class which labours with its own hands, is in possession of a greater portion of the property and intelligence of this country, aye, ten times over, than all the creatures of the paper-credit system put together. This property is indeed more widely and equally distributed among the people than among the phantoms of the paper system, and so much the better. And as to their intelligence, let any man talk with them, and if he does not learn something, it is his own fault. They may not be such great orators as Mr. Clay; such profound powers as Mr. Webster; such perplexed metaphysicians as Mr. Calhoun; nor such mighty critics and grammarians as the Genius of Dulness, who rocks his readers to sleep in the cradle of the *National Gazette*. But they are as well acquainted with the rights of person and property, and have as just a regard for them, as the most illustrious lordling of the scrip nobility. And why should they not? Who and what are the great majority of the wealthy people of this city—we may say of this country? Are they not; and we say it not in disparagement, but in high commendation; are they not men who began the world comparatively poor, with a very ordinary education and ordinary means? And what, we ask, should make them so much wiser than their neighbours? Is it because they live in better style, ride in carriages, and have more money—at least more credit, than their poorer neighbours? Does a man become wiser, stronger, or more virtuous and patriotic because he has a fine house over his head? Does he love his country the better because he has a French cook, and a box at the opera? Or does he grow more learned, logical and profound by intense study of the day-book and the ledger, of bills of exchange, bank promises, and notes of hand?

Of all the countries on the face of the earth, or that ever existed on the face of the earth, this is the one where the claims of wealth and aristocracy are the

most unfounded, absurd, and ridiculous. With no claim to hereditary distinctions; with no exclusive rights except what they derive from monopolies, and no power of perpetuating their estates to their posterity, the assumption of aristocratic airs and claims is supremely ridiculous. To-morrow, they themselves may be beggars for aught they know; or at all events, their children may become so. Their posterity in the second generation will have to begin the world again, and work for a living, as did their forefathers. And yet, the moment a man becomes rich among us, he sets up for wisdom; he despises the poor and ignorant; he sets up for patriotism; he is your only man who has a stake in the community, and therefore the only one who ought to have a voice in the state. What folly is this; and how contemptible his presumption; he is not a whit wiser, better or more patriotic than when he commenced the world, a waggon driver. Nay not half so patriotic, for he would see his country disgraced a thousand times, rather than see one fall of the stocks, unless, perhaps, he had been speculating on such a contingency. *To him a victory is only of consequence as it raises, and a defeat only to be lamented as it depresses a loan.* His soul is wrapped up in a certificate of scrip, or a bank note. Witness the conduct of these pure patriots during the late war, when they, at least a large portion of them, not only withheld all their support from the Government, but used all their influence to prevent others from giving their assistance. Yet these are the people who alone have a stake in the community, and of course exclusively monopolise patriotism.

But let us ask what and where is the danger of a combination of the labouring classes, in vindication of their political principles, or in defence of their menaced rights? Have they not the right to act in concert, when their opponents act in concert? Nay, is it not their bounden duty to combine against the only enemy they have to fear as yet in this free country, monopoly and a great paper system that grinds them to the

dust? Truly, this is a strange republican doctrine, and this is a strange republican country, where men cannot unite in one common effort, in one common cause, without rousing the cry of danger to the rights of person and property. Is not this a Government of the people, founded on the rights of the people, and instituted for the express object of guarding them against the encroachments and usurpation of power? And if they are not permitted the possession of common interest; the exercise of a common feeling; if they cannot combine to resist by constitutional means, these encroachments; to what purpose were they declared free to exercise their right of suffrage in the choice of rulers, and the making of laws?

And what, we ask, is the power against which the people, not only of this country, but of almost all Europe, are called upon to array themselves, and the encroachment on their rights, they are summoned to resist? Is it not emphatically, the power of monopoly, and the encroachments of corporate privileges of every kind, which the cupidity of the rich engenders to the injury of the poor?

It was to guard against the encroachments of power, the insatiate ambition of wealth, that this Government was instituted by the people themselves. But the objects which call for the peculiar jealousy and watchfulness of the people, are not now what they once were. The cautions of the early writers in favour of the liberties of mankind, have in some measure become obsolete and inapplicable. We are menaced by our old enemies, avarice and ambition, under a new name and form. The tyrant is changed from a steel-clad feudal baron, or a minor despot, at the head of a thousand ruffian followers, to a mighty civil gentleman, who comes *mincing and bowing to the people with a quill behind his ear at the head of countless millions of magnificent promises.* He promises to make every body rich; he promises to pave cities with gold; and he promises to pay. In short, he is made up of promises. He will do wonders, such as never were seen or heard of, provided

the people will only allow him to make his promises equal to silver and gold, and human labour, and grant him the exclusive benefits of all the great blessings he intends to confer on them. He is the *selfish, grasping and insatiable* tyrant, the people are now to guard against. A CONCENTRATED MONEY POWER; an usurper in the disguise of a benefactor; an agent exercising privileges which his principal never possessed; an impostor, who while he affects to wear chains, is placed above those who are free; a chartered libertine, that pretends to be untraced only that he may the more safely pick our pockets, and lord it over our rights. This is the enemy we are now to encounter and overcome, before we can expect to enjoy the substantial realities of freedom.

FRIENDS OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of the Irishmen, resident at Cold Spring, Putnam county, and its vicinity, on the evening of Wednesday, the 3. instant, for the purpose of responding to the call made on the friends of Ireland, throughout the world, to come forward on the present occasion to give their support to their suffering countryman, Richard Barrett, Esq., who lies in an Irish dungeon, the victim of British tyranny, merely because he re-echoed the sentiments of the British press, on the subject of the proposed repeal of the union of Ireland with England; D. Burke being called unanimously to the chair, opened the business of the meeting in an energetic speech, in which he urged the meeting to come forward in support of Mr. Barrett.

Edward Donnelly rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman: I rise with unfeigned regret to move the following resolutions. I perceive, by the newspapers of Thursday that we have to lament the addition of another to the list of Irish traitors. Macneven has by this day proved that he deserved the suspicions long entertained of him by the United Irishmen—he has this day proved that, unlike

brave Bennett, he was unworthy to die for Ireland. He has shown, that he could compromise his principles for less than his life, and that the United States Bank could buy him even cheaper than the Government of England! But he cannot deceive his acute countrymen. He has deceived himself and his purchasers if he believes that we will follow in his train, and desert our principles; we will show the world, at the ballot boxes, that we are not to be the slaves of a monied aristocracy, which comprises in itself all that is bad, all that seeks the destruction of liberty in this happy land. I therefore, sir, move that it be

Resolved, That we have seen with indignation, Dr. Macnevin, who has hitherto represented himself to be the advocate of universal liberty, join a faction which seeks to reduce this republic to an abject slavery—to a monied aristocracy—and that we therefore pronounce him to be a political traitor, unworthy the confidence of Irishmen.

This resolution was seconded by Arthur Delany, and carried unanimously.

William Collins moved the second resolution, and spoke as follows:—Sir, I came prepared only to take some notice of the great object of our meeting, but what has fallen from my countryman, Mr. Donnelly, induces me, in some measure, to vary my subject. Alas, unfortunate Ireland! is it now thus! are you now to be deserted in the hour of trial by your ungrateful sons! Now, when this country is fighting the battle of the liberties of the world, when the tyrants of Ireland are watching to see whether money or the rights of mankind are to rule, Macneven comes forward and adds his name to the long vile traitorous list, that seeks again to rivet the fetters of mankind! But we, humble as we are, will lift up our voice, and whilst we seek to assist our suffering countrymen, pronounce our condemnation on the traitor who seeks to betray him and us, Sir, I move

That a committee of two persons be appointed to collect subscriptions for the assistance of Mr. Barrett.

This resolution was seconded by John Shehen, and carried unanimously.

Whereupon Edward Donnelly and William Cullen were appointed to collect subscriptions, and to correspond with the parent society in New York.

DENNIS BURKE, Chairman.

On the motion of John Griffin, the thanks of the meeting were tendered to D. Burke, and the meeting adjourned until the 9. instant.

Before the adjournment, however, twenty-four dollars were subscribed.

(From the Newcastle Press, 10. May, 1834.)

The Senate of the United States has disapproved of the President's determination as to the Bank charter, by a small majority. This, however, will not affect the resolution of the clear-headed and lion-hearted Jackson (for these are the epithets that ought to be rivetted to his honoured name); he has a majority of the representatives with him and will persevere "even unto the end." In the meantime specie is removing off to America and to the Continent weekly and hourly; all this is carefully concealed, and the Bank is silently and as quietly as possible narrowing its issues. The effects of this are beginning, however, to show themselves; and a disposition to fall in price is manifested in most markets, indeed in all where there is not a palpable counteracting cause. All sorts of lies are told to account for this dulness and want of confidence: now, it is said, that capital is "investing in annuities"; now in "rail-roads." And now we are told as a soother that the Bank is going to lend a million to the merchants. All this is mere mystification. In the meantime the unilateral "prosperity of our manufactures" is clouded with a vengeance by the American transaction. This suffering we can only deplore, knowing that when prices are regulated in America, relief will come. At Huddersfield we know it as a fact, that "one quarter of the workmen could do all the work now doing, and not be over employed." In Leeds

hundreds of children are working at a farthing an hour, and women at a half-penny. Let the consolation be, that when the change is made, trade in the States will be on a much surer footing than ever. Some of our contemporaries are fond of talking about "the weather." We say, if this present weather continue, and the bankers narrow their circulation, what will be lower than it has been for half a century or perhaps a whole one.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 8s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left but, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of

course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the **WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND**, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

LOCUST TREES.

Of these, only about three thousand more can be sold during this season; they are in good condition; and, as beautiful as possibly can be. Now, or any time this month, is the time for planting. Any order not exceeding the number above specified can be executed in four days after the order reaches 11, Bolt-Court: and, the purchaser may rely on their being well packed and delivered at the office of any wagon, van, or ship.

A fine specimen of this wood may be seen at the above place; and, any who will to the contrary, it will be cultivated to great extent, and prove of the greatest utility.

Locust Seed.

Very fine and fresh to be had at Bolt-court for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red **MANGEL WURZEL** Seed, 9d. a pound. — **SWEDISH TURNIP** Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound — **ITALIAN CLOVER** SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS. ●

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy Farm, in 1833, by Wm Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the **KNIGHT-PEA**, not contained in my list of last year. The **EARLY-FRAME** pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan.
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.

11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Buttersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Calf—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Pursley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

FALL OF THE CHURCH.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 13. May, 1834.)

INTERVIEW BETWEEN A DEPUTATION FROM THE DISSENTERS AND LORD ALTHORP.

(From a Correspondent).

A DEPUTATION from the united committee of Dissenters waited upon Lord Althorp on Saturday, at twelve o'clock at noon, to state to his lordship the views which the body they represented entertain of the Government measure of relief from the grievances under which they labour.

The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen and ministers: Mr. John Wilks, M. P.; Mr. Edw. Baines, M. P.; Mr. Richard Ash, of Bristol; Mr. Samuel Clapham, of Leeds; the Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham; Rev. Joseph Gilbert, of Nottingham; the Rev. Dr. Bedford, of Worcester; the Rev. R. Griffiths, Long Buckley, Northamptonshire; Jas Baldwin Brown, LL. D.; Mr. Thomas Harbottle, of Manchester; Mr. Henry Waymouth, and Mr. Robert Hunter.

Mr. WILKS, having been previously acquainted with his lordship, introduced the other gentlemen individually, who stated the views of their several constituencies *severatim*. They all concurred in stating that the measure of Government was regarded with the utmost dissatisfaction throughout the country.

HIS LORDSHIP expressed his great surprise and disappointment that the measure had not met with the approbation of the body for whose relief it was intended. He had never framed a measure since his accession to office which he thought more likely to prove satisfactory; and never had he brought in a measure to Parliament with greater satisfaction to himself.

Several members of the deputation again stated, that the representation they had made respecting the dissatisfaction which the measure created among Dissenters was not only correct, but that this dissatisfaction was universal, being shared alike by that body in all parts of the country.

LORD ALTHORP said, that the latter

part of the statement again surprised him, as it was at variance with communications which he had received from quarters in which he could confide, from the county of Northampton, the county with which he was most intimately acquainted. The communications to which he referred most distinctly stated that the measure had given the greatest satisfaction in that county to all classes of Dissenters.

The Rev. R. GRIFFITHS, one of the deputies from Northamptonshire, stated that here his lordship was altogether misinformed; that he (Mr. Griffiths) was intimately acquainted with the state of feeling among the Dissenters in that county on the subject, and that the measure had given the greatest dissatisfaction there.

LORD ALTHORP, after again repeating the expression of his surprise and disappointment that the measure had not proved satisfactory to the Dissenters, and stating that he conceived the concessions made to that body were so liberal as ought to obtain their approval of the measure, said, that he would be inclined to give every attention to the representations which the deputation had now made, coming as their statements did from the representatives of so respectable a body; but wished them distinctly to understand that he could not feel himself justified in holding out to them any hope of any other measure being brought forward on the subject by the Government.

The unanimous opinion of the deputation, on hearing this announcement, was, that rather than accept so partial a measure, they would prefer the present state of things. They intimated this to his lordship, who again expressed his regret that they were not satisfied with the measure. The interview then broke up, after having lasted upwards of an hour.

The united committee of Dissenters met yesterday, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at Dr. Williams's Library, Red-cross-street, to learn the result of the interview which the deputation had with Lord Althorp on Saturday. The resolution they came to, on the particulars

being stated, was, that of the deputation themselves, namely, rather to continue as they were than to accept so partial and imperfect a measure as that proposed by Government.

They further agreed to recommend to all the local committees and congregations throughout the United Kingdom to get up and forward petitions to Parliament immediately, praying for a far more liberal measure of relief than that of Government. The united committee are to have a most energetic petition on the subject, ready to be presented to Parliament on Thursday, and expect that those which will be forwarded from all parts of the country will be equally explicit and uncompromising in enforcing the claims of the Dissenters.

It was stated at the meeting yesterday, by the several deputations which had waited on members of Parliament, with the view of ascertaining the probable extent of support on which they could rely on this occasion from the House of Commons, that in the great majority of cases, those members had expressed themselves unwilling and afraid to oppose the measure of Government, lest Ministers should thereby be thrown out of office, but all concurred in acknowledging the great power, wealth, intelligence, numbers, and respectability of the Dissenters. They also acknowledged that the Government or Parliament could not long resist the union and determination of Dissenters, and expressed their fears of the issue, adding, that it was wholly impossible for Government to stand, if the Dissenters should desert it.

The united committee also referred to the question of a separation between church and state. The feeling was almost unanimous in favour of such separation; but as there was a diversity of opinion among the members as to the propriety of petitioning the legislature in existing circumstances for the abolition of the union between church and state, the understanding came to was, that the united committee should not at present make that abolition part of the prayer of their petition.

The necessity, however, of establishing voluntary church associations

throughout the country, on precisely the same principle as those existing in Scotland, was more clearly seen and more sensibly felt by the committee, in consequence of the result of the interview of their deputation had with Lord Althorp, and it is understood that such associations will be forthwith formed without delay.

CHURCH-RATE BILL.

THE following petition shows that the people of GLASGOW are quite alive to this subject.

Unto the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Glasgow, assembled at a Public Meeting,

Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioners have observed that your honourable House lately passed a resolution to the effect, that, after a time to be fixed, the church-rates of England should cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof his Majesty should be requested to grant out of the land-tax a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds yearly, to be applied to the expenses of the fabrics of the several churches and chapels of the established church of England, and a bill founded on this resolution either has been, or is about to be, introduced into your honourable House.

That your petitioners sympathize with the English Dissenters, in their struggles to free themselves from the burden of supporting a church from which they conscientiously dissent, and are of opinion, that the plan proposed, instead of affording them adequate relief, will continue the burden under a different name, while the principle objected to remains unaltered.

That your petitioners are of opinion, that the measure is fraught with the greatest injustice to the people of Scotland, because, while they have already a church establishment of their own to

maintain, they are to be taxed to support the episcopalian church of England, which, besides being a foreign church to them, is one which their forefathers successfully resisted, and which the people of Scotland are still determined to oppose.

May it therefore please your honourable House, that the above-mentioned contemplated measure may not pass into a law.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

Signed in name and presence of the meeting.

JOHN URE, Chairman.

PUBLIC MEETING IN GREENOCK ON LORD ALTHORP'S BILL.

(From the Glasgow Chronicle, May 12, 1834.)

A PUBLIC meeting of the inhabitants of Greenock was held on Saturday, in the Town hall, Greenock, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament against Lord Althorp's bill for appropriating £50,000L per annum, out of the proceeds of the land-tax, to the building and general maintenance of the English established churches. Provost Bain was called to the chair.

Mr. A. McCULLUM, in moving the first resolution, said that the subject now to be taken into consideration, was one which deeply affected the interests of Scotland. He thought that if Lord Althorp had been better acquainted with the religious feelings of this country, and with the articles of union, he would never have proposed this measure.

Mr. BUCHANAN seconded the first resolution. Lord Althorp's measure was an invasion of our religious rights; and the noble struggles of our forefathers against episcopacy, should teach us not to submit so tamely as Lord Althorp imagines. He should think himself unworthy of his forefathers, if he refused to come forward when not merely pounds, shillings, and pence, but our religious principles are concerned.

Mr. A. Muir said it had fallen to him to move the second resolution. Is there no injustice in being made to contribute to the support of an establishment so opulent as that of England—an establishment of which the bishops and other principal dignitaries are too far removed from the people? In general we find that ministers and people go on most happily together, when the clergy have much smaller incomes than they have in this country. He was sure that when these things were considered, all his friends here present would come forward to oppose Lord Althorp's measure, and that the petitions against it would be numerously signed, both by Churchmen and Dissenters.

Mr. W. SIMONS seconded the resolution. Lord Althorp has covered his brows with laurels by passing the Reform Bill; but the men of Scotland, who aided him to carry that bill, will pluck these laurels away, if he persevere in supporting a measure such as this. It is not merely the pounds, shillings, and pence we would have to pay for the drapery around the English church which we object to, but the principle it involves which we oppose. What would our fathers say, who so bravely resisted the tyrant Stuarts? What will those hovering spirits think when they see that we, their descendants, are willing to sacrifice all for which they bled and died? (Immense cheering.)

Mr. Lusk stated that our Scottish church received occasional grants and an annual sum out of the national fund; and that, therefore, we ought not to object at part of the taxes being employed in supporting the English church.

Mr. CRAWFORD MUIR, in reply to Mr. L.'s statement concerning the aid received by the church of Scotland from the general revenue, read an article out of one of the Greenock papers, by which it appeared that our church was only receiving in the grants referred to, a small portion of our own money—drawn from sources exclusively Scottish.

Mr. Lusk expressed his sorrow that he had not heard these statements before, as he would have in that case

spoken differently from what he had done.

Mr. CRAWFORD MUIR rose to move the third resolution. He considered Lord Althorp's measure as one of the worst ever brought before Parliament. It had been alleged that the sum proposed to be taken from us was too trifling to make it worth while for Scotchmen to stir in the matter. This objection sounded very strange in his ears, since the measure was going to open a sluice which although not very wide at first, might yet finally overwhelm us. We all know there is much discussion both in England and Ireland on the subject of tithes; and if the principle now sought to be established were once recognised, it might ultimately happen that Scotland, as well as the rest of the empire, would be saddled with the expense of the episcopal church.

Captain HAMLIN seconded the third resolution; and in so doing, he begged to state that he considered Lord Althorp's measure as being both impolitic and unjust. It was impolitic, since it would compel a country already oppressed with taxation to contribute to the support of an establishment already overloaded with wealth, whose dignitaries were living in palaces, rolling in carriages, and basking as it were the very Government itself. And yet this proud and opulent church was looking for support from other religious sects, and even from those whose principles forbade them from conscientiously affording it.

The resolutions against Lord Althorp's bill having been all carried,

Mr. STUART of Belltrees moved a vote of thanks to the Provost for his conduct in the chair, which was carried amid loud applause.

The meeting, which was distinguished above most of those we have attended, for the ability of the speeches and the good feeling which prevailed, then broke up.

(From the Glasgow Courier, May 2, 1834.)

The monstrous bill for amending (as it is called) the English Poor-Laws has been read a second time in the House of Commons; and was opposed by only twenty individuals. In this honourable band there does not occur the name of a single Scottish member.

The subject is momentous above any other that has been agitated in the Reformed Parliament. The bill may be passed, but the moment any attempt is made to carry it into execution, will be the beginning of disturbances which are very likely to bring about a revolution. The idea that the men who, in order to get employment, destroyed the thrashing-machines in the South of England, and whose wages were raised twenty-five per cent. by wilful fire, will peacefully agree, with their wives and children, to enter a house, differing in nothing from a Bridewell, in order to drag out existence, is the wildest and most chimerical that ever entered the head of a member of Parliament.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any leisure. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see any body, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to where I am to be found that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call there, find me there, but engaged, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me; for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the Doctor Johnson, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of

the conduct of the persons in this house for more than a year, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BURTT, W., Southcoats, Yorkshire, grazier.

BANKRUPTS.

BENNETT, J., Covent-garden, herbalist.
GUNNELL, E., Newbury, Berkshire, fell-monger.
MAWBEY, W., Edgeware, corn-dealer.
MIDDLETON, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-manufacturer.
PEARSON, T. S., Leeds, linen-draper.
PENTON, G., Parch-farm, Croydon, cattle-dealer.
POPPELWELL, J. H., Millbank-st., Westminster, coal-merchant.
THORP, M., Spalding, Lancashire, merchant.
WOOKEY, W., Upper St. Martin's-lane, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MARSHALL, B., Glasgow, currier.
PETERSON, P., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, MAY 13, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

COGLE, J., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, saddler.
COLE, E., Wells-street, Marylebone, corn-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ISAAC, F. W., Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., musical-instrument-maker.
MASON, W., West Butterwick, Lincolnshire, draper.
NICHOLS, T., Wakefield, Yorkshire, book-seller.
ROGERS, W., Chepstow, Monmouthshire, mercer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 12.—The supplies of Wheat from the home counties fresh up this morning, added to the quantity left over from Friday's market, caused the stands to be well filled with samples. The market was thinly attended, and millers purchasing with reserve, the finer parcels hung on hand at a decline of 1s. per quarter from last Monday, and secondary and inferior descriptions were almost unsaleable, though offered at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter from the rates of this day se'night. A good run of Kentish white Wheat only realized 58s. In hounded corn nothing transpiring.

The warm weather having caused many of the Malsters to leave off working, malted Barley hung heavily on hand at a decline of 1s. per quarter. Distilling and grinding works being scarce, were held at fully as much money as last week.

Malt extremely dull and prices quite nominal.

We have been liberally supplied with Oats, and the trade, though not so brisk or dear as on Friday, was steady to-day, and prices the turn dearer than last Monday. The business, however, transacting, was not extensive, as purchasers generally were unwilling to accede to the demand of the factors.

Beans were in limited request, and dull at previous prices.

Peas continue to come very sparingly to hand, and all descriptions supported firmly their quotations.

The Flour trade ruled dull, and ship marks barely supported last week's quotations.

| | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat..... | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye..... | —s. to —s. |
| Barley..... | 22s. to 24s. |
| — Fine..... | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White..... | —s. to —s. |
| — Hoiuers..... | 32s. to 37s. |
| — Grey..... | 30s. to 35s. |
| Beans, Small..... | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick..... | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potatoes..... | 21s. to 23s. |
| Feed..... | 16s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack..... | 44s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Pork, India, new..... | 45s. to 109s. |
| — Mow, as is..... | 50s. to 55s. per half |
| Butter, Belfast..... | 66s. to 70s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow..... | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Cork..... | 50s. to 62s. |
| — Limerick..... | —s. to 62s. |
| — Waterford..... | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Dublin..... | 44s. to 46s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 12.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; the supply of Calves and Porkers, not so limited. Trade was throughout very dull, with prime small Lamb at an ad-

vance, with Beef at a decline of 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About a moiety of the Beasts were Scots; about a fourth short-horns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh rumps, and Herefords, with, perhaps, 100 Irish and 50 Sussex heasts, about 60 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffordshires.

About a moiety of the Sheep were Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kentish, Kentish half-breeds, and horned and polled Norfolds, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, supposed to number about 3,500, appeared to consist of an equal number of Down's, new Leicesters of mixed crosses, and Dorset's, with a few pens of Kentish half-breeds, and sundry casual breeds.

About 2,000 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, about a fourth short horns, and the remainder about equal numbers of Devon, Welsh-rump, and Herefords, with a few home-breds, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire, about 30, chiefly short horns, with a few Devons, rumps, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 150, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 50, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords and rumps, from our western and midland districts, about 100, a full moiety of which were from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders &c., near London.

MARK LANE.—Friday, May 16.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE RUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| per Cent. } | Irish | Sat | Mon | Tues | Wed | Thur |
| Cons. Ann. } | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 91½ | 92½ | 92½ |

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 84.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 21st, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



May 21.

My friends will hear with pleasure, that I am beginning to think of going back to London. To be sure, the revolution is going on very well without me; but, hang it, it must not take place without my having some little hand in it, after having, for thirty years, been accused of "revolutionary designs." The slang of SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH's proclamations, put forth under the name of the superb and sublime George the Fourth, was, "designing men, who, under the pretence of reform, really mean revolution." This was their slang for twenty years; and I was one of the "designing men." Thank God, the work of revolution is now in other hands; and it does go on at a bumping rate! Really, more than half my illness has arisen from my fretting for fear the whole thing should be accomplished in my absence! This fear is now over; and if the present able hands will but put the stick off for a little while longer, they shall have my vote at any rate. God bless mercy! - Only think of "postponing till next session" the separation of the church from the state! My "Manchester Propositions" were despised, madness! It is always my fate to be spat at three or four years before the public. The nation will not have left to her what the Manchester Propositions would have left her! That is now evident.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-courts.]

"I shall live to see those greedy bull-frog farmers, who are now crying out for my emancipation, who are now exulting at the injury which I am now inflicting on me; I shall live to see DADSHY COKE and his huge and daring crew; I shall live to see them, not repent of their calumnies heaped on me: no, no; but, I shall live to see them suffer for their baseness. They hate me, because, and only because, I have attacked the cause of their poor labourers: they cannot ask for that, by which alone they can be saved from ruin, without adopting my principles and using my arguments: still they will not do; but I shall live to see them do it, or become beggars." - *Manchester, 17, January, 1833.*

TO THE COMMITTEE

OF THE

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND.

Normandy Farm, 20, May, 1834.

Comrades,

(You gentlemen "you never shall be called by me), I have read your manifesto, and I deem it worthy of the particular attention of my readers. Look at the motto! I do not know, that it applies to all of you: there may be some amongst you to whom it does not apply; but, to the body of you it applies, and so you, as the organ of an association of farmers, it applies. Born now, at this late hour, when the hand of death is upon you; even now when your bowels of misery, like those of PAUL RICHARDS, disturb the repose of JUSTICE and PEACE, and their goodly family and society; now now you resort to every possible evasion, in order to avoid acknowledging, even by implication, that your aim would have been prevented if my advice had been listened to! Even now you speak of the effects of PAUL RICHARDS as of something which no one had foreseen; as something which you had not like, have just found out; as something which, until now, has been hidden from all eyes, shut up from all understandings; as something for which

no one has, until now, ever pointed out a remedy! And this you do, while you use arguments ten thousand times *use by me*, and while you use almost *my very words*! Why, you are the basest of all mankind: the negro slave is not so base as you: I rejoice at your sufferings, and am cheered to gaiety by your dismal anticipations, knowing well that those anticipations will be realized!

Why do I so *hate* you? Why entertain such feelings; such deep-rooted enmity to a whole class? My answer is this: hatred begets hatred, and particularly when the original hatred is *wholly unprovoked*; and when, indeed the party hated, merits friendship instead of hatred from the haters. But what *proof* have I that this enmity, this deadly hostility towards me exists, or has existed in your breasts? *If by cattle* such greedy, unjust and cruel monsters can be said to have? What *proof* have I? Why, the monsters in Hampshire even now familiarly, as if the fact were taken for granted, *ascribe all the fires to me*, though it is notorious, they arose out of their own base endeavours to reduce their labourers to potatoes and salt: though that has been proved, over and over again, in courts of justice and before committees of the Commons; though it has been proved that the fires proceeded solely from your own base hard-heartedness, still you have the infamy to *ascribe them to me*. This fact is notorious from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Then, there are the specific facts of the manifesto of AYERSON and a whole tribe of big-farmers, threatening to ruin an innkeeper, unless he turned me out of his inn, I being very ill at the time. Next there is the Sussex Poll, and the manifesto of TREADGOTT, BURNETT, and BLUNT; and the consequent Old Bailey indictment by DENMAN, and the Whig attempt to shut me up in jail for the rest of my life. But, one *proof* that I have now to give would, of itself, be more than sufficient.

In the month of December, 1832, I was coming to London, after the election at Oldham. The stage coach in which I came from Birmingham to

London was covered, on the outside, by bull-frog farmers, coming up to the *Smithfield cattle show*. The load consisted wholly of them, except the young man who was, and who is, my *secretary*. Understanding that I was *in the coach*, they, having been picked up along through Northamptonshire, principally, began to talk of me; and, as the base newspapers had not failed to guard a religious silence on the subject of *Oldham*, while they had as religiously given an account of my having *lost the election at Manchester*, these beasts were extremely merry on the subject of my defeat, cracking their stupid jokes in abundance at my expense, and took occasion, one of them, to utter a little *calumny* against me, speaking of me in general terms as a *bad man*. My secretary, who despised their jests, and laughed at their *fine words*, picked up from their boarding-school daughters, and pronounced in their own vulgar brogue, did not stand this abuse: he asked the calumniators whether they *knew me*, and, having been answered in the negative, he said *he did*, and that he *man* who said such and such things of me, he who he might, was guilty of *folly*, and saying it behind my back when he might, if he would, say it to my face, he was also a *coward*, as well as a calumniator. This having reduced them to silence, he said: "What, do you think, then, that Mr. COSBETT is not a member of Parliament?" They referred to the newspapers and Manchester. He then explained the affair to them, which made them *dumb*! The coach having stopped for dinner (I think it was) at REBURN, and I, who did not get out of it, having called Mr. GURSELL (my secretary) to me, and these vagabonds hearing me ask him whether he was not cold, and to express to him my wish that he should come to the inside, they, when they got up again, though, before, they had jammed him up on the outside iron of the coach, made a good eat for him, called him "*air*," and two or three of the base rascals actually, before they got up, came up to the coach-door, and *pulled off their hats* to

me; and, when we got down at the inn, in London, every villain of them did the same.

Now, what had I ever done to *injure* or to *offend* these vagabonds? They knew nothing of my person, my character, or my manners. Ah! but they had all heard that I had reprobated the attempt to *reduce the labourers to potatoes and salt*! That was enough! I had, for many years, been labouring to protect the land from ruin, from that ruin that has now fallen upon it. The conduct towards me of the landowners and big-farmers was as unnatural as it was base and cowardly. It is so up to this very hour; it is such in this manifesto of yours, and now, when I have inserted it, and begged my readers to read it with attention, I am about to remark on this manifesto, expressing my joy at your sufferings and your dangers, not being able to discover any reason, any sense, any justice, in my feeling compassion for those who hate me without cause, and who have proved, in innumerable instances, that they would destroy me if they could; not being able to discover any morality, or any religion, in my abstaining from expressing this joy, I do express it; and I say, with perfect sincerity, that it glads my heart to think of it.

AN APPEAL TO THE FARMERS, AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, AND ARTIFICERS, FROM THE GOOLE AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE

1. In addressing you upon the present condition and future prospects of the landed interest of this kingdom, we feel that it would be now an unnecessary waste of time were we to take any pains in pointing out to you the existence of that severe distress which so generally pervades those *classes of society that depend for support upon the cultivation of the soil*. Our object is not to point out that with which experience has already made you too well acquainted, but to call your attention to what we believe to be the cause of your present poverty, and to a consideration of the means, which we think you ought to adopt for the purpose of obtaining some amelioration of your condition.

2. At the present prices of grain, farmers find that they have not any adequate means of meeting the various demands made upon them in the shape of labourers' wages, rent, taxes, and parochial rates, and the labourers find that in consequence of the poverty of the farmers, they either cannot obtain that employment which in more prosperous times they were able to obtain, or that they must work for lower wages. The work to be done continues indeed the same, but as the farmer has less money to spend upon it, the work must either be done for a less price, or must remain partly undone.

3. This state of things however did not always exist (most of you indeed whom we now address have seen far more prosperous times), and we feel confident that by carefully attending to the different circumstances under which you prospered, and those under which you have seen nothing but steadily increasing poverty, we shall be enabled to point out the real cause of this lamentable change.

4. When you had an abundant circulation of paper money there were but few complaints of rent, parochial rates, and taxes, because though you had to meet heavy demands, you had the means of meeting them. The farmers were then flourishing, the agricultural labourers fully employed, and at the same time the manufacturers were more generally prosperous than they have been since the contraction of the currency, and the fall in the price of grain. And we firmly believe that in those days they paid 5l per quarter for wheat with less dissatisfaction than they now feel in paying half that price. Circumstances which ought to induce them to suspect at least, that the low rate of wages and profits of which they have of late years so greatly complained, is attributable to a cause very different from the want of "cheap bread."

5. This state of prosperity was however destroyed by that most lamentable piece of legislation, called *Peel's Bill*. A measure strongly urged upon the Ministry by the party now in power, who seemed not to be in the least aware

of the mischievous effects which it has produced. This bill obliged every person who had to pay money, from thenceforth to pay about 27s. for every pound that had been previously borrowed; and as all taxes were to be paid in this new value, the effect was the same, as if, without altering the currency, a great increase had suddenly been made in the amount of the taxes levied. The currency being thus reduced in quantity, a general fall in prices was the immediate consequence. That fall however, did not merely keep pace with the change made in the currency, but it necessarily went beyond that mark; we had to collect our gold and silver, amounting to between twenty and thirty millions of pounds, from other nations; and, by thus diminishing the quantity of their currency, we necessarily reduced their prices and their means of paying their own debts and taxes, and by thus impoverishing nations connected with us by means of commercial transactions, we produced a still further reduction in this country. Thus this measure which was brought forward as a cure for all evils, and as a *final settlement of the question*, produced mischief not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe; reducing the value or amount in price in every thing *except the taxes*. for, let it not be forgotten that *taxation* was not reduced when the currency was altered, but we were left to pay the same taxes with diminished means. And this question, so far from being set at rest for ever, according to the late Mr. Canning's observation, has been, up to the present time, more constantly the object of anxious discussion and dissatisfaction than any other question whatever. Had common justice been done, or probably had the legislature been aware of the effect which this bill was going to produce, the *interest of the national debt* and the other expenses of government would have been reduced in proportion to the alteration made in the currency. But few members of Parliament seemed to be aware of the nature of the measure which they so unanimously supported, and it now remains for you to petition again and

again that justice shall at last be rendered to you, that is, that Parliament will either *reduce the interest of the national debt* in the same proportion in which they increased the value of the currency, or otherwise (and what may be more easily effected) that *they will restore the currency to its former value*.

6. Public debts and private debts are governed by the same rules; so that if a man (or a nation) has an annual amount of interest to pay, which cannot be discharged without ruin to the parties, there are but two ways of relief; either the payment itself must be reduced or the means of payment must be increased. The effect will be the same to the party in either case, but we firmly believe that without the adoption of one of these measures, nothing can restore you to prosperity.

7. We are thus earnest in recommending you to petition Parliament for *some specific measure*, from a conviction founded on experience, that unless you will unite in so doing, all your complaints will be useless; you will be called, in the language of the *Leeds Mercury*, "*miserymongers*." Your distress will be treated with indifference, and by the advocates of free trade even with contempt. Your complaints will be neglected, and your enemies, by asking what it is you wish to have done, will perplex and divide your real friends, and prevent them co-operating for your benefit, while it will furnish to your pretended friends a ready excuse for doing nothing. But this will at least *show the fundholders* that you have *discovered the cause of your poverty*, and that you will no longer patiently submit to pay to them so much more than they ought equitably to receive, and although this may not make the fundholders your friends, it will at least tend to check in them any indication to join in the clamour for a repeal of the existing corn-laws.

8. There is however another measure almost equally necessary to your welfare. Although you know from woful experience that corn-laws alone will not preserve you from poverty, yet, so long as you have high taxes to pay, you must

have a protecting duty on the foreign grain grown by farmers, who have scarce any taxes to pay, and though there is reason to believe that you would derive more benefit from an alteration of the currency without any corn-laws, than from a continuance of the latter without any alteration in the former, still we consider that you are clearly entitled to both these measures; for no one will maintain that one act of injustice done towards you can be any excuse for another measure equally unjust; and it appears to us that you are as much entitled to a protecting duty on foreign grain, as a manufacturer is to a protecting duty on foreign manufactures.

9. We wish to caution you against the advice of those persons who would persuade you that you ought to seek for relief in a general reduction of rents: such advice is often given with the most honest intentions, but it is far more frequently given by those who are in reality your enemies, and who endeavour by sowing enmity between the landlord and tenant "to divide and conquer." No doubt there are many places, where rents have not been adequately reduced, but there are others where they have been reduced to even one-fourth of their former amount; and you well know that there are thousands upon thousands of acres which have hitherto maintained the occupiers of them in respectability and comfort, that would not without the protection of the corn-laws, repay to the cultivator the expenses of cultivating them, even if he were to have them rent free. The truth is, rent forms but a comparatively small part of the outgoings of a farmer; as may be easily made to appear. You can scarcely pay your way with wheat at the present price, viz. about 50s. per quarter; now it appears from recent calculations, that the rental of arable land in the kingdom does not average quite 30s. per acre, and also that the average produce of wheat per acre is nearly three quarters, which at 50s. per quarter amounts to 7*l.* 10s. per acre. But suppose that in consequence of a repeal of the corn-laws wheat should fall to 30s. or 35s. per quarter, and that consequently you receive but 4*l.* 10s. or 5*l.*

per acre instead of 7*l.* 10s., and that too, for the produce of your money-making crop, what in that case would avail any reduction of rent? A similar calculation may be made with reference to crops of barley, oats, and beans. Do not then deceive yourselves by supposing that the question of the corn-laws is merely the landlord's question; on the clearest evidence of figures, we declare it to be your question, and that your existence as farmers depends upon its final arrangement.

10. The time is now come when you must unite and act; there must be no trifling, no indifference. The Ministers may be willing to afford you relief and protection, but they cannot do so, unless you yourselves come forward and by your petitions support them in resisting the clamour of the manufacturers. Your enemies are combined and indefatigable, and though we dare not hope that you will equal them in activity, still you may be, and if you would avoid ruin you must be determined and persevering. You are not inferior to them in numbers, and however unwilling, the master-manufacturers may be to allow it, there is no doubt that many of the working classes are not desirous of repealing the present corn-laws, and will not join their masters in the clamour for "cheap bread," well knowing that their own wages will be reduced in proportion to the reduction in the price of bread.

11. Awake then, we conjure you, landlords, farmers, and labourers, and all you who depend for support upon the prosperity of agriculture. Awake to a sense of the dangers which threaten you. Petition from every township against the repeal of the corn-laws, and for either *reduction of the interest of the national debt*, corresponding to the alteration of the currency effected by *Peel's Bill*, or otherwise for a *restitution of the currency* to the situation in which it was before that bill came into operation. For the experience of the effects of the measure of 1819, during the last fourteen, or fifteen years, has only served to prove its mischievous consequences, in progressively impoverishing the agricultural interest, and in fact, all classes of

the community, except the fundholder and annuitants.

Goole, 10. Feb. 1834.

That this is a *landlord's* production is evident enough; but that is no matter: it speaks the sentiments of the whole body, landlords and big farmers too. It sets out with the old foolishness; namely, calling those a *class*, who depend for support on the cultivation of the soil; just as if there were any people in the country who *did not so depend*. This is only a *foulery*; but it has done a great deal to sink the landowners in the estimation of the majority of the people. Talk of "*classes*," and I warrant you that those who assembled together in crowds will be the most numerous class; and, unless they be actually at work out in the *fields*, they will insist that they have *nothing to do with the land*. Butchers, bakers, drovers, cattle-sellers, plough-makers, chain-makers, cheese-mongers; they are all of the "*other classes*" of society. But you are only fools here in imitation of "*your betters*."

One can plainly see that you are driving at an *issue of small paper-money*. "*Few complained*," you say, "when there was an abundant circulation of paper-money." "Then," you say, "*farmers flourished*." But, did they *never flourish before*? Until about a hundred and thirty years ago there never was, in England, any paper-money at all; and then the poor-rates amounted to only about 200,000*l.* a year. Until 1756 there were no bank-notes under *twenty pounds*. Then, the taxes having been increased by the war of that time, *ten-pound notes* were put out. The American war having greatly augmented the debt and the taxes, *Perry* put out *five-pound notes* in 1793. Pushed hard for gold by the French war against "*Jacobins and levellers*," the Bank put out, by law pushed on purpose, *one-pounders* in 1797. But did FARMERS *never flourish* till these rags came out? Yes! *good farmers* always flourished; always led easy and happy lives before this accursed paper-

money came to scourge the nation; and yet you want this scourge back again!

You, the *bull-frogger*, did not flourish indeed; for, as yet, you were not! It was the paper-money that created you. It was that; it was the false capital; it was the moulding of a dozen farms into one; it was the making of simple men and small farmers mere labourers; it was this that made you flourish, while those who did the work were perishing. You *flourished* while they declined; you rode a hunting in *red jackets* while they were reduced to rags; you got *pianos* and *sommodes* and *bidets* into your houses, while they were stripped of their pewter and their bedding, and were reduced to the earthen pinner and straw. You *flourished*; but the flourishing was not to be everlasting. Our famous countryman, PAINÉ, curses on whom have been on the lips of every one of you, says, most beautifully, of paper-money, that "*it rises in a rocket, and falls in a stick*." I do not ask you to admire the beauty of this sentence, but I ask you to reflect on the truth which it teaches; and to say whether it do not describe your own progress. You were *rockets*; you are now *sticks*! You want to be *rockets again*! That is as impossible as it is for you to be men of sound sense and public spirit; and that is more impossible than it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle.

You have an *alternative*; but, it is clear, that you want the paper-money out again, vainly supposing, that that would bring back with it all the many important circumstances, amidst which the paper-money existed before, but which are now gone never to return. You are clearly very ignorant men: you just know, that the banishment of the small paper has *lowered your prices*; but, you do not see the inevitable consequences of putting out the paper again. You seem not to know any thing that is passing beyond the confines of the fanatical, negro-bitten, crack-skulled county in which you live. If your knowledge did extend farther, nay, if it only went as far as HUNTERFIELD or SHARFIELD, you would know what

-in passing, about paper-money, in the *United States of America*: you would know, that this scourge, after having ruined farmers by thousands upon thousands; after having shifted property in the most fraudulent manner from the owners to unprincipled speculators; after having actually convulsed the whole country, and brought the existence of the Government itself into peril; after having done all this, you would see it about to be wholly rooted out and destroyed; and, you would know, that, if this take place there, a total blowing up of the whole paper system must take place here, if we attempt to augment the quantity of our paper!

So that, you may cure yourselves as soon as possible of your *hauntering* after the pretty little bits of oblong square paper: you will be the *rockets* no more, and you will have no very bad luck if you be any thing of decent *sticks*.

However, you leave the Parliament a choice: "either reduce the interest of the debt, or restore the currency." I must stop here to observe on this word "*restore*." To *restore* is to bring back to its former and right and proper state. To "*restore* the currency" of England is, therefore, to abolish all paper-money whatsoever. But, your heads are so full of the "*flourishing*" dream; so full of the times when you were *rockets*; that you seem to think, that *war against Jacobins and one-pound notes* constitutes the right, the natural, the proper state of things in England; instead of its being a most lamentable state, a state which could not be permanent, and the temporary existence of which every wise man and lover of his country trembles but to think of. Aye: it is "*the restoration of the currency*" that I have always been for; it must take place; but, whether without a *dreadful convulsion*, I do not undertake to say. This might have been avoided, if you had acted your part well; but you chose what you deemed your own interest in preference to the interests of your country; and, be the consequences yours.

So much for "*restoring*"; and now

for the "*REDUCING OF THE INTEREST OF THE DEBT*." And did you not *blush* as you were putting this upon paper? And will you not *blush* when you make this the prayer of a petition to Parliament? Then you have either *no blood* in you, or your skins are as thick as the *ten bull-hides* that made the shield of *Ajax*. Could you put these words upon paper, without remembering how often you had called me "*a rogue*" for having proposed such a reduction? Could you put these words upon paper, without being impelled by an involuntary movement of conscience to name me, and to make your acknowledgments to me? Yes; you could, and you did; and for this I pronounce you to be amongst the very basest of all mankind. Ah! you think, that you shall yet *get out of the scrape*; landowners think that they shall save their estates, and the bull-frogs think they shall save their bags (if they have any left), without appearing, at least, to come to my shop! You cannot: you must make wheat sell for about eight or ten shillings a bushel, and the Bank pay in gold at the same time; or to my shop you must come, and *all the world must see you come*! It is not a little matter, or a short time, that breaks up a body like you. You have lived upon mere reputation for some years; but, a system, which gives to *usurers* three-fifths of a nation's income, and one-third more than the *rental* of the nation, must finally break up all the landowners, who do not *share with the usurers*. This breaking up has been going on ever since about the year 1794; but, since 1814, with accelerated pace; and, since 1819, with redoubled acceleration; and, at every stage, I have predicted what would come, have been ridiculed for my predictions, and calumniated for my remedy.

The history of my efforts and of my treatment, as connected with this matter, ought never to be forgotten: it is as interesting a thing as ever attracted the attention of states. All the way through, we see a Government and Parliament continually forewarned by an individual; they always despising his forewarnings; the events always

proving him right, and them wrong; a press with five hundred Cerberian mouths always barking at him, and applauding them; ninety-hundredths, of the people always led by that Cerberian press; and now, at last, that people praying for the very thing which he had been vilified so long for having proposed! The *mass of the people*, those whose mouths were not full of taxes, or whose noses were not upon the scent after them; the mass of the people, whenever they had the matter fairly explained to them, were right; witness the petition from the county of Kent, in June, 1822, and that from the county of Norfolk, in 1823. These petitions are on the records of Parliament. Only think of the abuse, the calumny, the base and cowardly attack which they brought upon me! They both prayed for a *reduction of the interest of the debt*: that was their sin for that I was called *rogue*, as the mildest term that ought to be applied to me; though, considering my situation in life, it was utterly impossible to conceive how I myself could possibly gain by such reduction. The assailant argued as if the whole debt was a *debt due by me*, and by *nobody but me*.

But, committee, sensible and candid committee, you advise the farmers to rouse from their lethargy, to beat themselves, and TO PETITION for "reduction of the interest of the debt or, for a restoration of the currency" namely, one-pound notes and permanently depreciated paper-money! Ah! let me, oh God! see some of those petitions! Will such petitions be listened to? Will they be acted on? Not, I am persuaded, until it be too late for reason and justice to prevail in the settlement. The USURERS are too strong for any Government composed as this is; the ties by which they hold the Government are too numerous and too strong to be broken by anything short of the united voice of the millions: if PRESIDENT JACKSON, with the millions at his back, and with foreign usurers to contend with, finds so much difficulty in subduing the monster of paper-money, without a debt, too, how

is this Government to face that which it would have to contend with? Besides the USURERS OF THE FUNDS here, have allies, and most powerful allies, too, in the corporation called the "SISTER-SNAVENS," and in all the bands of pensioners, sinecure people, and allowance people, who, all together, take about six millions a year. These all know well, that the debt never can be touched without first touching them. They feel that they are on the same plank with the usurers of the funds; and that, together they must continue to swim, or together sink. They are all receiving *double pay* as well as the usurers of the funds; so that it is impossible to complain of one without complaining of the other.

No Government, no Parliament, could therefore attempt a reduction, without having at its back, *openly and resolutely*, the whole body of the people, to whom it should plainly put the questions: "Do you work all your lives to have given up half your earnings to fund-usurers and dead-weight? Do you wish your children to do the same after you?" Without an appeal like this the thing never can be done; and whence is to come the Minister to make such an appeal? Therefore there is no hope for you; the usurers must go on swallowing up your estates and your stock; they will become owners instead of you; they are such in great part already; other usurers will roll over them in time, or would do if the thing could go on; but the chances are, that the whole system will go to pieces before the usurers will have had time to swallow up the larger estates. At any rate you will get no relief, and strict justice says that you ought to have none.

I am delighted with the manner in which you talk about "PARK'S BILL," which you call "that lamentable piece of legislation." Why did you not call it so at the time when it was passed? Why did you not join me in protesting against passing it, without reducing the debt at the same time? Why have you waited fifteen years before you complained of it? And why do you now speak of its fatal effects, without observ-

ing that those effects were all foreign *by me before the bill was passed?* This is the great mark of your baseness; you knew very well all about my publications with regard to this bill: you knew it all very well; and yet you were to base even to allude to it. *PEEL'S BILL* (without other measures) was bad enough in itself; it was a blundering bungling, most mischievous measure: it was invented and passed by a set of fools; those who did it ought to have been ashamed ever to show their face in Parliament again. But not a tenth part of its demerits are seen until it be known that the authors of it were *fully forewarned of its fatal consequences*. But this you could not mention without allusion at least *to me*; and therefore you stop short even of doing justice to your own case! Oh, how despicable you are! What mean wretches you are! How worthy you are of all the embarrassments by which you are beset, and of all the ruin that to a certainty awaits you! Base as is the *USURER*, he is better than you: he is a child of Mammon only; you are *that*, and spiteful coward in the bargain.

Those who speak in your behalf always praise you for your "*peaceable*" behaviour; for your "*patient*" suffering; for your "*loyalty*"; by which later they mean, that con-unnate baseness which induces men to stand aloof from every act that has a tendency to uphold the rights of the people. Very true of you. From you never came there a word of complaint against any act of tyranny; from you never came there petition against dun-geon bill, gagging bill, or against any of the measures of *PITT*, *CANTLERNAGH*, *SIDMOUTH*, or *PERCEVAL*. On the contrary, you were always ready with your horses, helmets, and sabres, to sully forth to enforce those horrid measures. Nay, there are as many of you now ready with your sabres, to whom the people are compelled to pay about 200,000*l.* a year. What, then, are the people to have any compassion for you! It was you, and you only, that enabled *PITT* to carry on his terrible system. Well, then, cease your howling; you

have your horses, helmets, and sabres: use them to get you a high price for your corn and your meat; use them to make wheat ten shillings a bushel, with gold payments at the Bank. You are "*loyal*"; feed upon your "*loyalty*." What, will "*loyalty*" do nothing for you in this your hour of distress?

You may howl to the Government; the Government cannot assist you if it would. I dare say it would if it could, but it cannot; and you may howl out your "*loyal*" wailings till you disturb the repose of *JUPITER* and *JUNO* in the midst of their pavilion, without any chance of relief. Did you ever complain of pensions, sinecures, dead-weight, or of any thing clothed with power, or connected with power? Never! You have been bold enough in your railings against the defenceless labourer, to whose sweat you have owed your all; you have been insolent and overbearing enough with regard to them; but before any thing connected with power, even before a footman or a stable-boy, designated by the livery of "*my lord*," you have stood trembling like catiffs. And, do you think that any Government is going to care for you? You complain of the "*inhabitants of towns*" for having demanded and obtained redress, while no attention has been paid to you. Why, you have your "*loyalty*," have you not. And you have your horses and helmets and sabres, have you not? Do not these satisfy you? Be "*loyal*" still, and the devil be your comforter!

I now come to your sage remarks as to the CORN BILL. This bill was first passed at the instigation of the land-owners, in order to ensure them a high price for their corn. Their language to the Government was this: "Give us "*price*" for our produce, and keep on "*the price*." Very base, very selfish, even very malignant; but still more foolish! The "*great statesman*," *ILLIUS-KISSAW*, told them that the bill would keep English wheat at eighty shillings a quarter, or ten shillings a bushel. The fools were all muddled. I told them so. I told them that no corn bill could keep up the price of corn permanently;

and, in 1822, when not a gallon foreign wheat had been imported for *three years*, they found wheat at five shillings a bushel, with their famous corn bill in full force. It is now, on an average of the kingdom, not more than five shillings and tenpence. And, what protection, then, is a corn bill; that is to say, what *security* for what are called *remunerating prices*? That *experience* which is said to make, "fools wise," appears to have no effect at all upon you; but, I suppose, the proverb applied only to *ordinary* fools, and not to fools so very profound as you are.

Your idea that you ought to have legal protection, *because* the land bears so many *burdens* from which other property is *exempt*; that it has to pay road-rates, county-rates, poor-rates, church-rates, and tithes; and that, **THEREFORE**, it ought to be protected: this idea is quite worthy of you; that is to say, it is a mark of a vulgar and shallow mind, that seizes hold of salient objects, and, without examination of premises, rushes to conclusions. What, then, the *consumer* of the corn and the meat and the wool, does not, I suppose, *repay the farmer* all these out-goings? He pays them all out of some secret and miraculous hoard that he has, and gets no more for his corn and other produce than if he had no such out-goings? Verily, it must be the skull of a greedy bull-frog, in which such a thought could have been engendered! What, then, the grocer pays out of his hoard all the taxes on his tea and sugar and soap and tobacco and charges the consumer only what the Chinese and West Indians and Virginians receive! And, I, now: I pay for the *Register* stamp out of my *hoard*. Poh! the land bears no burdens more than I bear burdens for my *Register*: the consumer pays *all* the cost of the thing consumed. If this were mere folly, it would not signify; but, it is *mischievous*: it is a false ground to take; it leads one aside from the true ground, which is this, that the taxes take away so large a portion of the earnings and just gains and store of money, which belong to creative and

useful industry, that the latter has been comparatively destitute; that those who live on the taxes *swarm* throughout the land; and that those who work are compelled to work harder and to fare harder for this; and that, thus, all those who labour are worse off than they formerly were. This is the true ground; landowners, traders, farmers, artisans, labourers, towns, villages, *suffer* together: it is not this, that, or the other "class"; all classes suffer alike, and all from the same cause. If all were to see this, and all pull together to obtain redress, the thing would soon be put to rights; but, as this is not to be expected, the convulsion-engendering cause must roll on, producing, as it proceeds, all its natural effects.

OXFORD DECLARATION.

My readers will recollect, that certain persons of the University of Cambridge petitioned the House of Commons some time ago, to pass a law to enable the university to admit Dissenters to *take degrees* in the University. There was, indeed, a counter-petition from the same university against this; but a bill was brought in for the purpose of extending this regulation to both universities. The University of Oxford has declared against this, and the following is a copy of their published declaration. I shall, when I have inserted it, make some remarks upon it. It is a matter of great importance, not for the reasons assigned by the parties, but for reasons which they do not assign. It is manifest, that, if the Dissenters (and Catholics) once participate in any of the *privileges* of the universities, they will (as they ought soon participate in them all; and, amongst that *all* is an immense *rate of property*, now enjoyed exclusively by the clergy of the established church. The following is the Declaration.

Oxford, April 24, 1834.

The undersigned members of the University of Oxford, immediately con-

needed with the instruction and discipline of the place, make this public declaration of their sentiments concerning the admission of Dissenters among them.

They wish to state in the first place, that the University of Oxford has always considered religion to be the foundation of all education; and they cannot themselves be parties to any system of instruction, which does not rest upon this foundation.

They also protest against the notion, that religion can be taught on the vague and comprehensive principle of admitting persons of every creed. When they speak of religion, they mean the *doctrines of the Gospel, as revealed in the Bible, and as maintained by the church of Christ in its best and purest times.* They also believe in their *consciences*, that these doctrines are *held by the church of England, as settled at the period of the Reformation; and as on the one hand they cannot allow these doctrines to be suppressed, so on the other they cannot consent that they should be explained or taught in any way which is not in accordance with the recognised tenets of the established church.*

In thus stating it to be their solemn duty to provide for a *Christian education*, they feel that *uniformity of faith upon essential points is absolutely necessary*; and that the admission of persons who dissent from the church of England would lead to the most disastrous consequences; that it would unsettle the minds of the younger members of the university; would raise up and continue a spirit of controversy which is at present unknown; and would tend to reduce religion to an empty and unmeaning name, or to supplant it by scepticism and infidelity.

They therefore deem it their bounden duty to *Almighty God*, and to those committed to their charge, to continue their present system of religious instruction; and they hereby declare, that it is their determined purpose, to the utmost of their power to maintain the same inviolate.

At a meeting of heads of houses and proctors in the delegates' room, May 2, 1834;

A declaration, signed by members of the university "immediately connected with the instruction and discipline of the place," and a subsequent declaration "of approval and concurrence, by others, members of convocation and bachelors of civil law," having been generally circulated, to which heads or houses felt themselves precluded, in point of form only, from attaching their signatures.

We, whose names are underwritten, declare it to be our deliberate and firm opinion; that a bill now before Parliament, "*To remove certain disabilities which prevent some classes of his Majesty's subjects from resorting to the universities of England, and proceeding to degrees therein*," will, if it pass into a law, violate our legal and prescriptive rights; subvert the system of religious instruction and discipline, so long and so beneficially exercised by us; and, by dissolving the union between the university and the church of England, will impair the efficiency, and endanger the security of both.

George Rowley, D.D., Master of University, and Vice-Chancellor.

Martin Joseph Routh, D.D., President of Magdalen.

George William Hall, D.D., Master of Pembroke.

Henry Foulkes, D.D., Principal of Jesus.

Richard Jenkyns, D.D., Master of Balliol.

John Collyer Jones, D.D., Rector of Exeter.

Ashurst Turner Gilbert, D.D., Principal of Brasen-nose.

Thomas Edward Bridges, D.D., President of Corpus.

Anthony Grayson, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund Hall.

James Ingram, D.D., President of Trinity.

John Fox, D.D., Provost of Queen's.

Edward Hacking, D.D., Provost of Oriel.

Philip Wynter, D.D., President of St. John's.

John Antony Cramer, D.D., Principal of New Inn Hall.

Thomas Gaisford, D.D., Dean of Ch. Ch.

Benjamin Parson Symons, D.D., Warden of Wadham.

Edward Cardwell, D.D., Principal of St. Alban Hall.

Reen Dickson Hampden, D.D., Principal of St. Mary Hall.

John David Macbride, D.C.L., Principal of Magdalen Hall.

Robert Marsham, D.C.L., Warden of Merton.

James Hardwicke Dyer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity, Senior Proctor.

William Harding, M.A., Fellow of Wadham, Junior Proctor.

Now, Messieurs parsons, in the first place, what "*prescriptive*" rights have you to any thing appertaining to these universities? Prescriptive means independent of *written law*: and all *decisions of courts of law*; and you have no rights not given you by *written law*: yours is a church and religion and worship "*established by LAW*," and standing solely on *acts of Parliament*. You have nothing *prescriptive*; you have no more *prescriptive* right to any thing in the universities than the *Dissenters* have, and you are as much *Dissenters* from the ancient church of England as they are; and, as to the *supremacy*, you are *more Dissenters* than they are.

But, yours is the *true religion*. You believe that the gospel of Christ is the guide to salvation; that that gospel is to be taken according to the interpretation of the church of Christ in the *best of times*; and, "in your *conscience*" you believe that the church of England, as *settled* at the Reformation, is like that church of Christ in the *best of times*! Indeed!

Perhaps, it may be as well, since you rely so much upon this *settling*, for me to tell the public, not one but of a thousand of whom knows any thing at all of the matter, and I question whether the greater part of you do, HOW this *settling* took place. Henry the Eighth and his dear boy Edward, having taken

the monasteries, hospitals, and even the charters and the endowments of the guilds, into their hands *by act of Parliament*, and having distributed this immense mass of property, together with a large part of the tithes, amongst the lay aristocracy, the latter (the dear boy) and his Parliament proceeded to make, *by law*, the present church; proceeded to *settle* the church of Christ; and the manner in which they *settled* it was as follows:

By act of Parliament, second and third Edward VI. chap. I. it was declared, that certain learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of the realm had, "*by the aid of the Holy Ghost*," formed and composed a *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*. The act then goes on to order, that nobody shall use any other form of prayer than this, on pain of imprisonment for six months for the first offence, twelve months for the second offence, and *for life* for the third offence. Then there were the same punishments for any who should dare, by *mock "plays, farces, songs, or tunes, deprave the Book of Common Prayer"*!

Thus it was "*settled*"; but not for a long time; for the holy boy died at the end of about five years, not however before he and his Parliaments had passed the most *barbarous*, the most *savage* laws ever then heard of in the world; and this too for the purpose of compelling the unwilling people to submit to this new religion and to use this *BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*. The people resisted by open force in several places; they complained of the plunder that had been committed on the poor, and a pretty formidable insurrection had broken out in Devonshire. LORN RUSSELL (the founder of the Bedford family) was sent against them with an army of *hired Germans*! He defeated and dispersed, or put them to death; and the priest, who was their leader, *he hanged, in his clerical vestments, on the top of a steeple of one of the churches of Exeter*! This, and the like of this, "*settled*" the thing so far; but whether "*according to the best times of the church of Christ*," I must leave my readers to judge.

Not "settled" for a long time however; for Saint Edward's barbarous reign was brought to a close by his death, at the end of about five years. Then came his sister MARY; and then what did the "settlers" do? Why, by act of Parliament (first and second MARY, chap. VIII.) they **ANULISHED** THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, restored the Catholic religion, denominated a **HERESY** that which they had declared THAT THE HOLY GHOST HAD ASSISTED THEM TO DO, received *pardon* and *absolution* from the POPE, through his legate, CARDINAL POLE, and in the most express manner confessed and condemned the horrible act of conferring the *headship of the church on the crown*, that is to say, *uniting the church with the state*!

Here was another "settling," then! But, let the reader bear in mind, that this was the Parliament; the same Commons generally; and certainly the same Lords; in short, the very same aristocracy, who made the book of Common Prayer, and who made this church by law. And, let it not be forgotten, that that same Lord RUSSELL, who hanged up the priest in his vestments at Exeter, was one of the most zealous of the servants of Mary!

But, alas! Mary died at the end of another five years; and then came the brutally barbarous old Bess, who had lived a Catholic, who would have a Catholic bishop to crown her, but whose title to the crown was, according to the Catholic religion, *not good*, she being born of Ann Bolyen, while Queen Catherine was alive; and who, therefore, resolved to be a Protestant, to make the nation Protestant, and to assume the *supremacy of the church*.

"Aye," exclaims the reader, but the Parliament, the same aristocracy, the same noble peers, did not submit to chop about again, to be sure! To re-nact the book of Common Prayer, which they had so lately enacted to be a *heresy*; to enact the *headship of the church to be in the crown*; to beg pardon of the Queen for having pardoned, and absolved by the Pope; to call that religion idolatrous to which they

had so lately, and so solemnly vowed fidelity; and to support this impudent, unprincipled and savage woman, in compelling her people to become apostates to the religion of their fathers, or to slaughter them by soldiers, to gibbet them, rack them, and rip them up alive! The noble aristocracy of England did not do this, to be sure! Yes; but THEY DID though (I Elizabeth, cap. I. and II.); and they and this woman of bloody deeds, thus, by halters, axe, gibbets, racks, and martial-law, "settled" the church of England, at the Reformation." And these Oxford parsons believe "in their consciences," that this was a settlement "according to the best times of the church of Christ!"

There are other parts of this "declaration" well worthy of remark; but I shall confine myself to a word or two, in their being moved, on this occasion, by "a sense of duty to Almighty God, and to those committed to their charge." As to the first, I will say nothing; but, as to the second, look at the pluralities, look at the non-residence, look at the starving curates; and then say, what is their sense of duty to those committed to their charge! But, the following article will show, that the time for stuff like this is gone by.

"CHURCH IN DANGER."

A VERY curious and interesting scene has just taken place in London. The Dissenters, justly impatient at the sluggish proceedings of the Ministers, and dissatisfied with the inefficiency, or rather, *delusiveness*, of their measure relative to Church Reform, are beginning to proclaim an *open breach* with them. In this state of things a meeting of Dissenters has been held in London, and Lord DUNHAM, son-in-law of Lord GRAY, was in the chair! The speeches were many, and very long: too long for me to insert them here; but, the resolutions I here insert; and to them I shall add an observation or two. These resolutions should be read with attention; and particularly the second.

At the twenty-third annual meeting of "The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," held at the City of London Tavern, on 17. of May, 1834,

The Right Hon. the Earl of DURHAM in the Chair;

It was unanimously resolved,

1. That this society, including hundreds of congregations in England and Wales, cherish with unabated regard their attachment to the great principles of religious freedom; and that, neither enervated by past successes, nor appalled by continued opposition, they will persevere in wise and just endeavours to develop their importance, to remove objections, and to promote their progress; till, in their native country, and throughout the world, their triumph shall be universal and complete.

2. That, enlightened by reasoning, and instructed by experience, this society will, again and aloud, proclaim their conviction, that religion will most beneficially flourish where it receives only voluntary support, and that all compulsory and extorted contributions rather stunt its growth—deform its loveliness—and embitter its fruit, than assist a blessing essential to social happiness—pre-eminently useful to mankind—and acceptable to God: and that, in the avowal of these sentiments, they would distinctly disclaim, in language most positive, and with sincerity most profound, any design or desire to obtain for themselves the exclusive privileges, or state revenues of existing establishments, which, even if proffered and available, they would reject with disdain.

3. That while this society announces principles whose eventual prevalence will uproot forever wretched superstitions—persecuting selfishness—tyrannous obstruction on the rights of conscience—and many an hypocritical abuse—they cannot overlook the peculiar and practical grievances by which the vast body of Dissenters are in this country oppressed; nor can they conceal their utter disappointment and regret that adequate and prompt relief has not been supplied or anticipated by an administration to whom they were truly attached—many of whose illustrious members have presided in this room at the meetings of this society, and who have achieved in the great cause of freedom and reform, victories which the present generation gratefully acknowledge, and posterity can never forget.

4. That such disappointment and regret are aggravated by their high expectations from the patriotism and justice of several members of the Government—by their persuasion that a great majority of the Commons' House of Parliament would have supported cheerfully any liberal constitutional proposal—by their loyal reliance on the grace and goodness of a Sovereign, during whose reign parliamentary reform has been hastened—and by a real confidence that no church or body in the state would, or could, have withheld the reasonable redress of wrongs claimed by millions of the people—if those claims had received from the

Government generous, cordial, and decided support.

5. That this society concur with "The United Committee for the Redress of those Grievances," and to which they belong—and with the multitudes of congregations, and of wise, well-informed, unambitious, peaceful, and holy men, who have urged those grievances on public attention—in a reprobation of the ill-judged Marriage Bill submitted to Parliament; and of the church-rate commutation proposed by Lord Althorp, and which they deem an evil rather than a benefit, and must decline and oppose; and that they instruct their committee, with unslumbering energy, and undiminished perseverance, to make every proper exertion to prevent the success of that measure—to obtain an early abrogation of their grievances, and of all the wrongs that yet annoy and degrade them—and to diffuse throughout all classes of the country accurate knowledge of the principles and utilities of religious freedom, and of the sad and widespread evils which existing abuses create, and which the perfect prevalence of religious freedom alone can correct or destroy.

6. That, though attentive to their own peculiar affairs, this society would not allow them to neglect their exclusive attention—but would generally recommend that all the members, as well as the committee, should exert their parliamentary influence to banish intolerance in every form from our eastern empire and colonial possessions—to remove all civil disabilities from the British Jews—to ensure to the hundreds of thousands of emancipated Negroes, the blessings of education and moral and religious knowledge—and earnestly to promote that wise and benevolent appropriation of the tithes of Ireland, which may conciliate her people, may lessen their calamities, and may form an excellent and splendid example for imitation and praise.

7. That the following ministers and gentlemen of different denominations constitute the committee of the society, with power to add to their numbers, and appoint all other officers:

Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D.

Rev. W. B. Collyer, D.D.

Rev. George Collinson.

Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D.

Rev. Alexander Fletcher, A. M.

Rev. Thomas Jackson.

Rev. John Lewis.

Rev. Thomas Russell, A. M.

Rev. John Styles, D.D.

Mr. Edward Ashby.

J. B. Brown, Esq., LL.D.

William Bateman, Esq.

James Esdaile, Esq.

Martin Prior, Esq.

Thomas Wilson, Esq.

Matthew Wood, Esq., M.P.

John Wills, Esq., M.P.

J. Broadley Wilson, Esq.

James Young, Esq.

And that most cordial thanks be presented

to those members of the committee who have heretofore rendered their assistance, for the combination of zeal and prudence they have long and usefully displayed.

8. That this meeting embrace with gladness an opportunity to renew their acknowledgments to John Wilks, Esq., M.P., the Honorary Secretary to this society from its formation, for his continued interest in its welfare, and dedication of his time and talents to its affairs, and especially for his parliamentary exertions to obtain returns of the church-rates, to introduce and pass the act for exempting places of worship from rates, and to bring before the legislature and the country the imperfections and injustice of our parochial registration, of which now the nation as well as Dissenters complain; and that he be assured of the confidence and gratitude which his arduous and useful labours every where and justly excite.

9. That this society discharge with cheerfulness their debt of gratitude to all the members of both Houses of Parliament who have presented their petitions and advocated their cause, but especially would express their obligations to the Right Hon. J. Abercrombie, M.P., Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., H. Lambton, Esq., M.P., E. J. Stanley, Esq., M.P., R. Wason, Esq., M.P., the Right Hon. C. Tennyson, M.P., and any other gentlemen who have favoured them by their attendance at this meeting, and afforded anew a most acceptable pledge, that religious liberty will find always in them consistent and devoted friends.

DURHAM, Chairman.

10. That last, but most willingly, the society express their grateful delight that the Right Hon. the Earl of Durham has presided at this meeting, and they profit eagerly by the occasion to apprise him of the general admiration and attachment he has won, not merely by high rank and eminent talent, but by his exertions in the cause of reform, by his liberal principles he has ever avowed, by his frequent and spontaneous interpositions on behalf of Dissenters, and by the sacrifices he must have made to increase the welfare of the people, and to promote knowledge, freedom, and happiness, throughout the land.

Lord DURHAM did not *speech*, till at the close; and, then he let out the purpose for which he was there! He besought the Dissenters not to press the question of "*separation of church and state*!" In short he was there to coax the Dissenters not to drive the Ministers to the wall on this vital point! His reasoning in favour of *church and state* was unworthy of the name. It proceeded upon *false grounds*. It was *childish*; and it could mislead nobody; and, it, would not have had even this

much of notice from me, had it not contained one passage, truly characteristic of a WILK; that is to say, at once *stupid* and *spiteful*. This passage is worthy of my notice; and the next Register shall contain a *letter from me* to this haughty and very spiteful person. I will see whether I cannot beat into his head what "*church and state*" means, of which he seems to have, at present, but a very rude notion.

In the mean while do let us hear what that poor old devil, the CHRONICLER, has to say upon the subject. If I could have doubted before, this old soul would have removed my doubt, that it was *CONTRIVED* to get Lord Durham to this meeting, in order to coax the Dissenters *not to push the Ministers*. Pray, readers, do go through the old soul's article, and laugh with me to see how he is *puzzled*. Pay attention to the words that I have marked by *italics*.

The annual meeting of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty,—an old association of Metropolitan Dissenters,—was held at the City of London Tavern, on Saturday. Lord DURHAM presided. The proceedings of the meeting were, under present circumstances, highly important. Several distinguished members of the House of Commons, and many Dissenting deputies attended. The resolutions passed on this occasion were *practical*, *decisive*, and *moderate*; and we do not doubt that the sentiments expressed by several gentlemen who addressed the numerous and respectable assemblage present, will have great influence in the country. We have already sufficiently expressed our deep regret that Ministers had not proposed cabinet measures of adequate redress of the remaining grievances of the Dissenters; but the attitude of the Dissenters,—their acknowledged and formidable power,—and the discussions in Parliament must secure them *full relief in the next session*. In the meanwhile, excepting on the question of church-rates, Ministers have explicitly admitted the claims of the Dis-

"sents. The University Bill of Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD, and the Parochial Registration Bill of Mr. WILLIAM BROOKMAN, are now before Parliament. We therefore hope that the Dissenters will, for the present, rest on their original practical demands, and content themselves with their declaratory opinions on the important and critical question of the *alliance between church and state*. Of the truth of the great principle of Protestant dissent, that the connexion between religion and the civil power is inconsistent with Christianity, few enlightened persons can entertain a doubt. But in this country a church establishment is *interwoven with the whole frame-work of society*. The separation of church and state involves prejudice and difficulties of no common magnitude. *Public opinion is not ripe* for any practical project, however useful the discussion of the subject; and indeed no substantial proposition has been brought forward for the *practical severance of the church from its state connexion*. A premature and inpolitic den and by the Dissenters would inevitably lead to divisions and schisms among themselves,—it would much retard that reformation of *the abuses of the church* which must *precede its separation from the state*,—it might politically sever the Dissenters from political union with the liberal portion of the church laity, and it would unquestionably tend to *strengthen the church* at a moment when important measures are pending for the practical abolition of many grievous abuses. This decided expression of our opinion *may be unpopular* with some part of the Dissenters and possibly misinterpreted; but we know that we speak the calm opinions of numerous and influential classes of their body, and we should disdain to purchase their good-will at the expense of their best interests. Lord DURHAM, with his characteristic integrity and moral courage, enforced on Saturday similar sentiments; and at the same time that his Lordship exposed himself to

"Tory obloquy and the calumnies of the High Church party by presiding at the meeting, he honourably counselled the Dissenters, and boldly stated his views of their real policy. We think his arguments on the inexpediency of raising the question of separation *unanswerable*, and they come with peculiar force from a nobleman who so eminently possesses the confidence of the Reformers, and whose devotion to the cause of civil freedom cannot be suspected. If the Dissenters can wholly remove their civil disabilities, and secure equal civil rights for all practical purposes,—*IF the abominations of the tithe system of England and Wales can be destroyed, IF pluralities and non-residence can be abolished,—the bishops reduced and equalized,—the Spiritual Lords relieved from the burden of their legislative duties,—the surplus revenues of the establishment in England and Ireland be appropriated to useful national objects,—IF the working clergy become liberalised, and more efficient in their sacred calling*, much will be achieved, and the time will come when religion may be *relieved from the encumbrance of its state alliance*. Education and knowledge, however, must be more diffused and perfected, and many political changes be effected, before the hierarchy will give way. If, however, the clergy and the House of Lords oppose themselves to the spirit of the age, very few years will elapse before the complete subversion of the church establishment. The state clergy must begin to discern *that they are not essential* to the support of religion and morality, that the voluntary principle of Protestant dissent can supply their places, and that an obstinate adhesion to abuses has brought to a timely end every church establishment in christendom. If the Church falls it will be from its own weaknesses. We perceive that the old alarmists are at work; the cry of "Church in danger" may amuse the parsons, but will no longer impose on the country, or influence a reformed House of Commons. These

"are not times in which fanatic peers or interested ecclesiastics can delude the people with false pretences. No administration which will not apply itself boldly to church reform can endure six months."

Well, now, what shall I say about this? It really is so good, that I know not what to say. It goes so much farther than I ever went, and calls itself "moderate" too! Bishops to be put out of the House of Lords! Ah! it will all be, as sure as this is paper upon which I am writing! The parsons, who used to take up men, and send them to jail, in 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, for selling my *Register*, will now have something else to do! They will taste the fruits of the war, which they urged on for twenty-two years, against "Jacobins and levellers." It is the Devil that works them: the money-monster is gaping for their temporalities, and, therefore, the Dissenters are formidable.

Certainly "no Ministry can stand," as the old soul says, who will not apply themselves boldly to church reform, and that means taking away the lands, and houses and tithes from the church, and, what a fool any man, who wishes to remain a Minister, must be, not to do it at once! "Tories!" what can Tories, or what can any body do, when the whole nation (for so it is) is bent upon doing the thing? However, here is enough at present. I must say more in my letter to Lord DUNHAM, who does not seem to perceive, that the Dissenters flatly deny all the premises, from which he draws his conclusions. I should not dare to comment on a speech of this man, if made in "another place": but, finding him at a tavern, I shall make rather free with him.

NEW. POOR-LAW.

The accompanying letter was sent to the *Morning Chronicle* on Saturday last, and refused insertion, on the ground "that it contained no points." If Mr. Cobbett thinks that there are points

enough in the letter to indicate that there is a difference between the supporters of the Anglo-Saxon institutions, and those who deny that our forefathers had any institutions worth preserving, he will perhaps give it insertion in the *Register*.

G. R.

To Mr. Cobben, M. P.

(To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*).

SIR,—In your leading article of this morning, you have chosen to volunteer an opinion respecting the effect that the conduct of Colonel Evans and Sir Samuel Whalley, in opposing, and that of Mr. Grote and Mr. Clay, in supporting, the "Poor-Law Amendment Bill," may produce on the minds of their constituents, and you venture to express your firm conviction that the two former will not gain, or the two latter lose, the support of a single vote, by the line they are taking on this question.

I do not know that it is within the legitimate province of an editor of a newspaper to influence members of Parliament by this sort of assertion, but I do know that if the editor, who attempts it, has not formed a very correct opinion, he may lead a representative to very erroneous conclusions; and I am satisfied that, in this instance, you are in error. My acquaintance with reformers of all sorts, is pretty extensive, and I am morally certain that the old Radicals will never again vote for those who have given their support to this bill, be their pretensions in other respects what they may.

The truth is, that this bill is "worm-wood and gall" to the old Radicals, who, to a man, are supporters of the ancient constitutional self-government of the people in all local matters. They view this bill as another "giant step" towards the introduction of Austrian despotic centralization, and they abhor it accordingly.

I am well aware that the measure has the support of the political economists, or (as they call themselves) philosophical Radicals, but these gentlemen have, by no means the influence that they flatter themselves they have. They may con-

tinued to talk loudly and importantly of their love of "universal suffrage," the "ballot," and other catch words of the party; they may toast "republicanism" at their orgies, till their heads ache; but when it comes to the trial they will find that their sharp and shallow theories will weigh but little with those who have read our ancient constitution with Sir William Jones, John Cartwright, and William Cobbett.

If the Lords allow the *Dominions* by this measure to set at naught the ancient right of the people to local self-government, let them not expect to escape the deadly hatred which those gentlemen have to hereditary distinction. Let them bear in mind that the doctrinaires are the tools of the wealthy capitalists, and that the object of both parties is to swamp the titles and the land of the aristocracy, and suck up the blood and labour of the many, by erecting a sort of monied oligarchy, which they will ludicrously enough call a republic. Now; now is the time to stop them; the reaction is come; the masses of the people are alive to the deception which has been effected by the tax-paying clauses in the Reform Act. The composition of the present House of Commons is estimated at its precise value. Let the Lords declare for the ancient national and local rights of industry, for open and responsible corporations, for open and equal vestries, for the ancient watch and ward; and secure their own station in the state, by throwing out the accursed poor-law project, and the dirty shuffling Whigs along with it.

I am, Sir,

your obedient servant,

G. W. ROGERS.

High street, St. Giles's,
May 16, 1831

GREAT COUNTY TITHE MEETING AT BARHAM DOWNS, ON MONDAY.

(From a Special Edition of the *London Gazette*.)

Pursuant to a requisition to the High Sheriff of Kent, numerous and

respectably signed, a county meeting, for the eastern division of Kent, was held yesterday (Monday), at Barham Downs, near Canterbury. It was very numerous attended by the yeomanry and principal agriculturists; it was computed to the number of 3,000. Most of the county gentlemen were present, as well as the two members for the eastern division of Kent. About half-past twelve, the High Sheriff having opened the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting, and hoping that a patient hearing would be given to all parties on this occasion,

Sir HENRY MORCAISON, in a brief address, stated that he would present a petition for the acceptance of the meeting, having for its object the settlement of the tithe question, on fair and equitable principles.

EDWARD RICE, Esq. in seconding the petition, entered at considerable length into the details of Lord Althorp's bill, the main principles of which met with his concurrence, but there were some details which he considered required amendment. He particularly specified the clause relating to the average rate of tithes as respected the county district. He would propose that an average of the whole amount, for all the counties of England, should be taken. At present, as Kent paid the highest rate, it would be more heavily tithe'd than other counties.

The petition, embodying these sentiments, was then read by the High Sheriff; and it was about to be put to the show of hands, when

Sir WILLIAM COSWAY rose and said, that as he agreed in the principle of the bill, which went to take the burden of tithes from the occupier and place it on the landowner, he would not move an amendment on Mr. Rice's proposition, but he thought that the twenty-five years' purchase was too high a ratio, and instead of that he would prefer to see substituted twenty years' purchase for the redemption. He would also require that no tithe should be paid where there was no resident minister; and he would compel every resident minister to support a school for the education of

the poor. The septennial revaluation he was altogether opposed to. He understood that the petition now proposed emanated from a portion of the East Kent Agricultural Union. (A laugh). He begged pardon, Association he meant. (Cries of "It is a Union"). He understood from the public papers, that a schism had arisen in the association (a voice, "Union"); a portion had resolved on the petition now read, and he wished to hear the objections, if any, which the other portion (the high Tory party) had to the petition or to the bill. (A pause). He was sorry that these gentlemen would not state their objection.

Mr. RICE said he did not now belong to the association, and that the petition was not to be understood as coming from that body.

EDWARD HUGHES, Esq., of Smesth House, then rose and said, that he did not consider the bill of Lord Althorp, even with the amendments proposed by Mr. Rice, would afford sufficient relief to the agriculturists. (Loud cries of hear, hear). He said that the skill, capital, and the industry of the farmer would still be too highly taxed—that the tithe would still exist as a burden. (Cries of, It will). It was not the original intention of tithes, that the tenth of the produce raised by modern improvements, and by the application of capital, should go for the sole support of the ministers of the church. He was a warm friend to the spiritual doctrines of the church, and he would rather, to use the emphatic words of the scriptures, that "his tongue should cleave for ever to the roof of his mouth," than that he should say any thing against the religion of his country. But the question of church emoluments was entirely distinct. (Hear, hear, bravo) He considered that the commutations proposed would leave far too much wealth in the possession of the church, and that they would not operate to relieve the land efficiently. He was himself a practical agriculturist, and he would speak on this point with a certain knowledge of the question. (Loud cries of hear, hear). He considered

that a tenth of the rental of lands, instead of a tenth of produce, was amply sufficient for the church; it was dealing liberally with the church, to put it in the situation of tenth joint-proprietor of the land. (Cheers). He reminded the meeting that a similar proposition had been carried almost by acclamation at a great county meeting held in Devonshire. (Cheers). He was sure that if Devonshire, which was taxed less heavily, required such relief, much more did Kent. (Applause). Mr. Hughes concluded by moving the following resolution, as the basis of a petition to be founded thereon:

Resolved— "That instead of the commutation proposed by the bill now before the lower House of Parliament, this meeting is of opinion that a levy of two shillings in the pound, on the bona fide annual rents, in lieu of, and in substitution for, the tenth of the produce of the soil, which includes the farmer's capital, skill, and industry, would be a more equitable remuneration for tithes, simple in its construction, easy of collection, and more likely to ameliorate the conduct of those interested in agriculture, than the complicated plans proposed for that purpose."

The petition was as follows:

"To the honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled;

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners have long laboured under the evils inflicted by the tithe-system, as at present established, which, operating as a grievous tax upon skill, industry, and capital, has, in addition to other burdens, caused a weight of distress upon the agriculturists, altogether insupportable, and which imperatively calls for prompt and efficacious relief. That your petitioners having fully considered the difficulties attending a commutation or redemption of the tithe, have come to the conclusion, that the most eligible, the easiest, and most satisfactory plan would be, to substitute for that impost a payment of two shillings in the pound sterling on the rental of land, conceiving that a tithe of the rental in lieu of a tithe of the produce

would be amply sufficient for the support of the church establishment, which is now possessed of most unscriptural and injurious superfluity of wealth and emoluments.

"Your petitioners therefore pray that your honourable House will forthwith proceed to abolish the present system of tithe, and substitute for it the payment herein proposed."

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

The petition to the Commons was entirely similar.

The resolution was seconded by James Fife, Esq., of Harbledown, who said that he fully concurred in the views of the mover. (Applause). The bill and the alterations, proposed by Mr. Rice, were complicated, and would not effectually take off the burden from agriculture. By Mr. Hughes' proposition the church would still possess ample revenues. (Cheers). The resolution was then put to a show of hands, and carried by a large majority.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, M.P., rose with some warmth to express his astonishment that such a proposal should have been entertained favourably by the meeting. (A laugh). He did not think that the meeting understood what they had voted for. (Uproar and hisses.)

Mr. HUGHES expressed his willingness to have the question again put to the meeting, which, after some further altercation, was accordingly done, and carried in the affirmative by a yet larger majority.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL again declared that he could not, and would not, support the petition. (Disapprobation)

GEORGE GIFFS, Esq. (a large tithe-owner), with considerable asperity, commented on the proposition of Mr. Hughes, but encountered great disapprobation from the meeting. He would insist on it that the petition founded on the resolution should be also put, that he might hold up his hand against it. An attempt was here apparently made by the Tory party and the original petitioners to prevent the petition of Mr. Hughes from being signed by the High Sheriff, when Sir William Cosway rose,

and said though he was not favourable to that petition, he would insist on fair play towards the meeting. (Bravo, and loud cheers). The resolution had been fairly put; it had even been twice put; there was no mistake; such was the decision of the meeting. He was sorry to see something like a trick attempted by the gentlemen in the wagons on his left (occupied by the Tory party and Mr. Rice's friends). (Bravo).

Alderman COOPER rose, and with great animation commented on the conduct of Sir Edward Knatchbull, and some other gentlemen. He said that the freeholders of Kent had been grossly insulted by him and them. (Loud and continued cheering). The meeting had fully discussed and fairly decided the question. The trick that was attempted was infamous. (Cheers and uproar).

Mr. RICE explained, and the High Sheriff put the petition, founded on the resolution of Mr. Hughes, to the show of hands.

It was carried amid loud acclamations by a yet larger majority than either of the previous showings on the resolution.

It was next moved that the petition to the House of Peers should be presented by Lord Sondes, and that to the House of Commons by the members for the eastern division of Kent.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL was understood to say that he was opposed to Lord Althorp's bill, but still more so to the present petition. (Disapprobation). He would present, but could not support it.

J. B. PLUMPTRE, Esq., said that he thought the meeting would have had greater confidence in the Ministry and reform Parliament. (Uproar, cries of Not half reformed; a pretty set). He was always willing to promote the interests of his constituents, but he could not support the petition of the present meeting. (Cries of Resign, resign; you want to represent yourself).

The HIGH SHERIFF stated that the petition was indisputably carried, and declared that the meeting was dissolved.

Very great interest was felt on this occasion, it being the first county meeting ever held at East Kent; and much disappointment seems to be felt by the aristocracy at the proceedings. They are endeavouring to get up private petitions among the country under their influence.

PRESIDENT JACKSON.

I INSERT below a portion of this great man's PROTEST against the vote of the Senate. The whole of the protest is an unanswerable defence of the conduct which he has pursued with regard to the monster of paper-money. I take the conclusion of it from the *New York Evening Post*.

The dangerous tendency of the doctrine which denies to the President the power of supervising, directing, and removing the secretary of the treasury, in like manner with the other executive officers, would soon be manifest in practice, were the doctrine to be established. The President is the direct representative of the American people, but the secretaries are not. If the secretary of the treasury be independent of the President in the execution of the laws, then is there no direct responsibility to the people in that important branch of this Government, to which is committed the care of the national finances. And it is in the power of the Bank of the United States, or any other corporation, body of men or individuals, if a secretary shall be found to accord with them in opinion, or can be induced in practice to promote their views, to control, through him, the whole action of the Government, (so far as it is exercised by his department), in defiance of the chief magistrate, elected by the people, and responsible to them.

But the evil tendency of the particular doctrine adverted to, though sufficiently serious, would be as nothing in comparison with the pernicious consequences which would inevitably flow from the approbation and allowance by the people, and the practice by the Se-

nate of the unconstitutional power of arraigning and censuring the official conduct of the executive, in the manner recently pursued. Such proceedings are eminently calculated to unsettle the foundation of the Government; to disturb the harmonious action of its different departments; and to break down the checks and balances by which the wisdom of its framers sought to ensure its stability and usefulness.

The honest differences of opinion which occasionally exist between the Senate, in regard to matters in which both are obliged to participate, are sufficiently embarrassing. But if the course recently adopted by the Senate shall hereafter be frequently pursued, it is not only obvious that the harmony of the relations between the President and the Senate will be destroyed, but that other and graver effects will ultimately issue. If the censures of the Senate be submitted to by the President, the confidence of the people in his ability and virtue, and the character and usefulness of his administration, will soon be at an end, and the real power of the Government will fall into the hands of a body, holding their offices for long terms, not elected by the people, and not to them directly responsible. If, on the other hand, the illegal censures of the Senate should be resisted by the President, collisions and angry controversies might ensue, discreditable in their progress, and in the end compelling the people to adopt the conclusion, either that their chief magistrate was unworthy of their respect, or that the Senate was chargeable with calumny and injustice. Either of these results would impair public confidence in the perfection of the system, and lead to serious alterations of its frame work, or to the practical abandonment of some of its provisions.

The influence of such proceedings on the other departments of the Government, and more especially on the States, could not fail to be extensively pernicious. When the judges in the last resort of official misconduct, themselves overleap the bounds of their authority, as prescribed by the constitution, what

general disregard of its provisions might not their example be expected to produce? And who does not perceive that such contempt of the federal constitution, by one of its most important departments, would hold out the strongest temptation to resistance on the part of the State sovereignties, whenever they shall suppose their just rights to have been invaded? Thus all the independent departments of the Government, and the States which compose our confederated union, instead of attending to their appropriate duties, and leaving those who may offend to be reclaimed or punished in the manner pointed out in the constitution, would fall to mutual crimination and recrimination, and give to the people, confusion and anarchy, instead of order and law; until at length some form of aristocratic power would be established on the ruins of the constitution, or the States be broken into separate communities.

Far be it from me to charge, or to insinuate, that the present Senate of the United States in the most distant way, to encourage such a result. It is not of their motives or designs, but only of the tendency of their acts, that it is my duty to speak. It is, if possible, to make senators themselves sensible of the danger which lurks under the precedent set in their resolution: and at any rate to perform my duty, as the responsible head of one of the co-equal departments of the Government, that I have been compelled to point out the consequences to which the discussion and passage of the resolution may lead, if the tendency of the measure be not checked in its inception.

It is due to the high trust with which I have been charged; to those who may be called to succeed me in it; to the representatives of the people, whose constitutional prerogative has been unlawfully assumed to the people and to the States, and to the constitution they have established; that I should not permit its provisions to be broken down by such an attack on the executive department, without at least some effort "to preserve, protect, and defend" them. With this view, and for the reasons

which have been stated, I do hereby solemnly protest against the aforementioned proceedings of the Senate; as unauthorized by the constitution; contrary to its spirit and to several of its express provisions; subversive of that distribution of the powers of government which it has ordained and established; destructive of the checks and safeguards by which those powers were intended; on the one hand to be controlled, and on the other to be protected; and calculated by their immediate and collateral effects, by their character and tendency, to concentrate in the hands of a body not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties, and fatal to the constitution of their choice.

The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as upon my public character; and as it must stand for ever on their journals I cannot close this substitute for that defence which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking, that I have lived in vain, if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person, enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased, in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life, in defence of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration, or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt. If any serious duties can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I should have sought an alliance with that powerful institution, which even now aspires to the divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs; had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the first of youth, nor in the vigour of manhood, could

find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty; and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honoured, and usurpers atone their crimes. The only ambition I can feel is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honoured in the history of my country. No; the ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to return to the people unimpaired the sacred trust they have confided to my charge, to heal the wounds of the constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protected; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all, and granting favours to none; dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a Government that the genius of our people requires, such an one only under which our States may remain for ages to come, united, prosperous and free. If the Almighty Being who has hitherto sustained and protected me, will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief that I have contributed, in some small degree, to increase the value and prolong the duration of American liberty.

To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent, with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the executive department; and to the end, also, that my motives and views in the executive proceedings denounced in that resolution, may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this

message and protest may be entered at length on the journals of the Senate.

ANDREW JACKSON.

April 15, 1834.

CONGRESS, MONDAY, APRIL 21. — In the Senate the following message explanatory of the protest transmitted on the 27. instant, was received from the President of the United States, and read.
To the Senate of the United States :

Having reason to believe that certain passages contained in my message and protest transmitted to the Senate on the 17. instant, may be misunderstood, I think it proper to state, that it was not my intention to deny in the said message, the power and right of the legislative department, to provide by law for the custody, safe keeping, and disposition of the public money and property of the United States.

Although I am well satisfied that such a construction is not warranted by any thing contained in that message, yet aware, from experience, that detached passages of an argumentative document, when disconnected from their context, and considered without reference to previous limitations, and the particular positions they were intended to refute or to establish, may be made to bear a construction, varying altogether from the sentiments really entertained and intended to be expressed; and deeply solicitous that my views on this point, should not, either now or hereafter be misapprehended, I have deemed it due to the gravity of the subject, to the great interests it involves, and to the Senate, as well as to myself, to embrace the earliest opportunity to make this communication.

I admit, without reserve, as I have before done, the constitutional power of the Legislature to prescribe, by law, the place or places in which the public money or other property is to be deposited, and to make such regulations concerning its custody, removal, or disposition, as they may think proper to enact. Nor do I claim for the executive any right to the possession or disposition of the public property or treasure, or any authority to interfere with

the same, except when such possession, disposition, or authority, is given to him by law. Nor do I claim the right in any manner to supervise or interfere with the person intrusted with such property or treasure, unless he be an officer whose appointment is, under the constitution and laws, devolved upon upon the President, alone, or in conjunction with the Senate, and for whose conduct he is constitutionally responsible.

As the message and protest referred to may appear on the journals of the Senate, and remain among the recorded documents of the nation, I am unwilling that opinions should be imputed to me, even through misconstruction which I do not entertain, and more particularly am I solicitous that I may not be supposed to claim for myself, or my successors, any power or authority not clearly granted to the President by the constitution and laws. I have therefore respectfully to request that this communication may be considered a part of that message; and that it may be entered therewith on the journals of the Senate.

ANDREW JACKSON.

21. April, 1834.

Mr. Poindexter moved to lay this message on the table; and added that he would send to the chair certain resolutions as a modification of his original motion that the message containing the protest be not received.

BRIEF REVIEW OF GENERAL JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

(From the Globe.)

The friends of democratic principles had seen, with much regret, during the administrations of Mr. Monroe, and especially of Mr. Adams, various departures from the doctrines and practices of Mr. Jefferson.

Many measures could be enumerated, the tendency of which, they feared, was to turn the vessel of state from her republican tack; and they resolutely united and vigorous effort to place in the executive chair, a man who, from early youth, even in boyhood, to the support of

the revolution, whose sacrifices and sufferings in mature age, to shield our wives and children from the Indian scalping-knife, and our cities from British conflagration, gave pledges enough of love to his country; and whose able discharge of civil duties, on the bench and in the Senate, had made manifest a powerful intellect, and developed principles dear to the democracy of the union.

They trusted in these, and not in blustering promises. They confided in what his life and his deeds had pledged; and not in words. Let us see if they have been deceived.

What have been the leading features of General Jackson's Administration at home? what abroad?

For these, we will look to history and legislative records, to important measures and mathematical facts, and not to the denunciations of hireling brawlers, or to the heated declamation and general abuse of virulent politicians.

First, at home, it will be found that in the construction of the constitution he has strenuously endeavoured to bring back the administration to what it was under Mr. Jefferson, by disclaiming enlarged and doubtful powers, and attempting to enforce the views, which chiefly distinguished the fathers of the democratic faith. Hence his veto on the Maysville road bill, checking that broad grasp of power and extravagant waste of the public money, which for some years had been insidiously destroying some of the most striking landmarks between the old division of parties. His veto on the Bank was another bold and honest effort to recall the administration at home to the path of safety and of the constitution, as expounded by Jefferson and Clinton. His uniform and useful recommendations to exercise the protecting power, conferred under the constitution, in collecting taxes and regulating commerce, so as to give due encouragement to important manufactures, without neglect of the interests of agriculture and commerce, have done more to pacify conflicting claims and rival pretensions for legislative aid, than the ultra partisans of either side are willing,

or are expected, ever to admit; but which the calm good sense of the majority of his countrymen have duly appreciated, and which posterity will admire as much as his bravery and prudence in the tested field. It was, in fact, he who stayed the storm; he, whose influence reconciled the din of war between the opposing forces of free trade on the one hand, and high protection on the other, and who, by his coolness and firmness, successfully urged them to course, on this subject, in perfect accordance with the condition of the country as to revenue, and a fair construction of the constitutional powers conferred on the general Government. The eventual settlement of the tariff question, in a form somewhat different and embarrassing, was still a settlement, which in its spirit, met his approbation, and will tend, it is hoped, to perpetuate the union, to the preservation of which, he has contributed so largely.

The second great feature in his policy at home has been the security of the union. This has been effected by seeking to remove just cause of complaint on the part of several of the States: of Georgia, as to the removal of the Indians; of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama, as to the extinguishment of Indian titles, so as to open the new lands within their limits to new settlers; and of all the south in respect to the unequal operation of the old tariff. These were great acts of policy in relation to the harmony of the union, independent of his proclamation and other measures to suppress nullification and insurrection, and which stand out in bold relief, and have a permanent influence upon the great relations of our happy confederacy. His course in respect to the reduction of the price of our public lands, is another of those important measures of general policy at home, possessing a strong bearing on the strength and harmony of the union. It is not holliday professions for the union, but a series of measures calculated to increase its beneficent influence, and evince its powerful agency in the preservation of public liberty and legitimate state rights, which shows a true attach-

ment, and exercises an abiding power over its future destinies.

In the third place, General Jackson appears to have distinguished his administration by efforts to promote strict accountability—to punish all kinds of official delinquency—to exact a rigid economy in the appropriation and disbursement of the public money, and thus seasonably to discharge the whole of the public debt. New guards against speculation have been introduced—deflected defaulters have been dismissed—and an exorbitant system of allowances, in many cases, either reduced or abolished.

Notwithstanding the grave assertions as to the large expenditures under this administration, compared with that of his predecessor, and the eloquent invectives which even the Senate have listened to on this subject—yet our legislative records disclose a few unvarnished facts on this subject, worthy of some notice, and of long remembrance.

The whole expenditures during Mr. Adams's administration were, it is true, 16,219,338 dollars less than those during General Jackson's first term of office. This has been sounded far and wide, in speeches and newspapers, as an evidence of General Jackson's extravagance, and disregard of the principles of economy and retrenchment he has always professed.

Yet, in looking at the details, it is seen that 12,430,780 dollars of the above sum consist in an excess of money, which he has paid beyond Mr. Adams, in discharge of the national debt! Thus three-fourths of this monstrous extravagance vanishes at once, in relieving the public burdens, by carrying out, as rapidly as possible, the democratic principle of freeing the people from debt and taxation.

Hence, by this high misdemeanor of General Jackson, the farmer can now get his salt at a duty of 10 instead of 20 cents per bushel; his coffee at a duty of 2 instead of 5 cents per pound; his tea free, instead of 20 or 100 cents per pound; his molasses at half the former import per gallon; his sugar and wine at a reduced rate; and many of the other

necessaries, as well as most of the comforts of life, at a much lower duty, and entirely exonerated from any tax whatever.

But in what reckless scheme has he squandered the other four millions of reference?

The sum of 4,625,823 dollars more than Mr. Adams has expended, under the sanction of Congress, under the head of fortifications, arsenals, &c., State claims during the late war, Indian titles, treaties, and pensions.

These include over half a million to Massachusetts herself, and South Carolina, both now violently attacking him through their senators. Large sum for fulfilling Mr. Jefferson's own contract with the western States for the extension of the Cumberland road; and much more for extinguishing Indian titles, and rewarding the decrepit soldiers of the revolution. Recollect, also, that a large part of these measures were of a permanent character, many of them were commenced under former administrations, all of them were approved by both Houses of Congress, and very few of them originated, or were recommended, by the executive, except those in relation to the Indians, and which last have been the means of throwing new lands into market, that will, in due time, remunerate the treasury more than the whole difference of four or five millions.

Here we might, under the head of economy and extravagance, stop in triumph, having shown that the debt paid, and the lands purchased, alone exceed in value the whole difference. But as the opposition has invited and provoked the comparison between the expenditures of the two administrations, we will proceed to state, that on a analysis, it appears that General Jackson, during the above term, expended under the head of foreign intercourse 1,139,332 dollars less than Mr. Adams; and under the head of the navy 1,089,923 dollars less. These expenditures generally depend upon estimates made by the administration, and the appropriations in the main conform to them, and for those the administration is respons-

ble; and here the contrast is striking. But for expenditures under the miscellaneous head; for instance, it is Congress that is chiefly answerable; they seldom depend on executive recommendation or official estimates, and other administrative, is no test of the policy of the President.

But the moment we reach items that emanate from the administration, we find a retrenchment by General Jackson of more than two millions. We find likewise what is of equal moment, and what constitutes a prominent characteristic in his administration abroad, that it has been infinitely more efficient than any which preceded it, although its expenses, connected with that head, have been so much reduced.

Our foreign Ministers have succeeded at every foreign court, in obtaining indemnity for great and long-standing injuries; our agents have visited new courts and formed new and important treaties of commerce with both old and new powers; and our citizens and commerce in the remotest quarters of the world have had the shield of the navy flung over them, and aggressions averted or avenged. Our character has become more widely known and respected. More than eight millions of dollars have been added and recovered to our national capital. The hearts of numberless widows and orphans, as well as of suffering merchants who have survived their misfortunes, have been cheered, though late, and the remainder of their pilgrimage here rendered more smooth and joyous.

We have not only avowed, but acted as if it would hereafter be a national characteristic with Americans, never to submit to wrong, or to demand what was not right.

Not a single claim of importance on any foreign nation now remains unadjusted. This unparalleled position of our happy union, as well as its entire freedom from public debt, will mark this era in the future history of the country.

Nor will it tell any better in the history of the opposition hereafter than it

does now, that they threaten him with invective, though he has accomplished this fortunate result abroad with a diminished expenditure, and has no extravagance in his policy at home except in paying ~~fourteen~~ millions more than his predecessor within the same length of time, towards the discharge of our once burdensome debt.

We think that the occurrences of the last few days have pretty clearly demonstrated that the contest we have just passed through has been a contest of the rich against the poor. No man who does not wilfully shut his eyes to the truth, which is as broad and palpable as the sun at midday, can help seeing that a would-be aristocracy are combined against the labouring men, the mechanics, artisans, farmers, and producing classes of this country. The conduct of the Bank party towards our Irish citizens has been marked by the deepest atrocity. It should be borne in mind that men who are now the objects of their unmeasured denunciations; upon whom all sorts of abuse are now heaped; who are called by every variety of offensive epithet, are the very same men, whom, but a little week ago, they sought to wheedle and cajole by every soft and honeyed phrase; upon whom they lavished every art of blandishment and flattery to win them over to their side; whom they spoke of as honest and patriotic sons of Erin, as "true and warm-hearted adopted fellow-citizens," and as every thing that is good, heroic, and virtuous. What has caused this sudden and prodigious change? What! The very truth which they affected to admire, the very fidelity of which they prated, the very virtue and warm-heartedness which formed such prominent topics in their fulsome panegyrics. The same heated and inflammatory wretches, who, for the base uses of party, could so suddenly elevate "troglodites" and "the scum of the earth" into patriots and heroes, are equally able and ready, failing in their end, to sink them again into "low Jackson Irish,"

"bullies," "ruffians," and every thing else that is vile and low. Had our Irish fellow-citizens consented to go over to the Bank party with Macneven, they would, in the estimation of that party, have still been fine fellows, and patterns of truth and nobleness. There would then have been no need discovered of a marshalled band to keep them in order. It would not then have been found proper to break open the gates of the arsenal, and forcibly seize weapons of death for the sake of quieting them by shedding their blood!

We do most seriously and earnestly hope that prompt and efficient measures will be taken to investigate the transactions of the last three days. And place the odium on the right heads. Our city has been disgraced. Let us know who has cast the blot upon its character. An armed force has been found necessary to protect the arsenal from a set of fierce insurgents. Who were those insurgents, and what was their object? Let the matter be fully and strictly scrutinized.

We implore the authorities to take into their immediate consideration the propriety of placing the arsenal in some situation where it may not be liable to similar assault in future. An example has been set which may be followed hereafter to the imminent hazard of the lives of peaceable citizens. An excitement, like that which animated the infuriated Bank partisans, may seize hold of some future mob, and the way to the arsenal having been thus pointed out, we may find, ere we know there is danger, an armed, ferocious, and half-frantic band of desperadoes thronging the streets and killing peaceable men "to keep them in order." Some future hireling cut-throat of the Bank, or the same one who has already made himself so infamously prominent, if he is suffered this time to escape condign punishment, may recommend to his frenzied followers "to strike a blow for liberty"! Let the authorities look to it. The efforts of the Bank and the Bank's tools are not done. That institution, it is true, has received its death-blow, but much harm may yet be done by its death-struggle.

The hirelings and advocates of a usurping and dangerous monopoly have once shown their readiness to possess themselves of the arms and ammunition deposited in the State Arsenal: let them not have an opportunity to do so again.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE DEVIL,

THEY say, when he finds people idle is sure to set them to work. I wish he would set to work a *quer, mysterious* correspondent of mine, who gives me his name, but not his address; who pesters me for a *package* that he, some weeks ago, put into my hands, without my wishing it, who knows (or ought to know) that it must be in London, and that I cannot send it him till I get there; and who is thus informed, that I will deliver it, or cause it to be delivered, to nobody but *himself*, or to some person bearing *his authority* to receive it. I do not like to have any correspondence with people who have no addresses, and who want me to communicate through *third parties*, whom I do not know, and am, it seems, *not to see*; except, indeed, it be "the *Belle Sauvage*," whom I have no longing to see, having seen that quite often enough to satisfy any man. This is after the fashion of those who live under the *Austrian police*. This is a "*recherche fine*" with the devil to it: much too "*fine*" for me; and I am determined not to *fool away* my time by having any thing to do with it.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at

War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgement, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

DICKINSON, G. J. R. J., Esq., Middlesex, surgeon.

GRAY, M., Kingston-upon-Thames, milliner.

BANKRUPTS.

- BATES, R, Wakefield, Yorkshire, linen-draper.
 BLANCHARD, W., Old Compton-street, Soho, oilman.
 ALISHER, N. J, George-street, Minoried, Jeweller.
 COLE, E, Wells-street, Oxford-street, corn-chandler.
 HINDE, W, Liverpool, drysalter.
 LEGG, R, Exeter, Coal-merchant.
 MANDY, J, Amesbury, Wiltshire, draper.
 MOSCROP, J., Manchester, Junner
 REYNOLDS, J., Manchester, merchant.
 SALTER, J, Poole, twine-manufacturer.
 SAUNDERS, E, Birmingham, tailor.
 TURNER, R. J, Norwich and Catton, money-scrivener.
 TURTON, J., Birmingham, spoon-maker.
 WAKE, M., Wapping, chain-smith.
 WHITEWRONGE, J, Warren, Blandford, Dorsetshire, draper

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

- COMPTON, W, and W. Andrews, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, mercers
 DACHUS, L, Emscote, Warwickshire, cement-manufacturer
 FRANCIS, H., R J Turner, and C. J. West, Norwich, money-scrivener.
 MARIYN, C, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.
 ROBERTSON, W. P, Buenos Ayres, Rio-de-la-Plata, merchant

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

- GREIG, W, Perth, merchant.
 HALL, B, Aberdeen, clothier.
 WELSH, J, Meiklefurthhead and Dalmony-side, Kirkcudbright, cattle-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 19. The supply of Wheat to day from Essex was liberal, but from Kent, and the more distant counties, only moderate. The trade continued to wear a heavy aspect, and millers still refraining from purchasing, except what their immediate wants required, Monday's rates were with difficulty supported; and in some instances, secondary qualities were parted with on rather lower terms. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Malting Barley was nearly unsaleable, unless at the prices of secondary qualities. Distillery and grinding sorts were in request, and the improved rates fully supported.

Malt remains unaltered in price

Oats were in moderate supply, and the demand continuing animated, Friday's rates were fully supported, being 1s. 6d. per qr. dearer than last Monday; and in some instances fine Scotch qualities obtained 2s. per qr. more money. Russian Oats in bond attract attention, for Archangel 11s. is offered, and very superior, 13s.

Beans were in limited supply, and prices evincing a tendency to advance.

Peas very scarce, and to the full as dear.

The Flour trade ruled heavy, and ship marks could only be disposed of by submitting to lower terms.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 45s. to 57s. |
| Rye | —s. to —s. |
| Barley | 22s. to 24s. |
| — fine | 28s. to 30s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Hotters | 32s. to 37s. |
| — Grey | 30s. to 31s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 37s. |
| — Tick | 26s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potatoes | 21s. to 23s. |
| — Feed | 17s. to 19s. |
| Flour, per sack | 41s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 45s. to 100s. |
| — Mena, new | 50s. to 55s. per barrel. |
| Butter, Belfast | 56s. to 70s. per cwt. |
| Carlisle | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Cork | —s. to 62s. |
| Limerick | —s. to 62s. |
| Waterford | 50s. to 70s. |
| Dublin | 44s. to 46s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 19.

In this day's market, which exhibited throughout but a moderate supply, trade was, on account of advanced prices being pretty generally and stiffly demanded, very dull. — Say, with Beef and Mutton at an advance of from 2d to 4d. per stone, with Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at fully Friday's quotations.

About three-fifths of the beasts were Scots, about one-fifth short horns, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh ruuts, and Irish beasts, with about fifty Herefords, as many Sussex beasts, and about the same number of Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About a third of the Sheep were South-Downs, about another third new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, and the remaining third about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolk, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 4,000, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South-Downs, new Leicesters, of mixed crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry casual or incidental crosses.

About 1,500 of the beasts, two thirds at least, were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons and short-horns, with a few home-breds, &c., were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly pointed Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 100, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts, Devons, Irish beasts, &c., from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 23.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. | } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| Cons. Ann. | | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ |

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 24.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, May 31st, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I must once more express my great obligations and my most sincere thanks to those who have been so kind as to send me parcels of the Cobbett-corn for seed. I have this morning opened a box sent me by a kind friend in GUESSEX, who was induced to cultivate this corn, and who had the first seed from me; which box contains about a bushel and a half of ears of the finest corn that I ever set my eyes on. My notification of my want of seed brought me a sufficient quantity almost immediately; indeed, before I could get time by another notification to put a stop to the supply, and my gratification at finding it to have been cultivated in so many parts of England, and with so much success, has been greater than I can express.

I had limited my intention to about ten or twelve acres for corn for this year, except I should find time for transplanting; but, finding several of my fields too foul to be got ready for barley, or for that rubbishing stuff called oats, and knowing that I could risk the planting of corn until about the 10. of June, I determined upon planting about forty acres, and this demanded a great deal more seed than I had. On some of this land I do not expect even a fair crop, but the land will have been cleaned, and it will be next to impossible not to have a crop worth more than a crop of hay. At any rate, as JEFFERIES said, when the Americans declared war against this land, single handed, "Our system is now in the full tide of experiments." If the crop should be generally pretty good,

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Jackson's-court.]

my only difficulty will be to find horses and cattle to eat the tops and blades in the months of September and October.

N.B. I hereby strictly forbid any body beyond the confines of the parish from coming to look at my ears until the 15. day of July.

As the END approacheth, one of the symptoms of the approach will be, an increase of jealousy in the Ministry, and a chopping and changing of Ministers, the characters and talents of whom will fall lower and lower till, at last, no man will be content to be a Minister, unless he stand in need of the necessaries of life." *Register*, 18. May, 1834.

APPROACH OF THE END.

Bolt-court, 28. May, 1834.

THE motto which I have taken for this *Register*, was a good deal laughed at at the time, and I remember that my then secretary, Mr. RIXBY, could not refrain from throwing out into laughter as he put it upon the paper. "What do you laugh at," said I. "Oh, sir!" said he, "do you think it will really come to that?" It appears monstrous, "to be sure," said I; "but upon my soul, RIXBY, I believe it."

It did seem something monstrous; but we saw something very like it in France. The beggars there carried it to this point, that, at last, the fellows who were Ministers were reptiles so detestable, that no man would have confided to them any portion whatever of his private pecuniary affairs. However, I will say more of this, by-and-by, when I have given you an account of the transaction in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, which transaction was only the commencement of a series of changes and shufflings which will now go on until the present monstrous government, every situation, however, shall come to an end, in some way or

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another; for, in spite of every thing that can be done, a military despotism will not be established in England.

The transaction of Tuesday night was thus. Mr. WARD, member for St. ALBANS, made a motion in the following words:

"That the Protestant episcopal establishment in Ireland exceeds the spiritual wants of the Protestant population; and that, it being the right of the state to regulate the distribution of church property in such manner as Parliament may determine, it is the opinion of this House that the temporal possessions of the church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced."

This motion was preceded by a speech of great length, of great ability, and the materials of which were the result of great research and great care. It is understood; indeed, it is said boldly in the newspapers, and in private conversations, that the Ministry were divided upon the subject; and that Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and the Duke of RICHMOND, were for opposing the motion, while the rest were willing to agree to it. Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. STANLEY were not present in the House that evening, which tends to confirm the truth of this story. Mr. WARD's motion was seconded by Mr. GROTE; and when the seconding had taken place, Lord ALTHORP rose, and said: "Since my honourable friend commenced his speech, a circumstance has occurred which induces me to move, that this debate be adjourned until Monday next; and I trust the House will have THAT CONFIDENCE IN ME, which will induce it to believe, that I should not have proposed such an adjournment without sufficient cause." His lordship was evidently greatly agitated as he uttered these words; and it was at the uttering of the words "confidence in me," that the great cheering took place; the cheering was decidedly in compliment to him, and not in the way of exaltation at an announcement which told every one that the breaking up of

the Ministry was at hand. After this, he amended his motion by an adjournment of the House until Monday next.

So much for the outward and visible transaction; and now for the nature of the motion made by Mr. WARD; and, when we have seen the nature and tendency of that motion, we shall be able to judge of the grounds upon which the seceders from this Ministry have proceeded.

Mr. WARD's motion proposed the taking away from the church altogether, a part of the tithes. It proposed this upon the ground that the Parliament had a right to dispose of the tithes in any manner that it pleased. The reader will please to observe, that there is a great difference between taking away the tithes from the church, and making any new distribution of them for the purposes of the church. I agree, to the full extent, in the principle, that the Parliament has the right to take any part or all of what is called the church property, and to apply it to such other public purposes as it may think meet; but it is not dealing fairly by Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and the Duke of RICHMOND, to keep out of sight the effects of Mr. WARD's motion, if adopted, and the ulterior measures with regard to the whole of the church property, in England as well as in Ireland, which must speedily have been produced by such a precedent.

Never was there any thing more fair, more candid, more undisguised, than the able speech by which this motion was introduced; and, therefore, I am to conclude, and I do conclude, that Mr. WARD did not perceive the extent of the effect of his motion. He dwelt upon the sacredness of private property, in which light he regarded the revenues of the present incumbents for their lives, and against the touching of which he protested during their lives. But the incumbencies; that is to say, the life interest of the present possessors of livings formed but a part, and a small part, too, of the property in the greater part of those livings. Mr. WARD seemed to forget that there was the PATRON as

well as the incumbent; that is to say, the *owner of the advowson*, who is a perpetual proprietor; whose property is a freehold, according to the law as it now stands, and whose property would have become no property at all upon the assumption of the revenues by the Government. Suppose me (God forbid that I should be so!) to be the owner of an advowson in Ireland, which I could sell for ten thousand pounds; suppose a bill to pass on the principle of the motion of Mr. WARD; instantly my advowson would fall greatly in value, or become worth nothing at all. I conceive that the Parliament would have a right to do this; but, is there any Ministry prepared to say, that it has a right to do this?

Then, with regard to the *lay-tithes*. Mr. WARD said nothing. *He did not meddle with that matter*; but, if it had come to a vote, I should have voted for his motion; but not without saying, that I understood what must be its inevitable effects. *Lay-tithes* rest upon no law whatever, but that very law, upon which the property in the advowson rests; and, therefore, the right of abolishing the advowson clearly implies the right of abolishing the lay-tithes at the same time. The property in the advowson is traceable back to a grant founded on an act of Parliament: the property in the lay-tithes is not only traceable back to an act of Parliament, but to the very same and only act of Parliament to be looked to to sanction lay-tithes, which are something a great deal more unnatural; a great deal more violently opposed to every principle of a Christian church, than any other thing which is now to be discovered in any part of the church-government or property. The people of England submitted quietly enough to the transfer of the advowsons into the hands of laymen; but when laymen came to collect the tithes and other dues intended by the Christian church for the maintenance of the teachers of religion, then they resisted, looking upon such collection as sacrilege and robbery, both in one; and all lawyers well knew that a most severe act of Parliament stands now on the statute

book, passed in consequence of that resistance, to obtain obedience to which act required the shedding of a tolerable quantity of English blood. So that it is impossible for any rational man to believe that the lay-tithes could remain "*sacred*," if once the advowsons were assumed by the Parliament.

I would assume them all. Three hundred years ought not to protect these things against the lawful power of the Parliament. This species of property is still tainted with its origin: the possessor is the possessor of the taint as well as of the thing. I would abolish all tithes, lay as well as clerical, at once. I say, that we have a perfect right to go back and revise the transactions of the event called the REFORMATION; I say, that, find the property where we may, we have a right to take it back again for the people. But, as between the Ministers, it is, to Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and the Duke of RICHMOND, *not what I would do*, but what Lords ALTHORP, GREY, MELBOURNE, LORD JOHN RUSSELL, and LORD PALMERSTON, would do; and, I put this question to them: *Are you for this general resumption?* If you be not, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and the Duke of RICHMOND, are right, and you are wrong. An act founded on Mr. WARD's proposition would be a taking away of advowsons, which are property in perpetuity; it would be taking away church property, and applying it to lay purposes; it would, indeed, be doing no more than what was done generally at the time of what is called the "*Reformation*." There are precedents for it in more than twenty acts of Parliament passed in the reigns of the TUDORS and the STUARTS: if you be ready to proceed on those precedents, come on, my Lords; I am ready to give you my support; but, if you be not ready to do this, the seceders from the Ministry have the best end of the staff.

So much for the transaction of Tuesday night; and I have said here upon the subject, what I intended to say, if the question had been brought to the vote; for, I never did, and I never will, if I understand what I am about, give

my vote for any thing which shall have a tendency to produce that which it does not profess to have a tendency to produce, without stating, as well as I am able, my view and my estimate of the thing for which I am voting.

However, the truth is, that the church, and every thing appertaining to it, is brought into that state of jeopardy, which I so clearly foresaw, and so clearly foretold, so many years ago, and once or twice every year for the last twenty years. I myself, who have the strongest partiality for a state of unity of faith and opinions with regard to religion; who hate, from the bottom of my soul, all the bickerings and jabberings about the meaning of the Scriptures; who think that every new sect is a new evil, and who have never seen any possible good to arise out of a multiplicity of religions: even I, who was born and bred in this church, would now legally put an end to all its temporalties, though I have never felt them burdensome to me, have never grudged any thing that they took from me; but who am convinced that England can never know peace, any more than Ireland can, until these temporalties be taken away. I have no opinion at all that Dissenters are worse men or better men than church-people: I inquire not into their rights or their wrongs; I never make distinctions as far as my power goes, between them: I am sorry that the church is not such as to have us all within its pale; but, knowing that it is not, and seeing no possibility of its ever becoming such, I am for removing it altogether, seeing that it is the general disturber of the peace and happiness of the country.

With regard to the Ministry, Lord ALTHAM truly said, that theirs was not "*a bed of roses*." They must, however, either *do nothing* in the way of reforming the church, or managing its property; or they must *DO ALL*. To do nothing is to proclaim open hostility to ninety-nine hundredths of the nation; to do all is to take from the nobility and gentry, *six or seven millions a year*. People talk of the church property as if it belonged to the parsons, deans, pre-

bends, bishops, &c. It belongs to the nobility and gentry. About seven thousand out of twelve thousand of the advowsons are their own private property; and as to the dignities and the crown livings, every one knows that they are, in fact, in their gift. So that men should know what they are talking about, when they are expressing their anger against the Ministers for not reforming the church. Yet reformed it must be. Defective as this reformed Parliament is; tame as this House of Commons has been; and devoted and obedient as it has been to the Ministers; still, no Ministry can stand for any length of time without reforming this church.

Besides this, there are so many difficulties for any Ministry to encounter; there are so many evils pressing upon the country in all directions; this load of debt, which is pressing to the earth every body but the merciless band of usurers; the distress in which all classes but the receivers of taxes find themselves plunged: the unsettled state of men's minds as to the remedies to be applied; the innumerable projects that are afloat for changing the laws and institutions of the country; all these, and especially the impossibility of any Ministry satisfying the people on the score of taxation, and carrying on the present system of expense at the same time; all these render the life of a Minister, if he have any feeling and be worthy of trust, worse than the life of a galley slave.

In such a state of things, no Ministry can be strong, and no Ministry can be durable. The whole thing must go on, living by chance, rather than by principle. There is no lure to ambition, unless it be a very dirty ambition, indeed; and, which is a great deal worse, here is no hope to be a lure to disinterestedness, to public spirit, to zeal, and to devotion to country. I have said a hundred times, that I should learn myself the greatest villain that ever lived, and the greatest fool, into the bargain, if I were to undertake to carry on the present system of Government in England; to undertake to carry on a Government in copartner-

ship with a body like that of the Bank of England; to undertake to make the nation submit to give half its profits half its rents, half the fruits of its labour, to a band of usurers, a band called the dead-weight, and to a hundred thousand bayonets to support me in getting the money to satisfy them. The Ministry are not to blame for the burdens which they impose and exact: they are not to blame for the severities which they inflict in order to make this exaction successful. I blame them for nothing but *undertaking to carry on the system*: and those who think that the usurers ought to continue to have thirty millions a year, and the dead weight six millions, and the civil list and all the other tribes of pensioners that which they now receive; those who think this are amongst the foolishest or the basest of mankind, for complaining of the Ministers on account of the burdens which they exact.

It is curious to observe how the effects of the debt keep rolling on; for it is the debt; it is the band of usurer and the band of dead-weight, that are now tearing the church to pieces. I the people were well off: if landlords got their rents as in former times; if the farmers had the means left with them to give employment to the labourers; if the manufacturers and merchants had profits to enable them to pay good wages to their working people; if these were, never should we have heard a word about the burden of tithes, which have existed for a thousand years, and never discovered till now, to be a burden at all, any more than rent; but, the money-monster, perceiving his food likely to fall short, enquires about him to find something beyond the "*consolidated fund*." "Oh!" says the monster, "here is this church: what is it good for? it devours a parcel of the food that I ought to have: what's the use of all these bishops and deans and chapters and God knows what, and archdeacons and rural deans, and stuff that I never heard of before?" It is not the Dissenters that are formidable: it is the money-monster. Cast-

ing his glaring and greedy eyes in another direction, "Oh!" says the monster, "here are these POOR: they ought to be made to emigrate, and God ought to make the land produce without them; or they ought to be made to '*live upon coarser food*'"; and to work the monster goes against the poor.

This is the true cause of the REVOLUTION which is now going on; for, *revolution* it is, call it by what name you will. As I have always said, it is impossible for any man to say at what precise time; or in what precise manner, this system will come to an end; but come to an end it must; and it will not, as the dead-weight fondly anticipate, be succeeded by a military despotism! This is their audacious prophecy: as they sit and pick the venison from between their teeth, while they are looking through panes of glass that cost five pounds a piece, they indulge the hope that, even if taxation fail them, their luxury will still be supported by a "*military despotism*." This is their hope, and this their prediction: events will blast the hope, and render the prediction a lie.

The owners of the property of the church should recollect that it was they who made the debt; should recollect that it was they themselves who created the money-monster to come to their aid, in the preventing of a *timely* reform; should recollect that the common people had no hand in it; should recollect the dungeons which they opened; the punishments which they inflicted without end, on those who pressed them to make that *timely* reform: their own statute-book is their faithful historian; dungeon-bills, gagging-bills, new treason-bills: "suffer death"; *death, DEATH, DEATH*, at the close of every clause! There is the record of their treatment of the people, there is the record of the cause of all their present embarrassments. And, never let it be forgotten, that these acts were invariably demanded and applauded by the great body of the clergy of England. The time is past, to be sure, but is impossible for the people of this country to forget these things. Aye,

and at this very moment, the recollection of these things is producing its full share of all those causes of embarrassment which every Ministry must now experience.

With regard to a new Ministry, or a new-modelling of the Ministry, what is to be effected by either? We are at sea, and in a stiff gale of wind; it is the gale that wants to be abated, and not the helmsman or the sailors to be changed; it is still the same ship, and there are the same helm, sheets, sails, and masts. Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. STANLEY are men of great ability; and, for any thing that we have seen to the contrary, of great integrity. They have not resigned because they dislike their colleagues; they have not resigned because they dislike their offices; they have resigned because they see no way out of the difficulties that surround them. As to a Tory administration, that might bring things to a crisis at once; unless, as in the case of Catholic emancipation, they were to resolve to take us by surprise, and give us even more than we ask. But how are they to pay the interest of the debt? How are they to support the dead-weight and the army? How are they to do with the miserable affair better than the present men can do?

No; the thing must go staggering and reeling along, till, as in the case of the old French Government, it can stagger along no longer. It is curious to observe how closely our Government is imitating that old French Government, which *pulled itself down*, observe, at last; it tried coercion, to the utmost extent, and in all sorts of shapes; seeing itself likely to come to a violent end, it then set to the work of *reforming*. One set of imbeciles and of congeited knaves succeeded another; one projector after another came, each of them "*all jaw and no judgment*"; and with a brain swimming in a mixture of *laudanum* and *brandy*; half-drunk and half-mad they all seemed to be; and new projects came from them, spewed up with as much facility as a mountebank draws the ribands out of his throat; and the natural end came. It is surprising that

this experience should be lost upon us, as it appears completely to be. The sound policy would be, to make the changes one at a time, and to make them effectual; whereas we undertake every thing at once, and *finish nothing*, imitating therein the very worst and most injurious habit of common life; and I appeal to all my readers, without exception, whether, in any rank of life, be it what it may; in any pursuit, no matter what, they ever saw a man successful in his undertakings, whose habit it was to begin many things at once, and to finish nothing. Yet this really seems to be the principle upon which we proceed.

If Lord ALTHORP should quit the Ministry, things will be worse than they are now. He is a man of great experience in the conducting of affairs in Parliament; and though he makes no eloquent speeches, he never omits to answer every point brought to bear against him if it admit of an answer; and then the thorough conviction which every one has that his motives are good, and that his word may be relied on, gives him a weight that no other man can possibly expect to have, as things stand at present. The only wonder is, or it is such to me, at least, that he can bring himself to endure the toil which he endures, when I cannot perceive how it is, that he can hope that his toils will enable him to succeed in carrying on this system for any length of time.

I conclude this article with observing that it is not change of Ministers, that it is not change of ordinary measures, that are now wanted; that it is a relief of the general distress of the people; and that this distress cannot be relieved, except by a great reduction of the interest of the debt; by a lopping off of the monstrous pensions and sinecures; and by a great, and a very great, reduction of the enormous sums annually paid to what is called the dead-weight; and a still greater proportionate reduction of the standing army in time of peace; and it is my firm conviction, that, unless these measures be adopted *in time*, the whole fabric of this government will go to pieces. I say this after the soberest

reflection that I am able to bestow upon any thing, and I say it in this solemn manner, in the hope that my saying it may have some small effect in preventing a catastrophe possibly fatal to the peace and happiness of my country.

TO

LORD DURHAM.

Bolt-court, 28. May, 1834.

MY LORD,—I have read in the newspapers the report of a speech, which they represent to have been made by you at a late meeting of the Dissenters at the London Tavern, a place which you should not have made a speech at, unless it had been free from the stupid malignity discoverable in this speech. I will first insert the only part of the speech which I think worthy of notice; and then I will give you, as far as I can, such an answer as you ought to receive.

"He might have here closed the few observations he intended to offer to them, and should have done so, as he felt considerably exhausted by the length of time that the meeting had lasted, and the attention he had endeavoured to pay to the interesting and beautiful sentiments which had been addressed to them by many who attended; but a question in the second resolution of such vital importance had been mooted—a question on which he had heard the opinions of all those who belonged to them as a body of Dissenters, and upon which they ought to know the opinions of all who were engaged in public life, that he must entreat their attention for a few moments. The question he alluded to, was the one of the separation of the church from the state. And his hon. Friend near him (Mr. Wells) would admit he had said to him frankly and fairly, that he could not consent to any proposition which involved a question as to the propriety of the church being separated from the state; these sentiments he had already expressed in Parliament, and they were such as he should always consider it

"his duty to express in any society or place in which he might hear the separation of the church from the state recommended. His conscientious opinion, then, was, that the church was bound to tender religious instruction to all the members of the state. In the present ignorant and uneducated condition of the great mass of the population of this country, he considered that it would be most improper to leave them without any religious instruction at all. (Hear, hear). He thought it would be most unwise to leave such persons to the canvassing of religious sects, some of whom might endeavour to gain favour and support by increasing their prejudices and flattering their ignorance. If, indeed, all were as enlightened as were the Association which he was now addressing, if all were as capable as were those present of forming a correct judgment, they might be safely left to the formation of their own religious opinions without assistance at all; but such was unfortunately not the case; and he should, therefore, consider it as improper in him, as a statesman, not to tender religious instruction to the people in their present condition, as it would be culpable in the parent not to provide it for his children in their state of infantile or imperfect judgment. The religious, as well as the moral or secular instruction of the people, was one of the most imperative duties of the state; and, in the present condition of large masses of the community, should not be left to chance, or, to speak in other words, to the voluntary principle. He was aware, from what had passed that day, that they were not agreed in this principle; but it was his conscientious opinion, and such were his reasons for differing with those who advocated a separation of church and state, or rather, according to his view, religion and state: his object being to advance the cause of religion, as the best security for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of every community. But he hoped they would allow him to put it before them in another point of view. Even

" if he could agree with them in principle as to the propriety of the separation of the church from the state, still he must press on them, in strong language, the expediency of not now urging that question on the attention of the legislature. They ought clearly to understand that both branches of the legislature were hostile to it. In the House of Commons, from the best information he had been able to collect, out of upwards of 600 members, not thirty would vote for it; and in the House of Lords not a single peer would be found to support it. The country, he was bound to tell them, was not now prepared for it. It had been admitted by some of its most ardent supporters, who had made the most sanguine calculations, that they could not expect a majority of opinions in favour of the separation. There was not one single individual (and he wished it to be understood that he spoke this advisedly) in public life whose support they could calculate on, whose aid and assistance was worth having: whilst, on the other hand, the bare agitation of the question raised fears and prejudices, and bitter hostility—operating not merely on the speculative question itself, but affecting the redress of those acknowledged grievances of which nothing but their own wilful imprudence could prevent the settlement. *They would disqualify their friends from acting in their behalf, and increase the power of their enemies ten-fold.* In looking to these effects he alluded to the *desire with which this point had been taken up by that intolerant faction which had ever distinguished themselves by opposition to the Dissenters' claims,* and by the avidity with which those who only hoped to raise themselves to eminence by confusion and civil discord have seized on the Declaration, to which they would irrevocably bind the Dissenters. He earnestly prayed that the unwholesome designs of both parties would be defeated. Let them not adopt so impolitic a course, and they could not fail in the attainment of those practical objects in which they

would demand, and indeed must obtain, the assistance of every true lover of his country. In humbly tendering to them this advice, he hoped they would not misunderstand him."

Now, my lord, I shall make only a short observation or two upon your notions about separation of church and state, with regard to which, you, as well as the Dissenters, appear to have a very different notion than that which has always been entertained by those who have distinguished themselves by protesting against such union. You seem to think that it means, that is to say, that the *union of church and state means* a maintenance of the church by law; a maintenance of it by tithes and dues, the collection of which is enforced by law; and not a maintenance by *voluntary contribution.*

But, my lord, this is not the union of church and state, so long protested against by learned men. Tithes and church dues have existed a thousand years in England; and no man ever heard a complaint about "church and state," until the event falsely called the "*Reformation.*" Tithes and church dues were enforced by law for a thousand years: and, during all that time, the phrase "*church and state*" never was heard of. It was in the reign of HARRY the Eighth, when he, a layman, and a temporal prince, took to himself the supremacy of the church; made himself the head of the visible church of CHRIST in England; and it was because they would not subscribe to this supremacy, that MORE and FISHER died upon the scaffold. They contended, as others have contended since them, that it was monstrous to make a lay-person the head of a Christian church: the head of bishops and priests; and, especially, to make an hereditary head; so that a woman, a child in arms, a born idiot; an idiot, become such, with the tongueolling out of his mouth, a person dead in law, might become the head of the church of CHRIST! And this is the union of church and state, which has been complained of, as offensive to every principle of religion, as well as of reason; that a born idiot should have the

appointment of bishops: this is what has been complained of.

I will say nothing in this place about the *congé d'élire*, and the proceedings of the dean and chapter in such case which has been the subject of such loud censure on the part of learned and pious men, and which has been cited as an instance of the monstrousness of this union of church and state, and has stamped it as something so worthy of universal reprobation.

Your notion is, that the union of church and state merely means the upholding of the episcopal church by law, instead of leaving it to voluntary contribution; and this is the meaning which the Dissenters appear to attach to the words. The severing of this union would, of course, put an end to all tithes and church dues and church-rates, and leave the episcopal church to be maintained by its flocks at their pleasure. And, according to this meaning, the Dissenters very consistently demand that they shall be exempted from the payment of tithes. You differ from them in opinion, and tell them, that this maintenance of the church is necessary, because there ought to be provided for the people by law, the means of religious education; that religious instruction ought to be tendered to them by the state; that such religious instruction they could not have without the maintenance of the church in this manner by the state; and that, therefore, voluntary contribution is not sufficient, and the establishment is necessary.

You must have been aware, one would think, that though you yourself might believe these premises to be true, the Dissenters hold them to be false. They contend, on the contrary, that ignorance and irreligion are to be found only amongst those who are left to the church; they contend that the church does not teach people to be religious; they not only deny her utility in this respect, but they assert (and, as things now stand, they assert truly), that the church is an impediment to religious teaching and to the spread of religion; and, of course, that the money

taken from them to support this church is a great and crying oppression. So that they must have had a reasonable degree of contempt for your lordship, when they saw you have the folly to stand before them and vindicate the union of church and state on such grounds.

But, it is the close of your speech which attracted my attention. You tell the Dissenters that, by going so far as to contend for a separation of church and state, they will *dishearten their friends*, and encourage their enemies; that they will please the Tories, and gratify "those who only hope to raise themselves to eminence by confusion and civil discord, and who have seized with avidity on this declaration of the Dissenters about separation of church and state," to which these aspiring persons wish to bind the Dissenters.

Now, no one that I know of, except myself; no other man amongst those who are usually denominated Radicals, or Jacobins, or something of that sort, has publicly said anything at all about this matter. I have, in Parliament as well as out; and I do wish to bind the Dissenters to their declaration; or I wish them to get nothing at all. But, as to 'RAISING MYSELF TO EMINENCE,' how am I to do that? Seeing you a lord, can the devil himself be so ill-natured as to wish me to aspire to a title? Is it money or coal-mines that I want to get heaps of? Why PIERCE has got money by millions, and you have got coal-mines half way down to the bottomless pit. What, then, can I want? Can the King give me anything worth my having? And am I to cease a dog as to think that he has the power to bestow honour equal to that which I have received from the people of OLDHAM?

What ground had you then, for this white-livered, Whig-charge; this mere parrot-like repetition of the old-standing charge of CANNING, CASTLEREAGH, LIVERPOOL, and all that train of reptiles, who, the moment they saw a man stand forward in defence of the rights of the people and the laws of the land, accused him of wanting "confusion," in order

that he might raise himself to eminence. Why, you dull and spiteful and insolent man, I am eminent: I cannot more eminent than I am. What sense is there, then, in your charge against me, or against any person who has taken the course that you have described? This was a poor, miserable fetch, to delude the Dissenters, to keep them quiet, that Grey and Co. might still enjoy the emoluments of their offices. What course the Dissenters will take, I do not know; but this I know, that, unless they obtain a separation of the church from the state, in their sense of the words, they will obtain nothing worth having. They may follow my advice or not, just as they please; but of this I am certain, all your flattery of them, and all your dull abuse of the *confusion-men*, notwithstanding.

Wm. COBBETT.

Want of time prevents me from directing the attention of my readers again to *American affairs*, which are of the greatest possible interest to this country as well as to that.

TITHES AND

CHURCH PROPERTY.

RESOLUTIONS and petition unanimously adopted at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, held in the Town Hall, on Thursday, 17. May, 1824, to petition Parliament for the relief of Dissenters and others, from Tithes, Church-rates, &c.

At a public meeting held at Boston, on Thursday, the 17. of May, 1834, to petition against the ministerial measures before the House of Commons, respecting Tithes, Church-rates, &c., Mr. THOMAS ROCKITT in the Chair; the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by the Rev. Thomas Ridge, Methodist minister of the new connexion; and seconded by Mr. William Wedd

Tuxford; That this meeting recognises the great and leading principle of full and complete separation of church and state, as the true basis on which equal rights and justice can be secured to all classes of the community, and by which the interests of true religion will be best promoted.

Moved by the Rev. Griffith Roberts, Unitarian minister, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Bailey; That this meeting cannot but express their deep regret, that the hopes of effectual and satisfactory relief from the grievances under which Protestant Dissenters, and the country at large, labour, have been disappointed by the bills relating to tithes, church-rates, and Dissenters' marriages; all of which measures are unsatisfactory and offensive to churchmen as well as Dissenters.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Perrey, Baptist minister, and seconded by Mr. Lawrence; That this meeting, recognising the voluntary principle in support of religion, deprecates the coercive maintenance of any sect by tithes, church-rates, offerings or other imposts, as contrary to the spirit and genius of Christianity, and injurious to its true interests. That petitions to Parliament founded on these resolutions be adopted, and presented to the Lords by Lord Durham, and to the Commons by John Wilks, Esq., Member for Boston; and that Major Handley, the other Member for this borough, together with the county Members, be requested to support the prayer of the petition to the House of Commons.

Moved by Mr. John Noble, and seconded by Mr. John Caister; That to John Wilks, Esq., and Major Handley, the Members for Boston, for their resistance to the inefficient and unsatisfactory measures of the Government respecting Dissenters, the cordial thanks of the meeting are due, and are hereby voted; as also to Sir William Ingham, Bart., and Henry Handley, Esq., for their resistance of the measure on church-rates.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Perrey, and seconded by Mr. James Golsworthy; That a committee, consisting of the

minister and three other members of each congregation in Boston who shall agree so to unite, be formed, to be designated, "The Boston United Committee for the protection and diffusion of Religious Liberty," and that prompt measures be adopted by that committee to promote the sending of petitions from the various towns, villages, and congregations in the vicinity.

Moved by Mr. John Noble, and seconded by Mr. Lawrence; That the cordial thanks of the meeting be presented to the Mayor, for the use of the Town Hall.

Moved by Dr. Perry, and carried by acclamation; That the warmest thanks of the meeting be presented to the chairman, for accepting the office, and the ability with which he has presided over the meeting.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of Boston, in the county of Lincoln,

Showeth,

That your petitioners approach your honourable House with regret and disappointment, that your honourable House has not given to the country those benefits which were expected to result from the "Act for Amending the Representation of the People" in your "honourable House." They were sanguine enough to hope, that the first important measure of your honourable House in the present session of Parliament would have been, the restoration of the Christian religion to the Apostolic polity, by relieving the people from the compulsory payment of tithes, church-rates, and offerings, and leaving the provision for the clergy and fabric of the churches established by law, to the voluntary contributions of the respective congregations thereof; but in this their just expectation, your petitioners are disappointed, by the bills now before your honourable House for the perpetuity of the payment of tithes by a contribution, and of the rates out of the land-tax revenue for the support of the church establishment, which your petitioners, as

also a great majority of the people of the United Kingdom disapprove, and deprecate the existence, and continuance of both, as anti-christian, and a violation of every principle of true religion and justice.

That a national religious establishment, with the chief magistrate of the state as head of the church, invested by acts of Parliament with power, to decree rites, creeds, and ceremonies, is anti-christian, being contrary to the declaration of Jesus Christ, that his kingdom was "not of this world"; and to compel those who dissent therefrom, to contribute to the support of such establishment, is vexatious, oppressive, and unjust, and repugnant to the genius of true religion as taught by the Apostles and teachers in the primitive ages, the following facts from unquestionable authorities, will evidently prove to your honourable House.

That from the apostolic age to the fourth century, the church of Christ, according to Tertullian and other ancient fathers, was sustained and extended on its primitive footing, by the voluntary contributions of the true worshippers; for, no man was compelled, but left to his own discretion to give to the treasury of the churches once a month or when it pleased him, what he thought proper, which was applied, not in supporting archbishops, bishops, prebendaries, archdeacons, deans, precentors, chancellors, proctors, rectors, vicars, and curates, with titles of distinction, but, in relieving the poor, the orphan, the aged, and infirm.

That to and at the above-mentioned period, the churches were congregational and independent of each other as in the days of the Apostles, subject to no legislative dominion; the respective congregations chose from among themselves their own pastors, and supported them by voluntary subscriptions, but this system in some respects became changed on the conversion of Constantine to Christianity; who took the churches under his imperial protection, and made large grants "for necessary uses" to the presbyters over whom he presided; yet he granted to them no

tithes, nor did he issue any edict to allow them annual stipends out of the national treasury, or pass any law to compel his subjects to pay any, but left it entirely to the feelings and ability of the people, as theretofore.

That notwithstanding this change the Christian church continued for nearly a century, based on principles characteristic of its founder; but having been taken under the wing and patronage of the state, with emperors at its head, supported by bishops and presbyters in general councils, the simplicity of the gospel economy was abandoned, and an ambitious and secularized priesthood began the system of organization of different grades under the bishop of Rome, which progressively led to the establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the foundation of the present church establishment of England and Ireland; but notwithstanding this abandonment, the bishops and priests, as stated by Seldon, lived together at the cathedral churches, and whatever free-will offerings were received by them, were decreed by Popes Sylvester, Simplicius, and Gregory, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, to be divided into four equal parts, viz: "one for the bishop, for his support; a second for the presbyters, or priests; a third for the repairs of places of worship; and a fourth for the poor, afflicted, and travellers."

Your petitioners are further informed, which they crave leave to state to your honourable House, that the same distribution of the church revenues theretofore granted by Constantine and his successors, and the free-will offerings of the people, were continued and sanctioned by the several kings and popes, until the creation of parishes, and the endowment of benefices, in or about the eighth century, when the quadrupartite division was departed from, and tithes arising from lands of lords of manors, and laymen of good estates, who had built churches in their respective parishes, were, according to Seldon, Spelman, Kennett, and others, ordered to be paid by the occupiers thereof, to the resident incumbents of benefices, who

were directed by canonical authority to keep a written account of such tithes and offerings, and to divide them into three equal parts, one for the ornament of the church; the second for the use of the poor; and the third for the priests. And by statutes of the 15. Richard II., and 4 Henry IV., it was enacted, that the diocesan should ordain a competent sum of money to be paid, and distributed yearly, of the fruits and profits of the churches, by those who should have the said churches and by their successors, to the poor parishioners of the said churches, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever; and by another statute passed in the 21. of Henry VIII., it is recited that the statute was (in al:) "For the more quiet and virtuous increase and maintenance of divine service, the preaching and teaching the word of God, with godly and good examples, giving the better discharge of curates, the maintenance of hospitality, the relief of the poor, the increase of devotion, and good opinion of the lay fee towards the spiritual persons"; and Sir Simon Degge, commenting on this latter statute, says, "The third end of this good law was, to maintain hospitality: and I would wish every clergyman to remember, that the poor have a share in the tithes with him."

That this tripartite division appears to have been continued and appropriated to the time of, and sometime after, the Reformation, when the whole was retained, and applied by the parochial clergy to their own exclusive use; but the precise date when this usurpation took place, and the charge was thrown on parishes to repair the churches, and the poor were deprived of their common law right of the one-third part thereof, your petitioners are unable to state, sufficient for them to remind your honourable House, that the original trust of distribution into three equal parts, was not abrogated, or annulled by any act of Parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., or by any act passed subsequent to his reign; though it has been asserted by some, as it respects the right of the

poor to the third part of the tithes, that such right was virtually, or by implication abrogated by the statute of the 43 of Elizabeth; but your petitioners submit to your honourable House, that that assertion is unsupported by proof, for nothing appears in that statute, that the legislature intended the clergy should retain this third part for their own exclusive use, and thereby burden the parishes with the entire maintenance and support of the poor; therefore, as the statute in question is perfectly silent as to the future application of such third part, your petitioners submit to your honourable House, that such third part remained to be applied as theretofore by the incumbents or impropiators of the benefices, as trustees for the poor, or intended to be paid by them to the parochial officers, in aid of the onus imposed upon parishes by that statute.

Your petitioners having with great humility submitted to your honourable House, a brief, but faithful history of the constitution of the Christian church, and the application of its funds annually raised by grants and free-will offerings of the people, from the days of the Apostles to the Reformation, by which mass of evidence they submit it is conclusive, that the church revenues were admitted and recognised, as public property, and treated as such, by the several Governments of England and Pontificates of Rome, as also by Henry VIII. and his Parliament, on the establishment of the Protestant hierarchy; but if in the wisdom of your honourable House, such evidence which your petitioners have stated should be deemed inconclusive, they crave permission to add in support thereof, that the statutes of the 27 and 31 of Henry VIII., are an authorities to establish the fact, Henry VIII. and his Parliament treat what is termed *church property* as public property; and unless the Government at the time of passing them, had not the right to apply it, (which your petitioners doubt not), either in the way they did, or in any other way they might have considered conducive to the public good, it would follow as a consequence, that the then grantees of such property

were, and the clergy of the present day are, usurpers of the property intended for the support of the Catholic hierarchy; and agreeably to the rule of equity, as expounded by the present Vice Chancellor, in giving judgment in a late case, the Attorney General v. Shore, "that property left with a view to the support of a specific class of opinion, cannot be available to parties who dissent from those opinions"; therefore, if the Vice Chancellor be right in this opinion, the clergy of the present church establishment have not even the shadow of title to the revenues of the church and collegiate property, but, that it belongs to the successors of the Roman Catholic church.

That in addition to, and in further corroboration, that the church revenues have ever since the Reformation, been considered as public property at the disposal of the state, your petitioners request leave to state to your honourable House, that after Henry VIII., Queen Mary transferred them to the Catholics; Elizabeth from the Catholics to the Protestants; Cromwell divided them between the Puritans and Churchmen, and Charles II. applied the whole to the latter. And in order to remedy the mischiefs which had arisen from the latter period to 1713, from the inadequate salaries paid by the incumbents of benefices to curates, and to provide, that their stipends should be in proportion to the population and value of the benefices, the legislature passed an act in the last-mentioned year, and also another in the 57. of George III., transferring a portion of the rectors' income to the curates; and in 1798 an act was passed to compel a sale of part of the church property for the redemption of the land-tax. The exercise of these powers by the above-mentioned acts, together with the bills now before your honourable House, are conclusive evidence to show, notwithstanding the dictum of the Vice Chancellor in the case above quoted, which your petitioners consider erroneous, that the present Parliament has a legal right to dispose of the fee simple and inheritance of the property of the existing church establishment, in any

way which in its wisdom may be deemed conducive to the public good.

Your petitioners, therefore, with great humility beg to state, that in their opinion, your honourable House in conjunction with the other two estates of the realm, cannot apply the same better than by transferring the whole of it by act of Parliament to the national creditor, at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase on the present annual value, (which will amount to more than *two hundred millions sterling*), in liquidation *pro tanto* of the public debt, and leave the support of the clergy of the Protestant church, and the repairs of the places of worship, to the voluntary contributions of the respective congregations thereof.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly crave, that your honourable House will take the subject matter of this petition into your serious consideration, and relieve your petitioners and the people of the United Kingdom, by transferring the fee simple and inheritance of the church property to the national creditor, in liquidation *pro tanto* of the national debt by such ways and means as in the wisdom of your honourable House shall be deemed expedient, so that, the voluntary system for the support of the episcopal church may be resorted to; but, if it should be deemed inexpedient by your honourable House to grant this prayer of your petitioners, then, that in the bill for commuting the tithes, now before your honourable House, it may be enacted, and become the law of the land, that one third-part of the annual payment of such commutation, be made to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of every parish, towards the maintenance and support of the poor; and also, that the church-rates may be abolished, and a suitable provision made, and annually paid to the churchwardens out of the said commutation, as may be necessary for the incidental expenses and repairs of the several churches.

And your petitioners will ever pray,
&c.

[The petition to the House of Lords is similar to this, the style only being altered.]

DANGER OF AN AMERICAN INVASION OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of the Manchester Repeal Association, held at Hutton's Tavern, Deansgate, on Monday evening, May 19, Mr. Cobbett's *Register*, of Saturday, May 17; was, on motion, ordered to be read at length, upon which the following resolutions were

"Resolved,—That the late paper, written by Mr. Cobbett, on the probabilities and danger of an American invasion of Ireland, is in our judgment the most important document that has issued from the British press these many years past; and that it appears to us to be deserving the most serious attention of his Majesty's Government and the people of England.

"Resolved,—That we tender our lasting gratitude to Mr. Cobbett for this able production of his pen, and respectfully request him to republish, in a cheap form, this immortal document, and to assume him of our order for 500 copies, for the use of the members of our association.

"Resolved,—That we petition both Houses of Parliament, praying that five million copies of this invaluable paper be published at the national expense, through the agency of Mr. Cobbett, and distributed gratis all over the United Kingdom.

"That our petition to the House of Lords be intrusted to the Lord Chancellor, and that the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Cloncurry be requested to support its prayer; and that to the Commons be intrusted to our tried, faithful, and unpurchasable countryman, O'Connell; and that Messrs. Hume, Harvey, Roebuck, Ruthven, O'Connor, Ronayne, Sheil, Finn, Jacob, and Maurice O'Connell, be requested to support the same.

"That these resolutions be published in Mr. Cobbett's *Register*, the *Evening and Weekly True Sun*, the *Manchester Advertiser*, the *Newcastle Press*, and *Liverpool Journal*, and

"that these papers have, and deserve
our confidence and thanks.

"LOYDE JONES, Chairman,

"JOSEPH SHIELS TOLE, Sec."

The following letter accompanied the
resolutions to Mr. Cobbett:

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

Manchester, Tuesday, May 20.

"Sir,—I assure you sincerely, I never
expected to have so much honour
conferred on me as I now possess in
being made the medium of communi-
cating to you the thanks of the Man-
chester Repeal Association, for the
last production of your immortal
pen.

"That splendid emanation of your
heaven-gifted spirit was read aloud to
a large meeting of our members last
evening. To say that it was received
with alternate bursts of tears and
bursts of gladness, to say that it
communicated to us a second man-
hood, a second, and additional desire
to live, would not convey an idea of
its effect,

"If any of your revilers were present
amongst us on that occasion, and
witnessed, as they would have, the
tears burst out from the eyes of age
and youth; if they were to have wit-
nessed this, and then ask themselves
did they ever write, or say, or do, any
thing deserving of, or capable to pro-
duce, tears of gladness from any
number, or even from one honest
heart, the conscious, the damning
negative, must have blackened them
with confusion.

"Yes, the effects produced on our
members, English and Irish as they
were, by this immortal, or rather
mortal blow, at the whole thing, the
truths and the hopes it conveyed, the
resolutions it kindled within the
breasts of all of us, may, indeed, be
imagined, for they cannot be de-
scribed. Your revilers and our re-
vilers may sneer at the expression of
our feelings in a mood so womanly;
but remember, sir, and let them re-
member, that the men who could
yield their tears, would yield their
blood.

"You say truly, sir, that the Irish,
when driven out of Ireland, are not
driven out of the world. No, sir,
they are not. England is at this
moment manned by Irishmen. Every
seat of manufacture, every seat of
laborious enterprise, is manned by
Irishmen. Wherever labour is to be
performed in this over-laboured coun-
try, there are the Irish. Lazy, in-
deed, as you well exclaim; oh, what
hell-born tyranny it must be to tell
of this race that they are lazy or idle,
when the demons know that to the
Irish labour and to the Irish victuals
they owe all that they possess. Who
work under the earth for them in the
pits, and over the earth for them in
the fields, on the house-tops, in the
factories, on board their merchant-
ships, in their navy, in their armies:
who fill these vast skeletons but
Irishmen.

"There are at this moment, sir, a
million of able-bodied Irishmen in
England, nine-tenths of whom were
driven here 'after the Union,' as they
express it, to seek some kind of em-
ployment and maintenance. Two
out of every three of them are the
sons of shopkeepers and tradesmen
and farmers, who were ruined and
beggared by the 'Rebellion' of 1798
(which you, sir, well know, was cre-
ated and matured, that the people
might be more effectually and safely
pillaged), and driven out of Ireland
by the desolation and the total disap-
pearance of trade which followed the
destruction of their national legisla-
ture—these men consider themselves
as slaves in England; their employers,
though men of the kindest hearts,
and of the best intentions towards
them, they consider in no other light
than as oppressors, and accessories
after the fact to the robbery and pil-
lage of their rights. These Irishmen
have young families growing up
about them in this country; these
children imbibe, as Jackson imbibed,
from their mothers and their fathers,
a detestation of the oppressors of their
fathers and of their fathers' country;
they are taught to look forward to the

return to their country as the great end
 " of their existence and their present
 " toil.

" The beauties of their native hills and
 " valleys are pictured in warm colours
 " by those expatriated parents to their
 " children. The grandeur of England,
 " with all its tinselled and glittering
 " palaces, is held as nought by these
 " people when compared to the en-
 " chanting fields and bowers which
 " they left. Here they are as slaves;
 " there they were as masters. Talk of
 " blotting out the name of Ireland, in-
 " deed! Talk, indeed, of calling it West
 " Britain!

" Gracious heaven! can any thing in
 " this whole world tend more to the se-
 " paration of the two countries, than this
 " of all others the most wanton, the
 " most degrading insult? Can the men
 " be mad? Is the Government of these
 " unfortunate countries (for now, thank
 " heaven! both are made unfortunate,
 " now thanks to heaven, both are per-
 " fectly, completely within the eight-
 " hundred-million monster's yoke, and
 " now thanks, thanks to great and just
 " heaven; we shall be completely ever-
 " lastingly avenged!) I say, sir, is the
 " Government of these countries for ever
 " to remain in the hands of men la-
 " bouring under 'temporary delusion'?
 " Oh, sir! we cannot reason with these
 " men; it is useless to implore—to
 " beseech them; we have petitioned
 " till the act has become almost a farce.
 " We see in the distant vista, which
 " you have unfolded, the coming of our
 " redemption. We cling to the hope
 " that speedily some honest, sensible
 " men will be put at the head of affairs
 " by the people of this country; that
 " full, immediate justice will be done
 " to Ireland; and that we may return to
 " our beloved country to breathe, even
 " for a day, our native air perfumed
 " with liberty, and to stretch our bones,
 " as the bones of freemen, in the tombs
 " and the graves of our forefathers.

" In conclusion, sir, we pray to the
 " Almighty Governor of the world to
 " protect you from your enemies, to
 " preserve you on this earth as an in-
 " strument in his hands to work out the

ends of his just decrees, which we
 " feel and believe to be approaching;
 " to grant to your immortal spirit, be-
 " fore it flies from this material world,
 " one glimpse of the realization of your
 " wishes as regards the happiness of
 " the people of these countries, and of
 " the other portion of those people which
 " inhabit that land from which the
 " trumpet of our resurrection sounds;
 " and when the ends of your extraor-
 " dinary mission are fulfilled here, may
 " he receive you into his bosom as the
 " enlightener, the benefactor of the
 " human race.

" LLOYDE JONES."

POOR LAWS.

LEITHE III.

There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,
 It does not feel for man!
 * * * * * What man, seeing this,
 And having human feelings, does not blush,
 And hang his head, to think himself a man?
 COWPER

Dunfermline, 18. May, 1834.

FRIEND OF THE POOR,—Had I the
 pencil of Cruikshank, I would personify
 the United Kingdom in a sketch of a
 human body, lank, lean, and emaciated;
 with the appendages out of all propo-
 portion in size, the laps of the ears
 reaching to the shoulders, and bearing,
 one a crown, the other a crossier: the
 nose with a tamour, "like the tower of
 Heshbon, which looketh towards Da-
 " mascus"; the excrescental parts, the
 "scalp-hair, of immense length, and
 standing on end "like quills of a por-
 "cupine"; the beard long, grizzly, clotted,
 and seeming, as if all alive and moving,
 with

1. "Ugly crawling" blasted widders,"
 each.

2. "As p'ump an' grey as any grozet;"
 and the nails longer than the limbs to
 which they are attached. At one arm I
 would place an ecclesiastical, and at the
 other a fensholding quack; both ap-
 plying their lancets; while, from their
 seething operations, the veins of the pa-
 tient should appear as discharging pro-

fusely; and, in addition, a taxing and tax-eating squad should be exhibited, puncturing the body all over, and causing the thin blood to stream from every pore. In a corner should be placed a group of Malthusian empires, suitably attired, and with appropriate paraphernalia, in close consultation; Dr. Malthus exclaiming, Bleed, bleed; his blood is redundant. Dr. Brougham, Don't cut the rasal's tumour; that is the chief ornament of the English body, which body is "essentially aristocratic." Dr. Grey, Crop not his ears; they are church-and-state union, which must be conserved. Dr. Hume, *Dinna clip his hair, I beseech ye, an' "marr na, the corners o' his beard," for Gud-ake*; these are "national faith" and "credit." Dr. Althorp, Let alone his claws; these are the "sister-services" and "Bourbon police." And, the nasty Doctor-Doret's Harriet Humphrey Martineau should appear, in robes half male, a. If female, like those of the "pye-a' prooms," proposing a certain operation; I will not say, what; nor tell the reason, why.

In the sketch, No. 2, should appear in addition Mr. Cobbett, preceded by the village barber, with towel, scissors, and razor; and behind him a body of chopsticks, one bearing a flag, with the famous inscription, "WE WILL NOT LIVE ON POTATOES"! and each having a slice of bread and of bacon in the right hand, with a pot of beer in the left, Mr. Cobbett exclaiming, Off, off, ye villanous feelosofers! Malthusian monsters, away! To your hell, ye hedge-kashun devils! [The empires and quacks should appear as running off at the opposite corner in confusion and terror, Brougham without wig, and the cretur Martineau wanting its shawl and shoes, &c.] Now, Mr. Strapp, stem these wounds; shear off that national faith scalp-hair; and away with the God-killing devil-serving Jew beard, and all the vermin which it harbours; crop his parson ass's ears; pare his sister services and Bourbon-police claws; and whip off the aristocratic wen from his proboscis. You, my good fellows must bear it all patiently; and when

we have got you to appear as a Christian Englishman, like your forefathers, you shall have a rasher of bacon and a pot of home-brewed, as they land; and this, for the future, shall be your fare morning, mid day, and evening, instead of the accursed potatoes. Something after this sort would be a true representation of the opposite sentiments of the Malthusians and Cobbettites. That the picture would not be overcharged as to the former, will presently appear, indeed; it is impossible for pen or pencil sufficiently to express or portray the monstrous absurdity of the Malthusian hypothesis, and horrible cruelty of the scheme of the feelosofers.

Althorp and Co keep out of sight the connexion of their infernal bill, with the principles of Malthus; and the ulterior object it is, no doubt, prudent to conceal; but we have both openly avowed in the forty-seventh volume of the *Edinburgh Review*, articles Emigration and Poor-laws. On the dogma of redundant population, and on the vituperative, insolent, and insulting style of this miscreant writer, I have already remarked; let us now see what are the measures which the fiend proposes for "killing off" that portion of the working people whom he calls "surplus"; that is, such as are not necessary to minister to the gratification of the idle.

1. "Give no allowance, unless in the "workhouse; to the able-bodied pauper; and make him feel that a "life of unremitting toil, supported "on coarse and scanty fare, is to be "his portion as long as he continues there!"
2. "Alter the law of bastardy," so as to offer impunity to male libertinism in all cases; and, in many cases, to break the heart of "witless trusting woman," and drive her to prostitution, infanticide, and suicide!
3. "Cease to build; pull down; tax beggars' nests!"
4. "Disperse colonies of beggars and their brats!"
5. "Tax the locusts (Irish labourers) "on the wing, as they enter the "floating bridges," with the de-

sign of seeking food and employment in Britain!

6. Make no legal provision, for (oh! read this, American Irishmen) "four or five millions of beggars," who are to be kept, and left to die, at home!
7. These MEN OF SIN also "forbid to marry"; but their invention, hellish as it is, not having reached an effective plan of forcible prevention they hold up to imitation the example of "the intelligent proprietor of Coll," who, to keep down the population of his island which he had previously reduced "WOULD NOT ALLOW A YOUNG MAN, A SON OF ONE OF THE CROFTERS TO BE MARRIED WITHOUT HIS (the laird's) CONSENT" he said, "if you marry without my consent, you must leave the island."

When I had read thus far

"My heart within me waxed hot;
"And while I musing was,
"The fire did burn; and,"

After various alternations of thought and feeling,

"From my lips,
"These words I did let pass,"

"O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. Lift up thyself thou Judge of the earth: render a reward to the proud. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow; let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places" of Canada and New Holland; and may all the curses of the hundred and ninth Psalm fall on the head of the hell-taught writer of this most damnable paper.

Finally, this foolish and wicked wretch more than insinuates the propriety of abolishing the English poor laws; and even of withholding voluntary charity, in order that the poor may be forced to submit to transportation, or left to die from starvation at home. Let me alone: I will cure; yet deeper..... Let him be plunged

soul and body, into the hottest corner of the lowest hell; and, when at the restitution of all things, hell's gates shall be opened for the egress of the "common damned" and ordinary devils, let them be shut on this arch fiend; there let him broil and roast, and fry and weep and wail and gnash his teeth for ever and ever. Amen.

Regarding this execrable bill; the rich rate-payers have many friends within the honourable House: but the working people have no representatives. I therefore fear that while clauses affecting the interests of the former may be expanded or altered, some invasion will still be attempted of the rights of the poor. I pray you may be able to attend, and defeat the wicked intentions of its framers and supporters.

Friend of the Poor,

I am,

your obedient servant,

THOS. MORRISON, sen.

To William Cobbett, M.P.

(From the *Mercantile Advertiser and New York Advocate*)

Thursday, April 17.

Several messages were received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Donelson, his private secretary; among them the following

PROTEST

To the Senate of the United States.

It appears by the published Journal of the Senate, that on the 26 of December last, a resolution was offered by a member of the Senate, which, after a protracted debate, was on the 28. of March last, modified by the mover, and passed by the votes of twenty-six Senators out of forty-six, who were present and voted in the following words, viz.

"Resolved,—That the President, in the late

* Yeas—Messrs. Bibb, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Eaton, Frelinghuysen, Keight, Leigh, Mangum, Naudain, Pendergast, Fowler, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Silsbee, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Tomlinson, Tyler, Waggaman, Webster, 26.

Nays—Messrs. Benton, Brown, Forsyth, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, King, of Ala. King, of Ga., Linn, McKens, Moore, Morris, Robinson, Sibley, Tallmadge, Tipton, White, Wilkins, Wright, 20.

executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

Having had the honour, through the voluntary suffrages of the American people, to fill the office of President of the United States during the period which may be presumed to have been referred to in this resolution, it is sufficiently evident that the censure it inflicts was intended for myself. Without notice, unheard, and untried, I thus find myself charged on the records of the Senate, and in a form hitherto unknown in our history, with the high crime of violating the laws and constitution of my country.

It can seldom be necessary for any department of the Government, when assailed in conversation, or debate, or by the strictures of the press, or of popular assemblies, to step out of its ordinary path for the purpose of vindicating its conduct, or of pointing out any irregularity or injustice in the manner of the attack. But when the chief executive magistrate is, by one of the most important branches of the Government in its official capacity in a public manner, and by its recorded sentence, but without precedent, competent authority, or just cause, declared guilty of a breach of the laws and constitution, it is due to his station, to public opinion, and to a proper self-respect, that the officer thus denounced should promptly expose the wrong which has been done.

In the present case, moreover, there is even a stronger necessity for such a vindication. By an express provision of the constitution, before the President of the United States can enter on the execution of his office, he is required to take an oath or affirmation to the following words:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States."

The duty of defending, so far as in him lies, the integrity of the constitution, would indeed have resulted from the very nature of his office, but by thus expressing it in the official oath or affirmation, which, in this respect, differs from that of every other functionary, the founders of our republic have added to its sense of its importance, and have given to it a peculiar solemnity and force. Bound to the performance of this duty by the oath I have taken, by the strongest obligation of gratitude to the American people, and by the ties which unite my every earthly interest with the welfare and glory of my country; and perfectly convinced that the discussion and passage of the above-mentioned resolution were not only unauthorized by the constitution, but in many respects repugnant to its provisions and subversive of the rights secured by it to other co-ordinate departments, I deem it an imperative duty to maintain the supremacy

of that sacred instrument, and the immunities of the department intrusted to my care, by all means consistent with my own lawful powers, with the rights of others, and with the genius of our civil institution. To this end, I have caused this, my solemn protest against the aforesaid proceedings, to be placed on the files of the executive department, and to be transmitted to the Senate.

It is alike due to the subject, the Senate, and the people, that the views which I have taken of the proceedings referred to, and which compel me to regard them in the light that has been mentioned, should be exhibited at length, and with the freedom and firmness which are required by an occasion so unprecedented and peculiar.

Under the constitution of the United States, the powers and functions of the various departments of the Federal Government, and their responsibilities for violation or neglect of duty, are clearly defined, or result from necessary inference. The legislative power, subject to the qualified negative of the President, is vested in the Congress of the United States, composed of the Senate and House of Representatives. The executive power is vested exclusively in the President, except that in the conclusion of treaties and in certain appointments to office, he is to act with the advice and consent of the Senate. The judicial power is vested exclusively in the Supreme and other Courts of the United States, except in cases of impeachment, for which purpose the accusatory power is vested in the House of Representatives, and that of hearing and determining, in the Senate. But although for the actual purposes which have been mentioned, there is an occasional intermixture of the powers of the different departments, yet with these exceptions, each of the three great departments is independent of the others in its sphere of action, and when it deviates from that sphere, is not responsible to the others, further than it is expressly made so in the constitution. In every other respect, each of them is the equal of the other two, and all are the servants of the American people, without power or right to control or censure each other in the service of their common superior, save only in the manner and to the degree which that superior has described.

The responsibilities of the President are numerous and weighty. He is liable to impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, and, on due conviction, to removal from office, and perpetual disqualification; and notwithstanding such conviction, he may also be indicted and punished according to law. He is also liable to the private action of any party who may have been injured by his illegal mandates or instructions, in the same manner and to the same extent as the highest functionary. In addition to the responsibilities which may thus be enforced by impeachment, or criminal prosecution, or suit at law, he is also accountable at the bar of public opinion for every act of his administration. Subject

only to the restraints of truth and justice, the free people of the United States have the undoubted right, as individuals or collectively, orally or in writing, at such times, and in such language and form as they may think proper, to discuss his official conduct, and to express and promulgate their opinions concerning it. Indirectly, also, his conduct may come under review in either branch of the legislature, or in the Senate when acting in its executive capacity, and so far as the executive or legislative proceedings of these bodies may require it, it may be examined by them. These are believed to be the proper and only modes, in which the President of the United States is to be held accountable for his official conduct.

Treated by these principles, the resolution of the Senate is wholly unauthorized by the constitution, and in derogation of its entire spirit. It assumes that a single branch of the legislative department may, for the purpose of a public censure, and without any view to legislation or impeachment, take up, consider, and decide upon, the official acts of the executive. But in no part of the constitution is the President subjected to any such responsibility; and in no part of that instrument is any such power conferred on either branch of the legislature.

The justice of these conclusions will be illustrated and confirmed by a brief analysis of the powers of the Senate, and a comparison of the recent proceedings of those powers.

The high functions assigned by the constitution to the Senate, are in their nature either legislative, executive, or judicial. It is only in the exercise of its judicial powers, when sitting as a court for the trial of impeachments, that the Senate is expressly authorized and necessarily required to consider and decide upon the conduct of the President, or any other public officer. Indirectly, however, as has already been suggested, it may frequently be called on to perform that office. Cases may occur in the course of its legislative or executive proceedings, in which it may be indispensable to the proper exercise of its powers, that it should inquire into, and decide upon, the conduct of the President or other public officers; and in every such case, its constitutional right to do so is cheerfully conceded. But to authorize the Senate to enter upon such a task in its legislative and executive capacity, the inquiry must actually grow out of or tend to some legislative or executive action; and the decision when expressed must take the form of some appropriate legislative or executive act.

The resolution in question was introduced, discussed, and passed, not as a joint, but as a separate resolution. It asserts no legislative power, proposes no legislative measure; and neither possesses the form nor any of the attributes of a legislative measure. It does not appear to have been entertained or passed with any view or expectation of its issuing in a law or joint resolution, or in the repeal of

any law or joint resolution, or in any other legislative action.

Whilst wanting both the form and substance of a legislative measure, it is equally manifest that the resolution was not justified by any of the executive powers conferred on the Senate. These powers relate exclusively to the consideration of treaties and nominations to office; and they are exercised in secret session, and with closed doors. This resolution does not apply to any treaty or nomination, and was passed in a public session.

Nor does this proceeding in any way belong to that class of incidental resolutions which relate to the officers of the Senate, to their chamber, and other appurtenances, or to subjects of order, and other matters of the like nature, in all which either House may lawfully proceed, without any co-operation with the other, or with the President.

On the contrary, the whole phraseology and sense of the resolution seem to be judicial in its essence, true character, and only practical effect, are to be found in the conduct which it charges upon the President, and in the judgment which it pronounces on that conduct. The resolution, therefore, though discussed and adopted by the Senate in its legislative capacity, is, in its office, and in all its characteristics, essentially judicial.

That the Senate possesses a high judicial power, and that instances may occur in which the President of the United States will be amenable to it, is undeniable. But under the provisions of the constitution, it would seem to be equally plain that neither the President nor any other officer can be rightfully subjected to the operation of the judicial power of the Senate, except in the cases and under the forms prescribed by the constitution.

The constitution declares that "the President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes, and misdemeanors;" that the House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment; that the Senate "shall have the sole power to try all impeachments"; that "when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation"; that "when the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside"; that "no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present"; and that "judgment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States."

The resolution above quoted, charges in substance that in certain proceedings relating to the public revenue the President has usurped authority and power not conferred upon him by the constitution and laws, and that in doing so he has violated both. Any such act constitutes a high crime, one of the highest, indeed, which the President can commit,

a crime which justly exposes him to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and upon due conviction, to removal from office, and to the complete and immutable disfranchisement prescribed by the constitution.

The resolution, then, was in substance an impeachment of the President; and in its passage, amounted to a declaration by a majority of the Senate, that he is guilty of an impeachable offence. As such, it is spread upon the journals of the Senate, published to the nation and to the world, made part of our enduring archives, and incorporated in the history of the age. The punishment of removal from office and future disqualification does not, it is true, follow this decision; nor would it have followed the like decision, if the regular forms of proceeding had been pursued, because the requisite number did not concur in the result. But the moral influence of a solemn declaration, by a majority of the Senate, that the accused is guilty of the offence charged upon him, has been as effectually secured, as if the like declaration had been made upon an impeachment expressed in the same terms. Indeed, a greater practical effect has been gained, because the votes given for the resolution, though not sufficient to authorize a judgment of guilty on an impeachment, were numerous enough to carry that resolution.

That the resolution does not expressly allege that the assumption of power and authority, which it condemns, was intentional and corrupt, is no answer to the preceding view of its character and effect. The act thus condemned, necessarily implies violation and desert in the individual to whom it is imputed, and being unlawful in its character, the legal conclusion is, that it was prompted by improper motives, and committed with an unlawful intent. The charge is not of a mistake in the exercise of supposed powers, but of the assumption of powers not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both and nothing is suggested to excuse or palliate the turpitude of the act. In the absence of any such excuse or palliation, there is room for one inference; and that is, that the intent was unlawful and corrupt. Besides, the resolution not only contains no mitigating suggestion, but on the contrary, it holds up the act complained of, as justly obnoxious to censure and reprobation; and thus as distinctly stamps it with impurity of motive, as if the strongest epithets had been used.

The President of the United States, therefore, has been, by a majority of his constitutional triers, accused and found guilty of an impeachable offence; but in no part of this proceeding have the directions of the constitution been observed.

The impeachment, instead of being preferred and prosecuted by the House of Representatives, originated in the Senate, and was prosecuted without the aid or concurrence of the other House. The oath or affirmation prescribed by the constitution was not taken by the senators; the Chief Justice did not

preside; no notice of the charge was given to the accused; and no opportunity afforded him to respond to the accusation, to meet his accusers face to face, to cross-examine the witnesses, to procure counteracting testimony, or to be heard in his defence. The safeguards and formalities which the constitution has connected with the power of impeachment, were doubtless supposed by the framers of that instrument to be essential to the protection of the public servant, to the attainment of justice, and to the order, impartiality, and dignity of the procedure. These safeguards and formalities were not only practically disregarded in the commencement and conduct of these proceedings, but in their result, I find myself convicted by less than two-thirds of the members present, of an impeachable offence.

It vainly may it be alleged in defence of this proceeding, that the form of the resolution is not that of an impeachment, or of a judgment thereupon; that the punishment prescribed in the constitution does not follow its adoption, or that in this case, no impeachment is to be expected from the House of Representatives. It is because it did not assume the form of an impeachment, that it is the more palpably repugnant to the constitution; for it is through that form only that the President is judicially responsible to the Senate; and though neither removal from office nor future disqualification ensues, yet it is not to be presumed, that the framers of the constitution considered either or both of those results, as constituting the whole of the punishment they prescribed. The judgment of guilty by the highest tribunal in the union; the stigma it would inflict on the offender, his family and fame, and the perpetual record on the journal, handing down to future generations the story of his disgrace, were doubtless regarded by them as the bitterest portions, if not the very essence of that punishment. So far, therefore, as some of its most material parts are concerned, the passage, recording, and promulgation of the resolution, are an attempt to bring them on the President, in a manner unauthorized by the constitution. To shield him and other officers who are liable to impeachment, from consequences so momentous, except when really merited by official delinquencies the constitution has most carefully guarded the whole process of impeachment. A majority of the House of Representatives must think the officer guilty, before he can be charged. Two-thirds of the Senate must pronounce him guilty, or he is deemed to be innocent. Forty-six Senators appear by the journal to have been present when the vote on the resolution was taken. If, after all the solemnities of an impeachment, thirty of those senators had voted that the President was guilty, yet would he have been acquitted; but by the mode of proceeding adopted in the present case, a lasting record of conviction has been entered up by the votes of twenty-six senators, without an impeachment or trial: whilst the constitu-

tion expressly declares that to the entry of such a judgment, an accusation by the House of Representatives, a trial by the Senate, and a concurrence of two-thirds in the vote of guilty shall be indispensable prerequisites.

Whether or not an impeachment was to be expected from the House of Representatives, was a point on which the Senate had no constitutional right to speculate, and in respect to which, even had it possessed the spirit of prophecy, its anticipations would have furnished no just grounds for this procedure. Admitting that there was reason to believe that a violation of the constitution and laws had been actually committed by the President, still it was the duty of the Senate, as his sole constitutional judges, to wait for an impeachment until the other should think proper to prefer it. The members of the Senate could have no right to infer that no impeachment was intended. On the contrary, every legal and rational presumption on their part ought to have been, that if there was good reason to believe him guilty of an impeachable offence, the House of Representatives would perform its constitutional duty, by arraigning the offender before the justice of his country. The contrary presumption would involve an implication derogatory to the integrity and honour of the representatives of the people. But suppose the suspicion thus implied were actually entertained, and for good cause; how can it justify the assumption by the Senate of powers not conferred by the constitution?

It is only necessary to look at the condition in which the Senate and the President have been placed by this proceeding, to perceive its utter incompatibility with the provisions and the spirit of the constitution, and with the plainest dictates of humanity and justice.

If the House of Representatives should be of opinion that there is just ground for the censure pronounced upon the President, then will it be the solemn duty of the House to prefer the proper accusation, and to cause him to be brought to trial by the constitutional tribunal. But in what condition would he find that tribunal. A majority of its members have already considered the case, and have not only formed but expressed a deliberate judgment upon its merits. It is the policy of our benign system of jurisprudence to secure, in all criminal proceedings, and even in the most trivial litigation, a fair, unprejudiced, and impartial trial. And surely it cannot be less important that such a trial should be assigned to the highest officer of the Government.

The constitution makes the House of Representatives the exclusive judges, in the first instance, of the question, whether the President has committed an impeachable offence. A majority of the Senate, who are interfere with this preliminary question, has, for the best of all reasons, been studiously excluded, anticipate the action of the House of Representatives, assume not only the sanction which belongs exclusively to that body, but

convert themselves into accusers, witnesses, counsel and judges, and prejudge the whole case. Thus presenting the appalling spectacle, in a free state, of judges going through a laboured preparation for an impartial hearing and decision, by a previous ex-parte investigation and sentence against the supposed offender.

There is no more settled axiom in that Government whence we derived the model of this part of our constitution, than, that "the Lords cannot impeach any to themselves, nor join in the accusation, because they are judges." Independently of the general reasons on which this rule is founded, its propriety and importance are greatly increased by the nature of the impeaching power. The power of arraigning the high officers of Government, before a tribunal whose sentence may expel them from their seats, and brand them as infamous, is eminently a popular remedy—a remedy designed to be employed for the protection of private right and public liberty, against the abuses of injustice and the encroachments of arbitrary power. But the framers of the constitution were also undoubtedly aware, that this formidable instrument had been, and might be abused; and that from its very nature, an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, whatever might be its result, would, in most cases, be accompanied by so much of dishonour and reproach, solicitude and suffering, as to make the power of preferring it, one of the highest solemnity and importance. It was due to both these considerations, that the impeaching power should be lodged in the hands of those who, from the mode of their election and tenor of their offices, would most accurately express the popular will, and at the same time be most directly and speedily amenable to the people. The theory of these wise and benignant intentions is, in the present case, effectually defeated by the proceedings of the Senate. The members of that body represent, not the people, but the States; and though they are undoubtedly responsible to the States, yet, from their extended term of service, the effect of that responsibility, during the whole period of that term, must very much depend upon their own impressions of its obligatory force. When a body, thus constituted, expresses beforehand its opinion in a particular case, and thus indirectly invites a prosecution, it not only assumes a power intended for wise reasons to be confined to others, but it shields the latter from that exclusive and personal responsibility under which it was intended to be exercised, and reverses the whole scheme of this part of the constitution.

Such would be some of the objections to this procedure, even if it were admitted that there is just ground for imputing to the President the offences charged in the resolution. But if, on the other hand, the House of Representatives shall be of opinion that there is no reason for charging them upon him, and shall therefore deem it improper to prefer an im-

peachment, then will the violation of privilege as it respects that House, of justice as it regards the President, and of the constitution, as it relates to both, be only the more conspicuous and impressive.

The constitutional mode of procedure on an impeachment has not only been wholly disregarded, but some of the first principles of natural right and enlightened jurisprudence, have been violated in the very form of the resolution. It carefully abstains from averring in which of "the late proceedings in relation to the public revenue, the President has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws." It carefully abstains from specifying what law or what parts of the constitution have been violated. Why was not the certainty of the offence—"the nature and cause of the accusation"—set out in the manner required in the constitution, before even the humblest individual, for the smallest crime, can be exposed to condemnation? Such a specification was due to the accused, that he might direct his defence to the real points of attack; to the people, that they might clearly understand in what particulars their institutions had been violated; and to the truth and certainty of our public annals. As the record now stands whilst the resolution plainly charges upon the President at least one act of usurpation in "the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue," and is so framed that those senators who believed that one such act, and only one, had been committed, could assent to it; its language is yet broad enough to include several such acts; and so it may have been regarded by some of those who voted for it. But though the accusation is thus comprehensive in the censures it implies there is no such certainty of time, place, or circumstance, as to exhibit the particular conclusion of fact or law which induced any one senator to vote for it. And it may well have happened, that whilst one senator believed that some particular act embraced in the resolution, was an arbitrary and unconstitutional assumption of power, others of the majority may have deemed that very act both constitutional and expedient, or if not expedient, yet still within the pale of the constitution. And thus a majority of the senators may have been enabled to concur, in a vague and undefined accusation, that the President, in the course of "the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue," had violated the constitution and laws;—whilst, if a separate vote had been taken in respect to each particular act, included within the general terms, the accusers of the President might, on any such vote, have been found in the minority.

Still further to exemplify this feature of the proceeding, it is important to be remarked, that the resolution as originally offered to the Senate, specified, with adequate precision certain acts of the President, which it denounced as a violation of the constitution and

laws; and that it was not until the very close of the debate, and when, perhaps, it was apprehended that a majority might not sustain the specific accusation contained in it, that the resolution was so modified as to assume its present form. A more striking illustration of the soundness and necessity of the rules which forbid vague and indefinite generalities, and require a reasonable certainty in all judicial allegations; and a more glaring instance of the violation of those rules, has seldom been exhibited.

In this view of the resolution it must certainly be regarded, not as a vindication of any particular provision of the law or the constitution, but simply as an official rebuke or condemnatory sentence, too general and indefinite to be easily repelled, but yet sufficiently precise to bring into discredit the conduct and motives of the executive. But whatever it may have been intended to accomplish, it is obvious that the vague, general, and abstract form of the resolution, is in perfect keeping with those other departures from first principles and settled improvements in jurisprudence, so properly the boast of free countries in modern times. And it is not too much to say, of the whole of these proceedings, that if they shall be approved and sustained by an intelligent people, then will that great contest with arbitrary power, which had established its statutes, in bills of right, in sacred charters, and in constitutions of government, the right of every citizen, to a notice before trial, to a hearing before conviction, and to an impartial tribunal for deciding on the charge, have been waged in vain.

If the resolution had been left in its original form, it is not to be presumed that it could ever have received the assent of a majority of the Senate, for the acts therein specified as violations of the constitution and laws, were clearly within the limits of the executive authority. They are the "dismissing the late secretary of the treasury, because he would not, contrary to his sense of his own duty, remove the money of the United States in deposit with the Bank of the United States, and its branches, in conformity with the President's opinion, and appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done." But as no other specification has been substituted, and as these were the "executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue," principally referred to in the course of the discussions, they will doubtless be generally regarded as the acts intended to be denounced as "an assumption of authority and power not conferred by the constitution or laws, but a derogation of both." It is therefore due to the occasion, that a condensed summary of the views of the executive in respect to them, should be here exhibited.

By the constitution, "the executive power is vested in a President of the United States," among the duties imposed upon him, and which he is sworn to perform, is that of taking care that the laws be faithfully exe-

cuted." Bring thus made responsible for the entire action of the executive department, it was but reasonable that the power of appointing, overseeing, and controlling those who execute the laws—a power in its nature executive—should remain in his hands. It is, therefore, not only his right, but the constitution makes it his duty, to "nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appoint," all "officers of the United States whose appointments are not in the constitution otherwise provided for," with a proviso, that the appointment of inferior officers may be vested in the President alone, in the courts of justice, or in the heads of departments.

The executive power vested in the Senate, is neither that of "nominating," nor "appointing." It is merely a check upon the executive power of appointment. If individuals are proposed for appointment by the President, by them deemed incompetent or unworthy, they may withhold their consent, and the appointment cannot be made. They check the action of the executive, but cannot, in relation to those very subjects, act themselves, nor direct him. Selections are still made by the President, and the negative given to the Senate, without diminishing his responsibility, furnishes an additional guarantee to the country that the subordinate executive, as well as the judicial officers, shall be filled with worthy and competent men.

The whole executive power being vested in the President, who is responsible for its exercise, it is a necessary consequence, that he should have a right to employ agents of his own choice to aid him in the performance of his duties, and to discharge them when he is no longer willing to be responsible for their acts. Strict accordance with this principle, the power of removal, which, like that of appointment, is an original executive power, is left unchecked by the constitution in relation to all executive officers, for whose conduct the President is responsible, while it is taken from him in relation to judicial officers, for whose acts he is not responsible. In the Government from which many of the fundamental principles of our system are derived, the head of the executive department originally had power to appoint and remove at will all officers—executive and judicial. It was to take the judges out of this general power of removal, and thus make them independent of the executive, that the tenure of their offices was changed to good behaviour. Nor is it conceivable, why they are placed, in our constitution, upon a tenure different from that of all other officers appointed by the executive, unless it be for the same purpose.

But if there were any just ground for doubt on the face of the constitution, whether all executive officers are removable at the will of the President, it is obviated by the contemporaneous construction of the instrument, and the uniform practice under it.

The power of removal was a topic of solemn

debate in the Congress of 1789, while organizing the administrative departments of the Government, and it was finally decided, that the President derived from the constitution the power of removal, so far as it regards that department for whose acts he is responsible. Although the debate covered the whole ground, embracing the treasury as well as all the other executive departments, it arose on a motion to strike out of the bill to establish a department of foreign affairs, since called the department of state, a clause declaring the secretary "to be removable from office by the President of the United States." After that motion had been decided in the negative, it was perceived that these words did not convey the sense of the use of Representatives in relation to the true source of the power of removal. With the avowed object of preventing any future interference, that this power was exercised by the President in virtue of a grant from Congress, when in fact that body considered it as derived from the constitution, the words which had been the subject of debate were struck out, and in lieu thereof a clause was inserted in a provision concerning the chief clerk of the department, which declared that "whenever the said principal officer shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, or in any other case of vacancy," the chief clerk should, during such vacancy, have charge of the papers of the office. This change having been made for the express purpose of declaring the sense of Congress, that the President derived the power of removal from the constitution, the act as it passed has always been considered as a full expression of the sense of the legislature on this important part of the American constitution.

Here then we have the concurrent authority of President Washington, of the Senate, and the House of Representatives, numbers of whom had taken an active part in the convention which framed the constitution, and in the State conventions, which adopted it, that the President derived an unqualified power of removal from that instrument itself, which is beyond the reach of legislative authority." Upon this principle the Government has now been steadily administered for about forty-five years, during which there have been numerous removals made by the President or by his direction, embracing every grade of executive officers, from the heads of departments to the messengers of Bureau.

The treasury department, in the discussions of 1789, was considered on the same footing as the other executive departments, and in the act establishing it, the precise words were incorporated indicative of the sense of Congress, that the President derives his power to remove the secretary from the constitution, which appear in the act establishing the department of foreign affairs. An assistant secretary of the treasury was created, and it was provided that he should take charge of the books and papers of the department, "when-

ever the secretary shall be removed from office by the President of the United States." The secretary of the treasury being appointed by the President, and being considered as constitutionally removable by him, it appears never to have occurred to any one in the Congress of 1789, or since, until very recently, that he was other than an executive officer, the mere instrument of the chief magistrate in the execution of the laws, subject, like all other heads of departments, to his supervision and control. No such an idea as an officer of the Congress can be found in the constitution, or appears to have suggested itself to those who organized the Government. There are officers of each house, the appointment of whom is authorized by the constitution, but all officers referred to in that instrument, as coming within the appointing power of the President, whether established thereby or created by law, are "officers of the United States." No joint power of appointment is given to the two houses of Congress, nor is there any accountability to them as one body; but as soon as any office is created by law, of whatever name or character, the appointment of the person or persons to fill it, devolves by the constitution upon the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, unless it be an inferior office, and the appointment be vested by the law itself "in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."

But at the time of the organization of the treasury department, an incident occurred which distinctly evinces the unanimous concurrence of the first Congress in the principle that the treasury department is wholly executive in its character and responsibilities. A motion was made to strike out the provision of the bill making it the duty of the secretary "to digest and report plans for the improvement and management of the revenue and for the support of public credit," on the ground that it would give the executive department of the Government too much influence and power in Congress. The motion was not opposed on the ground that the secretary was the officer of Congress and responsible to that body, which would have been conclusive, if admitted, but on other grounds which conceded his executive character throughout. The whole discussion evinces a unanimous concurrence in the principle, that the secretary of the treasury is wholly an executive officer, and the struggle of the minority was to restrict his power as such. From that time down to the present, the secretary of the treasury, the treasurer, register, comptrollers, auditors, and clerks, who fill the offices of that department, been considered and treated as on the same footing with corresponding grades of officers in all the other executive departments.

The custody of the public property, under such regulations as may be prescribed by legislative authority, has always been considered an appropriate function of the executive department in this and all other governments.

In accordance with this principle, every species of property belonging to the United States, (excepting that which is in the use of the several co-ordinate departments of the Government, as means to aid them in performing their appropriate functions), is in charge of officers appointed by the President, whether it be lands or buildings, or merchandise, or provisions, or clothing, or arms and munitions of war. The superintendents and keepers of the whole are appointed by the President, responsible to him, and removable at his will.

Public money is but a species of property. It cannot be raised by taxation or customs, nor brought into the treasury in any other way, except by law; but whenever or however obtained, its custody always has been, and always must be, unless the constitution be changed, intrusted to the executive department. No officer can be created by Congress for the purpose of taking charge of it, whose appointment would not, by the constitution, at once devolve on the President, and who would not be responsible to him for the faithful performance of his duties. The legislative power may undoubtedly bind him and the President by any laws they may think proper to enact; they may prescribe in what place particular portions of the public money shall be kept, and for what reason it shall be removed, as they may direct that supplies for the army or navy shall be kept in particular stores; and it will be the duty of the President to see that the law is faithfully executed; yet will the custody remain in the executive department of the Government. Were the Congress to assume, without a legislative act the power of appointing officers independently of the President, to take the charge and custody of the public property contained in the military and naval arsenals, magazines, and storehouses, it is believed that such an act would be regarded by all as a palpable usurpation of executive power, subversive of the forms as well as the fundamental principles of our Government. But where is the difference in principle, whether the public property be in the form of arms, munitions of war, and supplies, or in gold and silver, or bank-notes? None can be perceived; none is believed to exist. Congress cannot, therefore, take out of the hands of the executive department, the custody of the public property or money, without an assumption of executive power, and a subversion of the first principles of the constitution.

The Congress of the United States have never passed an act imperatively directing that the public monies shall be kept in any particular place or places. From the origin of the Government to the year 1816, the statute book was wholly silent on the subject. In 1789 a treasurer was created, subordinate to the Secretary of the Treasury, and through him to the President. He was required to give bond, safely to keep, and faithfully to disburse, the public monies, without any direction as to

the manner or places in which they should be kept. By reference to the practices of the Government, it is found, that from its first organization, the Secretary of the Treasury, acting under the supervision of the President, designated the places in which the public monies should be kept, and specially directed all transfers from place to place. This practice was continued, with the silent acquiescence of Congress, from 1789 down to 1816; and although a portion of the monies were first placed in the State Banks, and then in the former Bank of the United States, and upon the dissolution of that, were again transferred to the State Banks, no legislation was thought necessary by Congress; and all the operations were originated and perfected by executive authority. The Secretary of the Treasury, responsible to the President, and with his approbation, made contracts and arrangements in relation to the whole subject matter, which was thus entirely committed to the direction of the President, under his responsibilities to the American people, and to those who were authorized to impeach and punish him for any breach of this important trust.

The act of 1816, establishing the Bank of the United States, directed the depositories of public money to be made in that Bank and its branches, in places in which the said Bank and branches thereof may be established, "unless the Secretary of the Treasury should otherwise order or direct," in which event, he was required to give his reasons to Congress. This was but a continuation of his pre-existing powers as the head of an executive department, to direct where the depositories should be made, with the superadded obligation of giving his reasons to Congress for making them elsewhere than in the Bank of the United States and its branches. It is not to be considered that this provision in any degree altered the relation between the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, as the responsible head of the executive department, or released the latter from his constitutional obligation to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." On the contrary, it increased its responsibilities, by adding another to the long list of laws which it was his duty to carry into effect.

It would be an extraordinary result, if, because the person charged by law with a public duty, is one of the secretaries, it were less the duty of the President to see that law faithfully executed, than other laws enjoining duties upon subordinate officers or private citizens. If there be any difference, it would seem that the obligation is the stronger in relation to the former, because the neglect is in his presence, and the remedy at hand.

It cannot be doubted that it was the legal duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to order and direct the depositories of the public money to be made elsewhere than in the Bank of the United States, whenever sufficient reasons existed for making the change. If, in such a

case, he neglected or refused to act, he would neglect or refuse to execute the law. What, would then be the sworn duty of the President?—Could he say that the constitution did not bind him to see the law faithfully executed, because it was one of his secretaries, and not himself, upon whom the service was specially imposed? Might he not be asked whether there was any such limitation to his obligations prescribed in the constitution? Whether he is not equally bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, whether they impose duties on the highest officer of state, or the lowest subordinate in any of the departments? Might he not be told that it was for the sole purpose of causing all executive officers, from the highest to the lowest, faithfully to perform the services required of them by law—that the people of the United States have made him their chief magistrate, and the constitution have clothed him with the entire executive power of this Government? The principles implied in these questions appear too plain to need elucidation.

But here, also, we have a contemporaneous construction of the act, which shows that it was not understood as in any way changing the relations between the President and Secretary of the Treasury, or as placing the latter out of executive control, even in relation to the deposits of the public money. Nor on this point are we left to any equivocal testimony. The documents of the treasury department show that the Secretary of the Treasury did apply to the President, and obtain his approbation and sanction to the original transfer of the public deposits to the present Bank of the United States, and did carry the measure into effect in obedience to his decision. They also show that transfers of the public deposits from the branches of the Banks of the United States to State Banks, at Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and Louisville, in 1819, were made with the approbation of the President, and by his authority. They show, that upon all important questions appertaining to his department, whether they related to the public deposit or other matters, it was the constant practice of the Secretary of the Treasury to obtain for his acts the approval and sanction of the President. These acts, and the principles on which they were founded, were known to all departments of the Government, to Congress, and the country, and, until very recently, appear never to have been called in question.

Thus was it settled by the constitution, the laws, and the whole practice of the Government, that the entire executive power is vested in the President of the United States; that as incident to that power, the right of appointing and removing those officers who are to aid him in the execution of the laws, with such restrictions only as the constitution prescribes is vested in the President; that the Secretary of the treasury is one of those officers; that the custody of the public property and money is an executive function, which, in relation to

the money, has always been exercised through the Secretary of the Treasury and his subordinates; that in the performance of these duties he is subject to the supervision and control of the President, and in all important measures having relation to them, consults the chief magistrate, and obtains his approval and sanction; that the law establishing the Bank did not, as it could not, change the relation between the President and the Secretary—did not release the former from his obligation to see the law faithfully executed, nor the latter from the President's supervision and control; that afterwards, and before, the Secretary did in fact, consult, and obtain the sanction of the President, to transfers and removals of the public deposits; and that all departments of the Government, and the nation itself, approved or acquiesced in these acts and principles, as in strict conformity with our constitution and laws.

During the last year, the approaching termination, according to the provisions of its charter, and the solemn decision of the American people, of the Bank of the United States, made it expedient, and its exposed abuses and corruptions, made it, in my opinion, the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, to place the monies of the United States in other depositories. The Secretary did not concur in that opinion, and declined giving the necessary order and directions. So glaring were the abuses and corruptions of the Bank, so evident its fixed purpose to persevere in them, and so palpable its design, by its money and power, to control the Government, and change its character, that I deemed it the imperative duty of the executive authority, by the exertion of every power confided to it by the constitution and laws, to check its career, and lessen its ability to do mischief, even in the painful alternative of dismissing the head of one of the departments. At the time the removal was made, other causes sufficient to justify it existed; but if they had not, the Secretary would have been dismissed for this cause only.

His place I supplied by one whose opinions were well known to me, and whose frank expression of them in another situation, and whose generous sacrifices of interest and feeling, when unexpectedly called to the station he now occupies, ought for ever to have shielded his motives from suspicion, and his character from reproach. In accordance with the opinions long before expressed by him, he proceeded, with my sanction, to make arrangements for depositing the monies of the United States in other safe institutions.

The resolution of the Senate, as originally framed, and as passed, if it refer to these acts, presupposes a right in that body to interfere with this exercise of executive power. If the principle be once admitted, it is not difficult to perceive where it may end. If, by a mere denunciation like this resolution, the President should ever be induced to act, in a matter of official duty, contrary to the honest convictions

of his own mind, in compliance with the wishes of the Senate, the constitutional independence of the executive department would be as effectually destroyed, and its power effectually transferred to the Senate, as if that end had been accomplished by an amendment of the constitution. But if the Senate have a right to interfere with the executive powers, they have also the right to make that interference effective; and if the assertion of the power implied in the resolution be silently acquiesced in, we may reasonably apprehend that it will be followed, at some future day, by an attempt to actual enforcement. The Senate may refuse, except on the condition that he will surrender his opinions to theirs; and obey their will, to perform their own constitutional functions; to pass the necessary laws; to sanction appropriations proposed by the House of Representatives, and to confirm proper nominations made by the President. It has already been maintained (and it is not conceivable that the resolution of the Senate can be based on any other principle) that the Secretary of the Treasury is the officer of Congress, and independent of the President; that the President has no right to control him, and consequently none to remove him. With the same propriety, and on similar grounds, may the Secretary of State, the Secretaries of War and the Navy, and the Postmaster-General, each in succession, be declared independent of the President, the subordinates of Congress, and removable only with the concurrence of the Senate. Followed as its consequences, this principle will be found effectually to destroy one co-ordinate department of the Government, to concentrate in the hands of the Senate the whole executive power, and to leave the President as powerless, as he would be useless, the shadow of authority after the substance had departed.

The time and the occasion which have called forth the resolution of the Senate, seem to impose upon me an additional obligation not to pass it over in silence. Nearly forty-five years had the President exercised without a question as to his rightful authority, those powers for the recent assumption of which he is now denounced. The vicissitudes of peace and war had attended our Government; violent parties, watchful to take advantage of any seeming usurpation on the part of the executive, and distracted our counsels; frequent removals, or forced resignations, in every sense tantamount to removals, had been made of the secretary and other officers of the treasury; and yet, in no one instance it known, that any man, whether patriot or partisan, had raised his voice against it as a violation of the constitution. The expediency and justice of such changes, in reference to public officers of all grades, have frequently been the topics of discussion; but the constitutional right of the President to appoint, control, and remove, the head of the treasury, as well as all other departments, seems to have been universally conceded. And what is the

occasion upon which other principles have been first officially asserted. The Bank of the United States, a great monied monopoly, had attempted to obtain a renewal of its charter by controlling the elections of the people and the action of the Government. The use of its corporate funds and power in that attempt, was fully disclosed; and it was made known to the President that the corporation was putting in train the same course of measures, with the view of making another vigorous effort, through an interference in the elections of the people, to control public opinion and force the Government to yield to its demands. This, with its corruption of the press, its violation of its charter, its exclusion of the Government directors from its proceedings, its neglect of duty, and arrogant pretensions, made it, in the opinion of the President, incompatible with the public interest and safety of our institutions, that it should be no longer employed as the fiscal agent of the Treasury. A Secretary of the Treasury appointed in the recess of the Senate, who had not been confirmed by that body, and whom the President might or might not at his pleasure nominate to them, refused to do what his superior in the executive department considered the most imperative of his duties, and became in fact, however innocent his motives, the protector of the Bank. And on this occasion it is discovered for the first time, that those who framed the constitution misunderstood it; that the first Congress and all its successors have been under a delusion; that the practice of near forty-five years, is but a continued usurpation; that the Secretary of the Treasury is not responsible to the President; and that to remove him is a violation of the constitution and laws, for which the President deserves to stand for ever dishonoured on the journals of the Senate.

There are also some other circumstances connected with the discussion and passage of the resolution, to which I feel it to be, not only my right, but my duty to refer. It appears by the journal of the Senate, that among the twenty-six senators who voted for the resolution on its final passage, and who had supported it in debate, in its original form were one of the senators from the State of Maine, the two senators from New Jersey, and one of the senators from Ohio. It also appears by the same journal, and by the files of the Senate, that the legislatures of these States had severally expressed their opinions in respect to the executive proceedings drawn in question before the Senate.

The two branches of the legislature of the State of Maine, on the 25. of January, 1831, passed a preamble and series of resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas, at an early period, after the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency, in accordance with the sentiments which he had uniformly expressed, the attention of Congress was called to the constitutionality and expediency of the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank; and whereas, the

Bank has transcended its chartered limits in the management of its business transactions, and has abandoned the objects of its creation by engaging in political controversies, by wielding its power and influence to embarrass the administration of the general Government, and by bringing insolvency and distress upon the commercial community. And whereas, the public security from such an institution consists less in its present pecuniary capacity to discharge its liabilities than in the fidelity with which the trusts reposed in it have been executed. And whereas, the abuse and misapplication of the powers conferred, have destroyed the confidence of the public in the officers of the Bank, and demonstrated that such powers endanger the stability of republican institutions. Therefore, Resolved, That in the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, as well as in the manner of their removal, we recognise in the administration an adherence to constitutional rights, and the performance of a public duty.

"Resolved, That this legislature entertains the same opinion as heretofore expressed by preceding legislatures of this State, that the Bank of the United States ought not to be re-chartered.

"Resolved, That the senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the representatives be requested to oppose the restoration of the deposits, and the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank."

On the 11. of January, 1831, the House of Assembly and Council composing the legislature of the State of New Jersey, passed a preamble and a series of resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas the present crisis in our public affairs calls for a decided expression of the voice of the people of this State; and whereas we consider it the undoubted right of the legislature of the several States to instruct those who represent their interests in the councils of the nation, in all matters which intimately concern the public weal, and may affect the happiness or well-being of the people. Therefore

"1. Be it resolved by the Council and General Assembly of this State, That while we acknowledge with feelings of devout gratitude our obligations to the Great Ruler of nations for his mercies to us as a people, that we have been preserved alike from foreign war, from the evils of internal commotions, and the machinations of designing and ambitious men who would prostrate the fair fabric of our Union; that we ought, nevertheless, to humble ourselves in His presence and implore His aid for the perpetuation of our republican institutions, and for a continuance of that unexampled prosperity which our country has hitherto enjoyed.

"2. Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the integrity and firmness of the venerable patriot who now holds the distin-

guished post of chief magistrate of this nation, and whose purity of purpose and elevated motives have so often received the unqualified approbation of a large majority of his fellow citizens.

"3. Resolved, That we view with agitation and alarm the existence of a great monied incorporation which threatens to embarrass the operations of the Government, and by means of its unbounded influence upon the currency of the country, to scatter distress and ruin throughout the community; and that we, therefore, solemnly believe the present Bank of the United States ought not to be rechartered.

"4. Resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our members of the House of Representatives be requested to sustain, by their votes and influence, the course adopted by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Taney, in relation to the Bank of the United States, and the deposits of the Government monies, believing as we do the course of the Secretary to have been constitutional, and that the public good required its adoption.

"5. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the above resolutions to each of our senators and representatives from this State in the Congress of the United States."

On the 21. day of February last, the legislature of the same State reiterated the opinions and instructions before given, by joint resolutions, in the following words:-

"Resolved by the Council and General Assembly of New Jersey, That they do adhere to the resolutions passed by them on the 11. day of January last relative to the President of the United States, the Bank of the United States, and the course of Mr. Taney in removing the Government deposits,

"Resolved, That the legislature of New Jersey have not seen any reason to depart from such resolutions since the passage thereof; and it is their wish that they should receive from our senators and representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, that attention and obedience which are due to the opinion of a sovereign State, openly expressed in its legislative capacity."

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

TOOLE, J., Hand-court, Dowgate-hill, emery-paper-manufacturer.

WATSON, J., Calthorpe-street, Grays-inn-lane, dealer in music.

BANKRUPTS.

BOYCE, S. C., Walthbrook, oil-merchant.

HAWTIN, T., Hurlston, Birmingham, linen-drajer.

HODGSON, E., and R. Olpherts, Thrumpton and Retford, Nottinghamshire, coach-builders.

JONES, W., Francis-st., Tottenham-court-road, wine-merchant.

MACHIN, J. M., Waterloo-place, Pall-mall, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FYFEE, A., Haddington, surgeon.

PHILIP, J., and Son, Dolls, Stirlingshire, distillers.

TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

DEAYTON, W., St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, victualler.

PARRIS, W., Red Lion-yard, Hampstead, livery-stable-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BARCLAY, J., Pembroke, general-shop-keeper.

COHEN, D. L., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, grocer.

DICKINSON, G. J. R. J., Ealing, Middlesex, surgeon.

EVERTON, E., Coventry, riband-manufacturer.

LAKE, G., Stockport, Cheshire, hat-manufacturer.

SALTER, J., and W. Balston, Poole, twine-manufacturers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HOME, J., Linhouse, Glasgow, manufacturer and dealer in iron.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 26.—

The supply of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, as well as spring corn, was more limited to-day than usual. Millers evincing more disposition to purchase, prices of Wheat were fully maintained, and the trade closed with a staid aspect.

In bonded corn nothing transpiring.

The few samples of Barley offering were taken for distillery and grinding purposes, at fully the rates of this day week.

Malt steady in value, with a limited demand.

The arrivals of Oats since Friday have not been large, and as there was a good speculative demand, Friday's prices were supported, being fully 1s. dearer than this day week. The article in bond is in request, and sales have been made at from 13s. to 15s. per quarter. The last quotations from Hamburgh were 2s. 2d. per quarter, free on board in Denmark.

Beans scarce, and full is, dearer. In bond the article is advancing in value, and 20s. have been offered in vain for some good parcels.

Peas are in very short supply, and hog quantities are worth 1s. per quarter more money. In bond the article meets inquiry, but there are few samples to be obtained.

The Flour trade rules dull, and ship marks difficult of disposal.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk | 44s. to 49s. |
| White | 48s. to 54s. |
| Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire | 42s. to 46s. |
| White, ditto | 45s. to 52s. |
| West Country red | 43s. to 46s. |
| White, ditto | 45s. to 51s. |
| Northumberland and Berwickshire red | 39s. to 44s. |
| White, ditto | 40s. to 46s. |
| Moray, Angus, and Roxburgh red | 36s. to 42s. |
| White, ditto | 43s. to 44s. |
| Irish red | 35s. to 41s. |
| White, ditto | 43s. to 44s. |
| Barley, Malt | 28s. to 30s. |
| Chevalier | —s. to 30s. |
| Distilling | 27s. to 29s. |
| Grinding | 26s. to 29s. |
| Malt, new | 34s. to 48s. |
| Norfolk, pale | 50s. to 56s. |
| Ware | 50s. to 58s. |
| Peas, Hog and Grey | 32s. to 35s. |
| Maple | 34s. to 37s. |
| White Boilers | 34s. to 38s. |
| Beaus, Small | 31s. to 40s. |
| Harrow | 31s. to 37s. |
| Tick | 30s. to 35s. |
| Oats, English Feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Short, small | 23s. to 25s. |
| Poland | 23s. to 26s. |
| Scotch, common | 23s. to 24s. |
| Potato | 26s. to 27s. |
| Berwick | 25s. to 26s. |
| Irish, Galway, &c. | 20s. to 21s. |
| Potato | 23s. to 25s. |
| Black | 22s. to 23s. |
| Bras, per bushel | 10s. to 13s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Butter, Dorset | 40s. to —s. per cwt. |
| Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| York | 40s. to 42s. |
| Cheese, Dble Gloucester | 48s. to 60s. |
| Single ditto | 44s. to 48s. |
| Cheshire | 54s. to 74s. |
| Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Hams, Westmoreland | 50s. to 60s. |
| Cumberland | 46s. to 58s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 26.

This day's supply of Beasts and Porkers was limited; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, good. Trade was throughout dull, with Beef at an advance, with Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, at a depression of full 2d. per stone; with Pork at Friday's quotations.

About two-thirds of the Beasts were Scots; and the remaining third about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Welsh Runts, with about 50 Sussex Beasts, as many Herefords, about the same number of Irish Beasts, with a few Town's-end Cows, Stafford, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to four of the latter: about a fourth South-Downs, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About two-thirds of the Lambs, the total number of which was supposed to be about 4,000, appeared to be South-Downs, and the remaining third about equal numbers of new Leicesters of different crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breeds, &c.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, about 1,000 of which were Scots, mixed up with a few Norfolk homebreds, the remainder about equal numbers of Short-horns and Devons, with a few Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, a full moiety of which were Short-horns, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons and Runts, with a few Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 120, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, Welch runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts, Devons, Irish beasts, &c., from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 30.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices fully as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| Cons. Ann. | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ |

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 84.—No. 16.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 7TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"As the END approacheth, one of the symptoms of the approach will be, an incessant jangling in the Ministry, and a chopping and changing of Ministers, the characters and talents of whom will fall lower and lower, till, at last, no man will consent to be a Minister, unless he stand in need of the necessities of life." *Register*, 14. Nov. 1829.

CHOPPING IN THE MINISTRY.

Bell-court, 4. June, 1834.

I TAKE the same motto that I had last week; and it is still more pointedly applicable now than it was then. To be sure, reason always told me that it must come to this; that we should at last see indescribable *lowness*, to use a mild term, in the composition of the "statesmen," amongst whom the King would have to choose; but still, as in all similar cases, notwithstanding the correctness of our foresight, we cannot help being staggered at what we behold. On Monday night, the second instant, Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. STANLEY took their places in the House of Commons, on the same side of the House as the Ministers; but at a distance from the Treasury Bench, and in a compartment of the House, to the members who sit in which, Mr. O'CONNELL has given the name of the "armed neutrality."

The first motion that was made was to resume the adjourned debate on Mr. WARD's motion, the purport and tenor of which I stated in the last issue. I ought to mention here, that Mr. WARD, in his original notice of mo-

tion, did not omit to provide for *compensation to the owners of advowsons*, a circumstance which I was not aware of when I wrote the last *Register*. Upon the motion for resuming the adjourned debate being made, Lord ALTHORP stated that his motive for having moved the adjournment of the debate on the Tuesday before, was the difference of opinion amongst the Ministers relative to the motion of Mr. WARD, and the consequent resignation of a part of them. He then added that the King had actually signed a commission to appoint certain *laymen* to go to Ireland, and to ascertain the proportion of church-people compared with Catholics and Dissenters, in order that the Parliament might be informed of the degree in which the revenues of the Irish church exceeded the wants of the Irish church-people; and, as he pledged himself that the Ministry would then act upon the principle that the Parliament had a right to deal with the property of the church, he suggested to Mr. WARD to withdraw his motion, and to confide in the Ministers for acting on this principle on the report of the commission.

Mr. WARD objected to withdraw his motion, unless there were some vote of the House recognising its principle. Therefore, the debate was resumed, upon Lord ALTHORP moving the previous question on Mr. WARD's motion. Pretty early in the debate Mr. STANLEY got up in support of the previous question; but, at the same time, expressing his regret that it was not a motion for a direct negative. He, then, in one of the finest speeches that ever was made, and in the most clear and unqualified language; in words and sentences, the true meaning of which the most simple person in the world could not mistake; and in a tone scorning all disguise, all reservation, all provision for future changing or shuffling, stated to us the grounds upon which he and Sir JAMES GRAHAM had seceded from the Ministry.

He said, that he agreed with his colleagues who remained in the Ministry, so far as to assert the right of Parliament to regulate the application of church-property to church purposes; to make rules and regulations such as it might deem necessary to the preservation of the establishment and the advancement of religion; but that he never had agreed with them, or with any body else; he never had recognised, and never would recognise, the principle, that the Parliament had a right to *take away* from the church any part of its revenues or property of any description; and to apply it to purposes other than those of the church itself.

This was the ground upon which he separated with his colleagues, and which he told us was also the ground of Sir JAMES GRAHAM. He sat down declaring his intention to vote for the previous question, and regretting that he had not a direct negative to vote for. While he was speaking every one perceived that some one amongst the remaining Ministers must get up to answer him. The lot fell upon Mr. SPRING RICE. I will not say any thing ill-natured; but the contrast was so great as really to inspire pity for this remnant of a Ministry. Lord JOHN RUSSELL did a little better; but there came afterwards Mr. O'CONNELL, in a speech ridiculing the commission and ridiculing the Ministry and their whole proceeding, exposing the motive of the delay and all the whole of the shuffle, till, at last, the House really seemed to be ashamed of calling the thing a Ministry that was sitting there chastised before it. As if this were not enough, came Sir ROBERT PEEL, who expressed his determination to vote for the previous question, and expressing also his grief with Mr. STANLEY, that he could not vote for a direct negative. There were three speeches of Mr. STANLEY, Mr. O'CONNELL, and Sir ROBERT PEEL; were the three best that I ever heard in one debate, at any rate.

These speeches met with no answer, Mr. LINGWOOD followed with a strange sort of doctrine; but the House was

impatient; and though his doctrine was very well worthy of attention, it attracted but very little. The Ministers *might* have answered; there were the materials ready at hand; and they ought to have known where to find them; there were the materials for a complete answer to Mr. STANLEY and to Sir ROBERT PEEL; but to have resorted to those materials would have placed the Ministers in a situation such as they had not the courage to look at, nor to think of. They, therefore, resorted to vague assertions of the right of Parliament to deal with church-property; but those assertions they did not dare to embody in a specific declaration put upon the records of Parliament. It was hinted to them, that they avoided this course, lest they should lose two more of their colleagues, members of the other House! This they positively denied; but still there remained to be explained, why they refused to *put their principle upon record*.

Now, let us look a little at the effect of this commission; and see what the church is likely to gain by it; see whether, with regard to the church, it be preferable to the passing of the motion of Mr. WARD. What is it? It is a commission to inquire what proportion of the people of Ireland are church Protestants; what proportion are Catholics; and what proportion are Protestant Dissenters; and the Ministers declare their intention to take away and secularize that portion of the revenues of the church of Ireland, which is beyond the spiritual wants of the several flocks. Now, it is very well known that the church Protestants are only about one out of every sixteen; consequently only about a sixteenth part of the revenues will be left to the clergy of the church of Ireland, unless this commission be a downright fraud. If this were all, however, it would be a comparative trifle; but, if this commission be proper with regard to Ireland, *why not a similar commission with regard to England*? This was too obvious a question not to be put by Mr. STANLEY, and which he did put, in a most powerful manner, not omitting to describe any one of the con-

sequences so fatal to the church. Sir ROBERT PEEL also insisted that the like *must come to England*. He observed that the church-rate extinguishment had already come to England, and that this commission of inquiry as to relative numbers would not fail to follow it.

It is manifest that it must come to England; and then it will be found, that the church revenues here are much too large for the spiritual wants of the flocks who attend the church. In several parishes in England, the Roman Catholics alone form the majority, or something very nearly approaching it. In, I believe, a majority of the parishes, the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics together, form the majority. You will find parishes with a clerical revenue of a thousand or two of pounds, and with three-fourths of the people going to meeting-houses. Why are the Catholics and Dissenters of England not to have the benefit of a commission as well as those of Ireland? Upon what ground is this distinction to take place? The principle is acknowledged by the Ministers, that Parliament has a right to deal with church-property, to take it, and apply it to secular uses. By this commission the King recognises the principle of *enumeration*; and I should like to know, why these principles are not to be applied to England as well as to Ireland: it is *one and the same church*: its rights in one country are precisely that which they are in the other country; and it is impossible that those rights can be set aside in one country, without being set aside in the other. The commission is better than Mr. WARD's motion; it is more decisive as to principle; it is more practical and conclusive.

The Dissenters, if this commission be really and truly acted upon according to the pledges of the Ministers, may save themselves the trouble of petitioning any more for a severing of the church from the state; for this commission, applied to England, as it must be, will do the whole thing most effectually.

The House, probably, without perceiving this, finally adopted the previous question, 396 voting for it, and 120 voting against it; and thus this

commission is expected to go into effect.

I should deceive my readers, however, if I were to disguise from them my suspicions with regard to the object and to the result of this commission. I think, that it was a hasty, and rather a desperate step to preserve the Ministry from a total dissolution. To have opposed Mr. WARD's motion in any way, whether by direct negative, or by previous question, would, in all probability, have left the Ministry in a minority, and have withdrawn from them a majority of their supporters. The commission was intended to parry the thrust; to stave off the immediate imminent danger, and thus to prevent a total dissolution and breaking up of the Ministry. But, the remedy will be found to be far worse than the disease. This commission, and the object of it, are thus described, in a paper which Lord ALTHORP read to the House.

"The expediency of an inquiry into the state of religious and other instruction, and the means of affording the same, now existing in Ireland; it will authorize and appoint the commissioners, any two or more of them, to visit every parish in Ireland, and to ascertain on the spot, by the best evidence which they can procure, there or elsewhere, the number of members of, or persons in communion with the united church of England and Ireland in each benefice or parish, distinguishing, in the case of such benefices as comprise more than one parish, the number belonging to each parish separately, and to the union collectively; and also to state the distances of the parishes in each union, from each other, respectively; to state the number and rank of the Ministers belonging to, or officiating within each benefice, whether rector, vicar, or curate, and whether resident or non-resident; to state the periods at which divine service is performed in each parish church or chapel, and the average number of persons usually attending the service in each, and to state generally whether those members have been for the last five years

" increasing, stationary, or diminishing ;
 " to ascertain the number of the several
 " other places of worship belonging to
 " Roman Catholics or Presbyterians or
 " other Protestant Dissenters, and the
 " number of ministers officiating in
 " each, the proportion of the population
 " of each parish belonging to each of
 " such persuasions respectively, the pe-
 " riods at which divine service is per-
 " formed in each of their chapels, and
 " the average number of persons usually
 " attending the service in each ; and to
 " state generally whether those num-
 " bers have been, for the last five years,
 " increasing, stationary, or diminishing.
 " To ascertain the state of each
 " parish, with reference to the means of
 " education, the number and description
 " of schools, the kind of instruction
 " afforded therein, the average attend-
 " ance at each, and the sources from
 " which they are supported ; and to
 " state generally whether the numbers
 " attending the same have, for the last
 " five years, been increasing, stationary,
 " or diminishing. To inquire generally
 " whether adequate provision is now
 " made for the religious instruction and
 " for the general education of the
 " people of Ireland. To report such
 " other circumstances connected with
 " the moral and political relations of the
 " church establishment, and the reli-
 " gious institutions of other sects as
 " may bring clearly into view their
 " bearings on the general condition of
 " the people of Ireland."

Can any thing more be wanted com-
 pletely to overset the church in Eng-
 land? Every one will say, that this is
 all that is wanted. But, without this,
 the Ministry did not dare meet the
 House of Commons on Monday night.
 It was, therefore, read to the members
 assembled at Lord ALTHORP'S house on
 that day, in order to ascertain whether
 they would support him in moving the
 various question. It was a mere expe-
 nt to save the Ministry from being
 broken up.

Lord GREY had, on the 29. of May,
 signified his intention to retire from
 office himself, observing, and very
 justly, that, if he were abandoned by

those on whom he relied for carrying on
 the affairs of the state, it was not to be
 expected that he, at seventy years of
 age, should remain to be buffeted
 about in the first place ; and, finally,
 actually to be turned out of his
 office.

In this state of things a large number
 of the members of the House of Com-
 mons addressed a letter to him in the
 following words, the letter being con-
 veyed through Lord EBRINGTON.

" TO EARL GREY.

" MY LORD,—We have heard with
 " deep concern that the changes which
 " have taken place in the administration
 " might possibly lead your lordship to
 " contemplate retirement from office.

" Impressed with the firmest con-
 " viction that the country is indebted
 " to you for the success of measures
 " the most essential to the public
 " welfare, and assured that your re-
 " signation at this crisis would produce
 " consequences most injurious to the
 " peace and prosperity of the com-
 " munity, we venture to express to your
 " lordship our undiminished confidence.
 " in the wisdom with which you have
 " held the reins of Government, and
 " our unshaken attachment to those
 " principles which you have so effi-
 " ciently and consistently maintained.
 " We desire, therefore, to convey to
 " you our anxious hope that you will
 " not be induced to retire from his
 " Majesty's councils whilst you can
 " continue to preside over them as you
 " have hitherto done, with so much
 " honour to yourself, and so much
 " benefit to the country."

His lordship's answer is deeply in-
 teresting to the country : it has given
 great umbrage, instead of satisfaction ;
 at least, so the *Morning Chronicle* says,
 even to those who signed the letter
 addressed to his lordship.

May 31, 1834.

" DEAR LORD EBRINGTON,—I re-
 " ceived yesterday evening your very
 " kind note accompanying the letter,
 " which had been written under the
 " impression that I had determined to

"retire from the situation which I now
* hold.

"Whether I regard the expressions
'contained in the letter itself, or the
'number and respectability of the
'signatures, I cannot help feeling this
to be one of the most gratifying
testimonials of confidence and good
opinion ever received by any public
"mah.

"It imposes on me the duty of
"making every personal sacrifice that
"can be required of me, and which
"can be useful for the support of the
"principles on which the present ad-
"ministration was formed. But I will
"not conceal from you, that declining
"strength makes it extremely doubt-
"ful whether I shall be found equal to
"the task which is thus imposed upon
"me.

"If my endeavours to supply the
"places of those of whose services the
"country has been so unfortunately
"deprived prove successful, it is only
"by the support of honourable and
"independent men, in conducting the
"Government on *safe and moderate*
"principles, that I can hope to get
"through the *difficulties which are*
"before me.

"Founded on the principles of re-
"form, the present administration
"must necessarily look to the *cor-*
"rection of all *proved abuses*. But in
"pursuing a course of *salutary im-*
"provement, I feel it indispensable that
"we shall be allowed to proceed with
deliberation and caution; and *above*
"all, that we should not be urged by
"a constant and active *pressure from*
"without, to the adoption of any
"measures, the necessity of which has
"not been *fully proved*, and which
"are not *strictly regulated* by a careful
"attention to the *settled institutions* of
"the country, both in Church and
"State.

"On no other principle can this or
"any other administration be conducted
"with advantage or safety.

"I am, &c.

"GREY."

If the reader pay attention to the
words which I have marked by italics,

he will find very little ground for hoping
that his lordship intends to pursue that
course of reforming abuses, without
which course the nation never can be
satisfied. Here are so many qualifica-
tions: the principles are to be *mode-*
rate: the abuses are to be *proved*: and
then there comes an ugly BUT; the
improvement is to be *salutary*: the
progress is to be marked with *delibera-*
tion and caution: there is to be no
pressure from without to urge the
adoption of measures, the necessity of
which has not been *fully proved*: the
measures must be strictly regulated by
the *settled institutions*, both in church,
and state. Now, the fair meaning of
this is, that he will consent to no change
whatsoever of any considerable mag-
nitude; and it puzzles one to divine why
he should have parted with Mr. STAN-
LEY and Sir JAMES GRAHAM. To
have agreed to Mr. WARD's motion
would, indeed, have been not to have
been strictly regulated by the settled
institutions of the country; but, to
issue the commission, accompanied
with the declarations of the Ministers,
is as great, and a much more ob-
vious, departure from those institutions.
Therefore, people suspect the sincerity
of the declarations of the Ministers.
Viewed in conjunction with this letter
of Lord GREY, people must suspect
that the commission is not intended to
lead to an alienation, a *taking away*, of
any part of the property of the church:
they must suspect that it is a mere ex-
pedient to put off the evil hour; to gain
time; to have breathing time; and
that, in short, there is no security what-
soever, that the commission will be acted
upon in a manner that the majority of
the House seem to expect. The quar-
rels about this church were the principal
cause of bringing *one king to the block*;
to uphold this church, another *king was*
driven from his throne; to uphold this
church, the *national debt* was invented;
to uphold this church, the *Septennial*
Act was passed; to preserve this church,
was the principal object of the twenty-
two years war against France; to up-
hold this church, a debt of eight hun-
dred millions has been contracted; to

uphold this church, the Irish Coercion Bill was passed by a reformed Parliament; what remains for it to accomplish, or to cause to be done, no man can tell; but this is certain, that it must now triumph against the will of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of the whole kingdom; or that it must cease to exist as a dominant church, upheld by the state.

With regard to the Ministry as it now stands, all that it has to do to retain its power is, to act in conformity to the wishes of the people. It is merely now existing under the forbearance of the House of Commons, which is waiting to see how far it will go. It is surrounded with suspicions; and, if it act in a suspicious manner, it will soon find it impossible to get on; and Lord GAZER will find himself under the necessity of retiring at last. *What is to come next? Who is to make up a Ministry, in whom the people will have confidence?* These questions can be answered by nobody except by mere guess. The system has brought itself very nearly to an END; it must be changed; and wholly changed. It cannot go on any longer; Lord GAZER has to choose between acting in a manner contrary to that which is stated in his letter, and the quitting of his office, and leaving the whole affair to chance.

It is reported that Lord ALTHORP will leave his office from a cause that must take him to the House of Peers; and that Mr. AMERCROMBY is intended to succeed him! Look at the motto again, reader, and deny that I am a prophet, if you can! Why, this gentleman, though, I believe, a very worthy man, is a heavy pensioner, already; and, as to his skill in finance, he was one, I believe, of the bullion-committee of 1810; and I know that he was amongst the most conspicuous of the blunderers, who voted for, and who predicted the most salutary effects from, the fatal bill of 1819. However, thus it must be, *as the end approacheth.* There is no guessing; not even guessing at what a Ministry may do with such a Chancellor of the Exchequer leading the House of Commons. There will be

"salutary improvements" with a vengeance! There will be "*deliberation and caution.*" There will be measures "*strictly regulated by settled institutions*"; there will be, in short, or, at least, so I believe, that which I predicted in my address to the people of England, when I started for LONG ISLAND; namely, "*a blundering along from expedient to expedient, till, at last, amidst the war of opinions and of projects, of interests and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks*"; leaving behind it a warning to all future churches and states, how they contract debts of eight hundred millions.

Lord GAZER talks of "*the difficulties which are before him.*" Why, the greatest of all these have been *created by himself!* His poor-law commission and his Poor-law Bill form the greatest difficulty that he has to contend with. And, is this Poor-law Bill "*strictly regulated by the settled institutions of the country*"? Is it not in direct contradiction to those settled institutions? Is it not a pulling to pieces that which has been established for two hundred and forty years? Have not the poor-laws existed ever since the church has existed? and, shall the former be violated, abrogated, torn to atoms, and the latter remain untouched? This is the greatest of all his difficulties: it disturbs the whole kingdom of England and Wales; it fills with alarm every proprietor of a barn and a homestead. It shocks the feelings of every man in the kingdom, who has the smallest particle of humanity about him; it is a sweeping revolutionary measure; and it is *all his own work!* He had difficulties before him quite enough; and he must needs create this in addition; while he takes special care to preserve the pension-list untouched, and to keep in force every art of his predecessors, however grating to the souls of the people. Let him, therefore, not complain of difficulties; let him take them as his due, and let him get out of them as well as he can.

WM. CORBETT.

HEDDEKASHUN.

ON Tuesday, the 3^d instant, Mr. ROXBUCK made his motion, at the end of a very neat and elegant speech, for a committee to inquire into the means of establishing a system of *national education*. This, now modelled by an amendment of Lord MORPETH, which, being remodelled by Lord ALTHORP, was finally agreed to in the following words,

"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of education in England and Wales, and the operation and effects of the grant that was made last session for the promotion of education and the establishment of schools; and to consider the expediency of further grants for the purpose of education."

I opposed this motion as well as the two amendments; and for reasons which have been before so fully and so often stated to my readers; and, I would suffer my limbs to be chopped off, before I would give my consent, expressly, or tacitly, for the raising of one farthing of tax upon the people for any such purpose. There is, it seems, some new scheme on foot for making this "*heddekashun*" more perfect and intellectual. Just as if intellectual enjoyment of any sort were to be derived from nothing but *books*. Just as if a ploughman, or a hedger, or a shepherd, could not *think*, with as much pleasure and delight, as a smoke-dried scribe, lodged in a garret in London! Amongst the ludicrous ideas that came out upon this occasion, was that of establishing a school for teaching the schoolmasters, just as they do the non-commissioned officers in the army, previous to setting them to teach the men! They will teach the schoolmasters morals and religion, too, I suppose, *à la Mathus*. I should not wonder to hear of the establishment of a *school for Ministers*, in which to drill them before they enter upon their offices. I am sure that there is more need of this sort of school than of the other. And who are to be the teachers of the schoolmasters? I should like to see assembled together, six or

seven thousand young fellows, who have sucked in the rudiments of conceit and laziness, and an equal number of women; to the former of whom the intended bastardy law would be extremely convenient. However, this is all a parcel of despicable nonsense, which will never end in any thing practical; and which, amongst all the other projects of "*improvement*," will be swept away like dust before the storm, in the development of the great events which are now proceeding on to produce their actual effects upon the nation. It is quite surprising that a Parliament, and men calling themselves Ministers of State, can suffer their time to be occupied in discussions about such trash, when they see danger to the state itself, staring them in the face from every quarter.

I could not help observing on one part of the speech of Mr. ROXBUCK. He said (and I am sure he believes it to be true), that the peasantry, as he called them; that is to say, the working country-people of England, are in the most deplorable state of darkness and ignorance; that they are a set of creatures woe-begone and miserable; and that they are deplorably unhappy for the want of book-knowledge to exercise their minds and give them pleasant thoughts. I wish he would not make himself unhappy about them. They are just, taking them as a body, the reverse of all this. Let him go on a Sunday, when they are not scattered about at work, to any village thirty miles from London. He will find them all, with the exception of a very few indeed, in their clean clothes, and all the younger part of them, either strolling about in pairs, or playing at cricket, except at the time for going to the church or meeting-house; and he will see no miserable creature amongst them; he will see no unhappy person, except in case of some calamity which is purely accidental. They have thoughts of their own; their thoughts turn on things under their eyes, and in which they have an interest; and they have full employment for their thoughts, too. In large towns the case is different. The study

of books is compatible with weaving and divers other arts; and they may tend, in many cases, to keep men from scenes of intoxication. But, in the country, no such thing is wanted; and while there will be geniuses in plenty spring up from amongst these country people, the desirable thing is, that nothing should be put in their way, for them to prefer to work in the fields. When parents can afford to put a boy to school, and to provide the means of making him something other than a labouring man, then the school is good; but my objection to this general schooling is, that it shuts up little boys in a room, and teaches them laziness; which never quits them till the day of their death. I take it to be incontrovertibly true, that no boy who, after the age of six or seven, has been a year or two at school, will ever take cordially and kindly to work; and nobody knows the happiness enjoyed by those who go cheerfully to their labour in the fields, except those who perform that cheerful labour. The man who comes home, too tired to pull off his clothes, and who wakes in the the morning laughing to find himself with his clothes on, is a ten thousand times happier man, than he who lies awake in his bed, however easy his life, and however plenteous his board.

Now, I am sure that Mr. ROXBURGH knows nothing of the state of the country people; or he would see the impracticability of making an addition to their happiness by what he calls education. All that they want at this time is, a greater quantity of employment than is generally to be found; and as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses cannot give them employment, no good can come of schooling, but a great deal of mischief may come from it.

Then, as to the political effects of such a system; they are like those of the poor-law scheme, and every other scheme of this GAZZ administration; namely, the bringing of every thing to centre in the Government at London; and there must be a central commission for the schools as well as for the poor, who would have its spy in every village under the name of schoolmaster, and

this spy would correspond with the Board in London. However, there can be nothing of this sort, without the *parsons* having a hand in it; so that this scheme will be going on, and the scheme for pulling down the church at the same time; and, if the Parliament should grant money to set this scheme afloat, it would only tend to thicken the mess of confusion, all the elements of which seem now to be working together.

TO

MR. STANLEY.

Holt-court, 4. June, 1834.

SIR, — The first speech that you made in Parliament was upon a motion of Mr. HUME, the object of which motion was to take away and to apply to secular purposes, a part of the revenues of the church of Ireland. You then said that Parliament had no right to do such a thing, and that the revenues of the church were as sacred, as completely confined to the possession of the church and clergy, as any man's private property was confined to him, and was beyond the reach of legislative power. I, at that time, answered your speech, and contended for the contrary.

On Monday, the 2. instant, I heard you, in your place in Parliament, repeat your doctrine above-mentioned, and defend your seceding from your colleagues on the ground, that they were ready to yield to a vote of the House of Commons, if, by that vote, it should be determined to take away from the church a part of its revenues, and to apply it to purposes not connected with the church. Upon this occasion you said:

That the Parliament was perfectly competent to make regulations, relative to the distribution of church-property amongst the clergy; but that it was not competent; that is to say, that it had no rightful power to take away from the clergy of the church, any part of the revenues which they now enjoyed, and to appropriate those

revenues so taken away to any other than church purposes.

That this was an opinion that you had always held; that it was an opinion from which you would never depart; and that you believed, that the contrary principle was one that the people of England would never assent to; that no Parliament would ever sanction; and that no King would ever ratify.

That, if the principle were adopted by the House, that the House could rightfully take away and alienate for ever, any part of the revenues of the church, that principle would equally well apply itself to private property of every description, and that then there would remain nothing in the kingdom worthy of the name of property.

Now, sir, while I, in common with every other gentleman that heard you, greatly admire the frank, the bold, and decided manner, in which you expressed your opinions and determination upon this subject, I think it my duty to inform my readers, through this channel, that you are wrong in your doctrine; and that, instead of the adhering to your doctrine having a tendency to preserve property in the hands of those who now have it, that very doctrine, if it were sound, would expose a very large part of the landed property of this kingdom to be taken away from individuals by the Parliament, and applied to the uses of the people.

You will agree with me, sir, I am sure, that this present Parliament has the same supreme power that has been possessed by former Parliaments; that this Parliament is not inferior in rightful authority, to the Parliaments who sat in the reigns of the Tudors. Well, then, sir, if your doctrine be sound, what becomes of any man's title to *lay-tithes*, either in Ireland or in England? An act which it was not competent to a Parliament to pass; an act which a Parliament had no rightful authority to pass; such an act, according to Sir EDWARD COKE, as well as according to reason, was not law: it was an act of

violence, of rapine, of plunder, of tyranny.

Now, then, you must know as well as I do, that all the tithes in England and Ireland, which are at present *lay-property*, were *church-property* previous to the twenty-seventh year of HENRY the Eighth: and that, up to that time, the law held it to be sacrilege for any lay person even to pretend to have a right in such tithes. These tithes became the property of the predecessors of the present possessors, in virtue of acts of Parliament, and of acts of Parliament alone; and, sir, if at least, one half of the whole of the tithes could be taken away from the church for ever, by act of Parliament, and be given; or sold, to laymen, and the proceeds applied according to the will of the state: if this could be done by a Parliament; a Parliament, whose acts bind us to this day in various matters; if this could be done by that Parliament, and, indeed, the like done by four or five Parliaments one after another; and by twenty Parliaments in the reigns of EDWARD the Sixth and ELIZABETH; if this could be done by those Parliaments, and *rightfully done*, observe; if this could be done by those Parliaments, how comes this present Parliament not to have the rightful power to take away, in like manner, part of the remaining revenues of the church? Will you say, that those Parliaments had no rightful power to take away the tithes from the church, and to apply them to secular uses? Will you say that those Parliaments were wrong doers; that they were guilty of rapine and tyranny? No; you will not say that; because, if you do, every lay-tithe owner is destitute of a title to his property. The time is, indeed, far distant; but you are not unaware of the legal maxim, which is generally given to us by lawyers in Latin, which tells us, that, "no time works injury to the claims of the church." This we know from every day's experience in our courts of law, so that the lapse of time is nothing in this case; and, if those Parliaments had not the rightful power to take away the tithes and apply them to secular

purposes, the present owners of the tithes have no legal claim to them, no property in them; and they can be rightfully resumed by the representatives of the people and the two other branches of the legislature at any time that they shall choose. And, as your doctrine applies equally well to the real property of the church which was taken away by those Parliaments; this doctrine, which you hold to be so necessary to the security of property, really puts in jeopardy a full-third part of the lauded property of the whole kingdom.

But in this case of Ireland, there may be a taking away of benefices from the incumbents; and you may tell me, that the Parliaments of the *Tuoms* never took away benefices at all. So that, though there are acts of Parliament for taking away tithes and real property from the church, there is no act of Parliament for taking away benefices. Mr. LEEKE, the honourable and learned member for the University of DUBLIN, for the second time in my hearing, challenged us to produce any act of Parliament for taking away the benefices from the Catholics and giving them to the Protestants; he said, that the priests were converted to Protestantism, and remained in their benefices; or, at any rate, there was no act of Parliament for taking benefices away; and that the present parsons held their benefices by the same right that they were held by the Catholics, needing no act of Parliament to sanction that right.

Sir ROBERT PEEL's ingenuity amused me exceedingly. He also said (and to my surprise, I heard him say it), that the revenues of the church, or, at least, of the parochial clergy, had never been touched at the Reformation; that, in fact, it was merely a reform of the Catholic religion; and that we of the present day were no other than "reformed Catholics," and our church was a "reformed Catholic church." The right honourable baronet perceived the danger of allowing that the benefices had ever been taken away and transferred by act of Parliament; he saw the danger of this; because that which had been done by one Parliament might be

done by another; and, therefore, he sought for a *prescriptive* right; a right of prescription; that is to say, a right older than any written law. To get up this right, he hooked us on to the Catholic church.

But, besides that the church calls itself a church established by LAW, in contradistinction from a church standing on prescription; besides this, there is the act of Parliament which made this church, being 2. and 3. of EDWARD the Sixth, chapter 1. That act made the Common Prayer Book, set aside the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic religion, and took away, and gave to the King, the benefices; that is to say, the parsonages, the glebes, and the tithes, of those incumbents who would not apostatize from the ancient religion, and practise the new religion!

So that we have acts of Parliament to refer to, affording the most ample precedents for taking away from the clergy and the church, for ever, every species of its property. In the reign of ELIZABETH things of the same sort were several times done. Charteries, guilds, almshouses, hospitals, stipends for saying mass; things of all sorts belonging to the church, were taken by the Parliaments, and taken away for ever. And wherever that property consists of tithes, or of real property, it is now held by virtue of those acts of Parliament; and, if those acts of Parliament were acts of rapine, it is wrongfully held; and, as no time works against the claims of the church, it might be all rightfully resumed by this nation, and it would be the duty of this Parliament to resume it.

Let us suppose me, for instance, the occupier of a farm, the tithes of which are owned by a layman. Suppose me to refuse the payment of the tithes, alleging, as I reasonably might, the unnatural command which enjoined on me to give that to a layman which was set apart for the teachers of religion. Suppose the plaintiff to carry the affair into court; suppose me to have the means and the obstinacy to put him to the proof of his title; he must, in that case, go back to the grant from the crown in the reign of one of the Tu-

does; and, finally, he must produce the act of Parliament warranting that grant. Taking up your doctrine, I might call this an act of rapine; but the court would tell me that it was very good law. That being the case; that act of Parliament being in force now; and that, and similar acts, being the only title that exists to one-third part of the landed property of England, no man will contend that the present Parliament has not the rightful power of taking from the church any part of the property, or all the property, which is now in its possession.

I cannot conclude this letter without observing, that, though here was ground for separation from your colleagues, every body believes, and I believe, that it was not the only ground. Those "difficulties," of which Lord GANX speaks, and which had been created by a brain that never can be at rest, while there is one foolish thing yet unattempted on the face of the earth; those difficulties were too numerous, too great, and promised too plentiful a harvest of humiliation, to be encountered by you and Sir JAMES GRADAM, who had the sense to view them in their true light. The *negro-reform*, undertaken at the suggestion of FOWELL BUXTON's two hundred and eighty thousand "*females*," who sent a petition so big that it could hardly be got into the House, and one half of whom did not know how to wash a dish or darn a stocking; the *corporation-reform* project, talked of eternally, and then ending in a sort of smouldering smoke; the *church reform* and the *negotiations* with Dissenters, of forty descriptions; the new Banking and new India projects; the projects for "*heddekashun*"; and all the while nothing finished, and not one single step taken to relieve, or to give one single jot of satisfaction to the people. If I had found myself involved in such a mess, I should have started off from it with as much alacrity as a sheep starts out from amongst brambles that are scratching its legs and tearing the wool from its back. The thing was all in a complete muddle of absurdity; of im-

practicable schemes; and, therefore, it was impossible that men of sense could contentedly remain in it.

But, of all the mad projects, the poor-law affair was the maddest and most troublesome. This scheme, which we trace back to its origin at once, is quite enough of itself to give employment to the Ministry and the Parliament for whole years; and, as if all these were not enough, out pop upon us, all at once and without any notice, a brace of bills; real bills, cut and dry, for reforming the established church, at a moment when the Dissenters and a large part of the church-people are calling for the suppression of this church; and there are the Ministry at work in one direction, while their most firm supporters push them on to work in another. The *Morning Chronicle* tells us that you have excluded yourself from power for ever. I would rather have excluded myself from life than I would have remained to be an instrument for the carrying-on of the projects everlastingly pouring forth from the endless resources of this fertile and restless brain.

I, at any rate, am satisfied that the church of Ireland affair was not the sole cause of you and the other seceders quitting the Ministry; and this is a very important matter for the nation to understand. At any rate, I wish to impress the truth upon the minds of my readers. The *Morning Chronicle* has had the baseness to impute to you, as a motive for your secession, that you are the heir to church patronage worth fifteen thousand pounds a year. Leaving character out of the question; leaving out of the question all the views so natural to you at this time of laudable ambition; supposing you to have a soul like that of a loanmonger, devoted solely to Mammon, what is the sum of fifteen thousand pounds a year, in reversion, to; and it is only the right of giving away sixteen thousand pounds a year; what can this be in your estimation, when put in comparison with the security of those possessions, which would come to you in consequence of the same events which would give you

this church patronage? This is as base an imputation as ever was preferred against any man living; but it is a fair specimen of what every one has to expect, who thwarts, or attempts, to thwart, the miserable, mean, fawning, time-serving, band of creatures, of which this *Chronicle* is the mouth-piece. You would not consent any longer to be an instrument in the pushing on of the ridiculous and mischievous projects, issuing from the ever-bubbling brain to which I have so often alluded; and for this, you are to be banished from power for ever, and to be charged with a motive that never would have come into the head of any one, but a wretch, capable of robbing a workhouse child of its breakfast. My charge against you, and those that have seceded along with you, is, that you continued so long to give your countenance to these projectors, and to their shuffling backward and forward; and for this you have in a great measure atoned by your separation from them, and by your frank avowals and declarations of Tuesday night.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Extract of a letter to Lord Grey, from the Newcastle Press, relative to the claims of the Dissenters.

This excellently well-written letter is worthy of particular attention. I need say no more than just these few words, to induce my readers to attend to it.

As a dissuasive to the Dissenters, not to pursue their present honest, manly, principled, and straightforward course, Lord Durham, at a meeting, which was held lately at the City of London Tavern, observed that they would not find one peer in the House of Lords to vote for a separation of the church from the state. The noble Lord spoke from a knowledge of their lordships, and has drawn in that sentence the character of

the aristocracy with a singular fidelity and correctness of pencil. That aristocracy would sacrifice the rights, liberties, property, and life of all the people to the preservation of their own sordid interests. Not one peer! No, not one i'faith. Why the whole revenues of the church, which were formerly the patrimony, the inheritance of the poor, now really belong to them. It is a rich pasturage and provision, a land flowing with milk and honey, for all the branches of their families that are unprovided for, and for their dependents, and the dependents of the Ministry. Not one peer! most religious, most pious, most disinterested peers! They have reasons, far more powerful than any that logic, philosophy, or religion either can supply, for their devout attachment to the church, the inviolability of all whose property and possession, which they esteem far more than they do its dogmas and its faith, they would maintain with the same eagerness with which they would maintain the inviolability of their own estates, or their own order, by which you so nobly and loudly expressed your determination to stand.

Now, my lord, while the church enriches the aristocracy, it impoverishes the people. Hence, the support of the church by the former; hence, the opposition to the church by the latter. Formerly the church gathered the poor, as a hen gathereth her chickens, under its wings, and cherished, nourished, and protected them, and from its charity and loving-kindness was derived to it the affectionate attachment of the people. It has rejected the people, and now supports the aristocracy, and plunders and pillages the poor, as Jeremiah Dodsworth, and the thirteen labourers in husbandry belonging to the parish of Lockington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, can testify. Though then the church may be a good thing, a goose with golden eggs for the aristocracy, it is a bad thing for the people. To the one it is a fountain of perennial wealth, to the other a source of perennial oppression. Their determination, and your determination, my lord, to maintain that church, is nothing more than

a determination, unblushingly and audaciously avowed, to maintain an establishment beneficial only to yourselves at the expense of the rights, interests and liberties of the people. It can only be supported by a course of terror, by the bayonet and the sabre, and by a system of the most unrelenting cruelty and oppression. What a blasphemy it is, to call an institution so supported the church of Christ. Such a church is a thing sprung from night and hell, and not an emanation from heaven, from which nothing comes but what is benevolent, merciful, and just.

The partisans of the church have been deep and cunning enough to represent the demand which is arising with portentous sound, in every portion of these islands, for the separation, for the breaking down of the unholy alliance, of church and state, as an infidel and irreligious cry, resulting from a desire to put down all religion (still harping upon *religion*, when *revenue* and *riches* are all that is thought about) and to eradicate Christianity from these islands. Your lordship, let hypocrites and deceivers say what they will, well knows that this is not an infidel and irreligious cry. Your lordship knows that it proceeds from men as religious and faithful as any that are to be found within the pale of the establishment, men as deeply devoted and as zealously attached to the religion of Christ, and as firm believers in its truth, as either the Archbishop of Canterbury or your lordship, or even as your lordship's colleague, the humorous and satirical Chancellor, upon whose cheeks there hang not

"Quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles,
Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,"

but upon whose lips sat jeering irony and bitter sarcasm, a man

"Replete with mocks,
Full of comparisons and wounding flouts;
Which he on all estates will execute
That lie within the mercy of his wit;"

ay, even as this mocking, jeering, and satirical lord, whose long connexion with the Unitarian body throughout the kingdom, had laid his orthodoxy

somewhat under suspicion, and some of whose speeches, as well as writings, had led many to suppose that he even was an enemy of Christianity. The noble Lord is beginning, however, with all the flaming zeal of a convert, to wipe away the reproach of infidelity that had attached itself to his character, and he is now exhibiting the utmost ardour in support and defence of a church, which, and the ministers of which have long been the butt of his unsparing sarcasm. The infidels are not prominent in demanding a separation of church and state. It is the Dissenters who are protesting against the church; it is the Protestants of the Protestant religion, who are, with the zeal, the activity, the energy, of the puritans of old, with singleness of heart and sincerity of purpose raising the cry and agitating this question. Infidels! Who are the men that formed the deputations that have waited on your lordship, on Lord Althorp, and on the Chancellor? Assuredly, my lord, they were not infidels. They were true-hearted Dissenters, men who are ardent and sincere in the profession of their religious principles, and who profess Christianity not for the purpose of cure, but as a duty, and for the private consolation of their own consciences. They are men endued with the spirit of religious enthusiasm and with the fortitude of martyrs; and who, as your lordship will find, if you persist in resisting their wishes, will not shrink from, but even rejoice to obtain in pursuit of their object, which is undoubtedly just, the crown of martyrdom. Your frowns they smile at, your threats they scorn, your resolutions they will trample under foot. Opposition will but make them more resolute and daring; and menaces and defiance will be but as bellows to the furnace of their zeal.

Yes, my Lord, they are Protestants, and Protestants of that kind too, which, to use the language of Burke, is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. They are of a persuasion not only favourable to liberty, but built upon it. They are adverse to every thing that looks like

absolute government. The church of England was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the religion of these men has sprung up in direct opposition to the ordinary powers of the world and they justify that opposition by the strength of their claim to natural liberty. Their existence depends on the zealous and unremitting assertion of this claim. All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion of these men is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the diffidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion. Though they vary in their forms and creeds, and subsist under a variety of denominations, they all agree in the communion of the spirit of liberty, and they will never submit to the arrogant domination and unprincipled plunder of a church, established on the same principle of dissent on which they are founded themselves. It is then with men of this description sincere, active, zealous, and resolute who would brave as PAYNE did, the pillory and the dungeon, and would laugh as he did at fine and forfeiture, and even the cropping of ears, that your lordship and your lordship's order has to deal with. They are not to be diverted from their purpose by either fawning or frowning, by compliments or threatenings. They must have what they want, and till they obtain that, their exertions will be unremitting, their desires unappeasable.

What then is it that they want? What do they mean by the separation of the church from the state? They mean the resumption by the Government of all the property of the church, the application of it to national purposes, to the relief of the people from debt and taxes, and the reduction of the church of England, from its present state of gorgeousness, splendour, wealth, dominion, to the condition of a church supported by the private contributions of those who believe in its claims. Where, I ask, my lord, is the unreasonableness of this demand? Wherefore, in the name of justice and

common sense, should men who conscientiously dissent from the doctrines of a church, founded by men and established, not by divine command; but by legislative enactment; wherefore, I demand, should they, who have as much right to dissent from its doctrines as its founders had to dissent from the doctrines of the Catholic church, be compelled to build and repair its churches, and to pay tithes and oblations to its ministers? Such compulsion is rank tyranny in any church, but tyranny of a peculiarly hateful description in a church, which is founded upon a resistance to authority and the right of private judgment. But your lordship believes the church of England to be the true church. Admitting it, what right has your lordship to compel your convictions upon the belief of others? Support, my lord, out of your own funds the church in which you believe, contribute largely out of your own revenues to it, pay tithes and oblations to its ministers, but do not compel me or Dissenters, who, in our consciences do not believe it to be true, to labour for its maintenance. It is unjust to plunder us for its support, because your lordship, or because that great theologian, the Duke of Wellington, believes it to be true. Neither of you being infallible, dukes and earls though you be, your opinion may happen to be erroneous.

But we are told it is the duty of a state to support a religion. It cannot be the duty of any state to support at the public expense, a religion which is false. And which among the multitude of religions that exist, is the true one? This is a problem, which it is not given to King or Parliaments to resolve, and could they even discover which was the true one, they have no commission from heaven (they have no right to assume one themselves) to compel any man either to believe or support it. The Divine Author of Christianity, offering no violence to the free-will of men, made his religion a religion of freedom, and offered it for the acceptance of both Jews and Gentiles, without compelling the assent of either.

What right have you or the peers, and commoners, and King of England, to pursue a course, different from that which was pursued by the Redeemer of the world, who certainly understood the spirit of the religion which he taught better than your presumptuous lordship, or the arrogant peers of England. If he, who was Lord of heaven and earth, your master, and your master's master, the Son of the eternal God, did not compel, though he was the sovereign master of all nature, any to the adoption and support of the religion which he taught, what right hast thou, a worm of this earth, proud man, that art dressed in a little brief authority, what right hast thou, insolent Minister of a King, to extend thy right of dominion from my body to my mind, to oppress my conscience, to tyrannize over a will made by the hands of the same Creator, as free as thine, and compel me to the support of any form of Christianity? You that prate about Christianity are ignorant of its spirit. Christ could have called down fire from heaven, and had legions of angels at his command, if he had wished to propagate by force and tyranny his religion, and vanquish and subdue the world to its profession. That power, that force, which he would not use, he never authorized Kings or the Ministers of Kings to use. Kings and Ministers have nothing to do with religion. It is their business to extend protection, equal protection to all men, and leave religion to itself. He that hath said, the gates of hell shall never prevail against his church, is able to fulfil his promise, and accomplish his prediction, without being encumbered with the political help of Lord Grey, or of any Minister of any King. We want, my lord, no *ministres de cultes* in this kingdom.

But the space I have already occupied admonishes me, that I must condense as much as possible my remaining observations. I object to the existence of a state religion, because it is inconsistent with liberty of conscience. It is not only an infringement of liberty of the conscience, but an infraction of the great and fundamental principles of

justice, and a violation of the natural liberty of man, to compel me to support a creed in which I do not believe. It is not only such an infringement, such an infraction, such a violation, but it is contrary to the very principle of Protestantism; which is a system of falsehood and of fraud, if it be not the promulgation to all men of a liberty to think what they please, and to speak what they think. To confer upon me the liberty of adopting what opinions I please, and at the same time to force me to pay for the propagation of a particular creed of human invention, which I do not believe, is not only a monstrous inconsistency but a prodigy of tyranny.

The existence of such a church is incompatible with the existence of public liberty. The union in one person of temporal and spiritual authority, and political and ecclesiastical supremacy, cannot but be dangerous to public liberty. The moment the King was made head of the church, it was degraded from a state of freedom and independence to a condition of political servitude. When the King is the source and fountain of all honour, civil and ecclesiastical, and the creator both of the spiritual and temporal peers, they both, but particularly the former as being more entirely dependent on him, must be slaves. It is not possible that public liberty should not suffer, when the appointment of all the bishops rests with the crown, that is with the Minister of the day. Formerly the election of bishops was entirely independent of the crown, as it now is with the Catholic prelates of Ireland. Kings did all they could to enslave the church, to influence the elections, and have all its immense riches and patronage placed at their disposal, and within the grasp of royal rapacity. But this was resisted, and stoutly resisted in some instances even to the death, by the clergy, who were then a corporation emanating from and acting in behalf of the people, controlling the tyranny of the nobles, and checking the despotism of the King. Bishops then, instead of being the slaves of Kings, the creatures of a Minister, or the parasites of the court,

were the demagogues at the tribunals of the people. Anselm and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, says Lord Bacon, with their crosses did almost try it with the King's sword and yet they had to heal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. It was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, not one of your degenerate and king-made bishops, that headed the barons of England in wresting MAGNA CHARTA from King John. Aye, my lord, the very first article of that charter is, that the CHURCH SHALL BE FREE, independent of royal and ministerial influence; unencumbered with royal or ministerial patronage, SEPARATE FROM THE STATE. It especially provides for the freedom of episcopal elections. The form and mockery of election, a relic of ancient canonical freedom and independence, still survives to remind the church of its present servitude and degradation, but it is nothing more than a lifeless form and unreal mockery. The appointment is in the crown. The clergy, the reverend slaves of state, have a royal *congé d'elire*, whomsoever the minister of the day chooses to appoint. Such is the miserable and degraded condition in which the church drags on its existence! Beside the appointment of bishops, what an immense patronage of livings is possessed by the Government. There are upwards of a thousand livings in the gift of the crown. How dependent on the crown, and how hostile to the people, a church of this description must be! Anciently then the church was not a state establishment, but an institution rising up among and springing from the people, unconnected with and independent of the state. All the influence that was exerted over it by the king or his ministers, was a tyrannical and unconstitutional influence, in opposition to the canons, and in direct violation of the first article of Magna Charta. It was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the degradation of the church was effected, that it was subjected and conquered, after centuries of resistance, into a dependence on, into a slavery to Government, and that it came forth

anew from the royal manufactory, deformed and transformed into a state religion. The connexion then that now exists between the church and state is uncanonical, contrary to Magna Charta, opposed to the spirit of the British constitution, and altogether incompatible with the existence of public liberty.

On these grounds then we call for its disconnexion from the state. But there remains another ground why all the possessions of the church should be confiscated to public uses. Originally all the property which it possesses, belonged to the poor, as well as the church and its ministers. From all purposes of charity and religion, it has been alienated contrary to law, to the sole support of the clergy and their families; and to the support of lay and clerical impropriators, and appropriators and their families. In fact the aristocracy and the clergy have impropriated and appropriated it all to their own use, and left the support of the poor, and the erection and repairs of the churches, &c., to the people. Now this I contend they have done contrary to law, and as the sums which since the Reformation have been unjustly exacted from the people for these purposes for poor-rates and church-rates, have been more than amply sufficient to purchase all the estates of the church, they have become the property of the public by purchase, for all these sums have been taken from them in default of the application of those revenues, with which they were endowed by the public, to their rightful, legal, and stipulated purpose. The church has therefore, forfeited its property by having been false to its trust. In addition to this, the enormous debt under which we are labouring, and for the interest of which we have to pay 30,000,000*l.* a year in taxes, was incurred principally for its support. The preservation of the church and the "blessed comforts of our holy religion," was the great ground and pretence on which it was borrowed, or at least on which the wars, which rendered the borrowing necessary, were justified. When we recollect that we have a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, and 50,000,000*l.* annual

taxes, and nearly 9,000,000*l.* annual poor-rates entailed upon us by this oppressive and injurious church establishment, the existence of which is of no earthly use to the people whatever, it is time, my lord, that we, the people, talked of obtaining some indemnity for our losses by the confiscation of its property. But there is a still greater reason than any that I have yet mentioned for the confiscation of that property. Does your lordship not know, that upon the surrender of the monasteries and priories, the abbey-lands and all the conventual property of this country, that there was an express stipulation made by the crown with the people and Parliament of England, that, provided that property were surrendered to the King, the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND NEVER SHOULD BE TAXED AGAIN? state this fact upon the authority of Sir E. Coke, who thus speaks of that stipulation in the fourth book of his Institutes, page 44.

“When any plausible project is made in Parliament to draw the Lords or Commons to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance) if both Houses do give upon the matter projected and premised their consent, it shall be most necessary (they being trusted for the commonwealth) to have the matter projected and premised (which moved the Houses to consent) to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and premised, never performed. And so the Houses of Parliament perform not the trust reposed in them. As it fell out, taking one example for many in the reign of Henry 8:—On the King's behalf, the members of both Houses were informed in Parliament, that no king or kingdom was safe, but where the King had these abilities:—1. To live on his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants, now the project was that if the Parliament would give unto him all the abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monas-

teries, that for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private use, but first, that his exchequer for the purposes aforesaid, should be enriched. Secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders. Thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards as was projected in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other aids. Fourthly, lest the realm should receive diminution of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being 29 lords of Parliament of the abbots and priors, that held of the king per baroniam, whereof more in the next (leaf) that the king would create a number of nobles which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers acts of Parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof only. *ad faciend populum* these possessions were given to the king, his heirs, and successors, to do and use therewith, his and their own wills to the pleasure of Almighty God, and the honour and profit of the realme.—Now observe the catastrophe. In the same Parliament of 32 Henry 8, when the great and opulent priory of St. John's of Jerusalem was given to the king, he demanded, and had a subsidy both of the clergy and laity and the like, he had in 34 Henry 8, and in 37 Henry 8, he had another subsidy. And since the dissolution of the said monasteries, he enacted divers loans, and against law received the same.”

Now, my lord, notwithstanding this solemn pledge of the word of a king, which should be the sacredest thing and the most inviolable on earth, that upon the surrender of this property he would never call for LOANS, SUBSIDIES or TAXES again, the people of this country have been taxed to a more grievous extent than they were ever taxed before. Those abbey lands, that conventual property, are now in the hands of the clergy and the aristocracy. As an indemnifi-

cation then to the people, with whom the royal pledge and word has been broken most shamefully, for the millions upon millions that they have been plundered of, for the support of this law-established and state church, we call upon the Parliament and the King to resume all the ecclesiastical property of this kingdom, and to apply it to those great national and public uses for the relief of the people, which to their wisdom shall seem fit.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,
CHARLES LARKIN.

(From the *Mercantile Advertiser* and *New York Advocate*.)

PROTEST

(Concluded from p. 569.)

On the 2. of January, 1834, the Senate and House of Representatives composing the legislature of Ohio, passed a preamble and resolutions in the following words:

"Whereas there is reason to believe, that the Bank of the United States will attempt to obtain a renewal of its charter at the present session of Congress. And whereas, it is abundantly evident, that that said Bank has exercised powers derogatory to the spirit of our free institutions, and dangerous to the liberties of these United States; And whereas, there is just reason to doubt the constitutional power of Congress to grant acts of incorporation for banking purposes out of the district of Columbia; And whereas, we believe the proper disposal of the public lands, to be of the utmost importance to the people of these United States, and that honour and good faith require their equitable distribution. Therefore:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That we consider the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, as required by the best interests of our country, and that a proper sense of public duty imperiously demanded that that institution should be no longer used as a depository of the public funds.

"Resolved, also, That we view with decided disapprobation, the renewed attempts in Congress to secure the passage of the bill providing for the disposal of the public domain in the manner proposed by Mr. Clay, inasmuch as we believe that such a law would be unequal in its operations, and unjust in its results.

"Resolved, also, That we heartily approve of the principles set forth in the late veto message upon that subject, and

"Resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to use their influence to prevent the rechartering of the Bank of the United States; to sustain the administration in its removal of the public deposits, and to oppose the passage of a land bill containing the principles adopted in the act upon that subject, passed at the last session of Congress.

"Resolved, That the governor be requested, to transmit copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to each of our senators and representatives."

It is thus seen that four senators have declared by their votes that the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the revenue, had been guilty of the impeachable offence of "assuming upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both," whilst the legislature of their respective States had deliberately approved those very proceedings, as consistent with the constitution, and demanded by the public good. If these four voters had been given in accordance with the sentiment of the legislators, as above expressed, there would have been but twenty-four votes out of forty-six for censuring the President and the unprecedented record of his conviction could not have been placed upon the journals of the Senate.

In thus referring to the resolutions and instructions of the State legislatures, I disclaim and repudiate all authority or design to interfere with the responsibility due from members of the Senate to their own consciences, their constituents, and their country. The facts now stated belong to the history of these proceedings, and are important to the just development of the principles and interests involved in them; as well as to the proper vindication of the executive department; and with that view, and that view only, are they here made the topic of remark.

The dangerous tendency of the doctrine which devotes to the President the power of supervising, directing, and removing the Secretary of the Treasury, in like manner with the other executive officers, would soon be manifest in practice, were the doctrine to be established. The President is the direct representative of the American people, but the Secretaries are not. If the Secretary of the Treasury be independent of the President in the execution of the laws, then is there no direct responsibility to the people in that important branch of this Government, to which is committed the care of the national finances. And it is in the power of the Bank of the United States, or any other corporation, body of men, or individuals, if a secretary shall be found to accord with their opinion, or can be induced to practice to promote their views, to control, through him, the whole action of the Government, (so far as it is exercised by this department), in defiance of the chief magistracy elected by the people and responsible to them.

But the evil tendency of the particular doctrine adverted to, though sufficiently serious, would be as nothing in comparison with the pernicious consequences which would inevitably flow from the approbation and allowance by the people, and the practice by the Senate of the unconstitutional power of arraigning and censuring the official conduct of the executive, in the manner recently pursued. Such proceedings are eminently calculated to unsettle the foundations of the Government; to disturb the harmonious action of its different departments; and to break down the checks and balances by which the wisdom of its framers sought to ensure its stability and usefulness.

The honest differences of opinion which occasionally exist between the Senate and the President, in regard to matters in which both are obliged to participate, are sufficiently embarrassing. But if the course recently adopted by the Senate shall hereafter be frequently pursued, it is not only obvious that the harmony of the relations between the President and the Senate will be destroyed, but that other and graver effects will ultimately ensue. If the censures of the Senate be submitted to by the President, the confidence of the people in his ability and virtue, and the character and usefulness of his administration, will soon be at an end, and the real power of the Government will fall into the hands of a body, holding their offices for long terms, not elected by the people, and not to them directly responsible. If, on the other hand, the illegal censures of the Senate should be resisted by the President, collisions and angry controversies might ensue, discreditable to their progress, and in the end compelling the people to adopt the conclusion, either that their chief magistrate was unworthy of their respect, or that the Senate was chargeable with calumny and injustice. Either of these results would impair public confidence in the perfection of the system, and lead to serious alterations of its frame work, or to the practical abandonment of some of its provisions.

The influence of such proceedings, on the other departments of the Government, and more especially on the States, could not fail to be extensively pernicious. When the judges in the last resort of official misconduct, themselves overstep the bounds of their authority, as prescribed by the constitution, what general disregard of its provisions might not their example be expected to produce? And who does not perceive that such a contempt of the federal constitution, by one of its most important departments, would hold out the strongest temptation to resistance on the part of the State sovereigns, whenever they shall suppose their just rights to have been invaded? Thus all the independent departments of the Government, and the States which compose our confederated Union, instead of attending to their appropriate duties, and leaving those who may offend, to be reclaimed or punished in the manner pointed out in the constitution,

would fall to mutual crimination and recrimination, and give to the people, confusion and anarchy, instead of order and law; until at length some form of aristocratic power would be established on the ruins of the constitution, or the States be broken into separate communities.

Far be it from me to charge, or to insinuate, that the present Senate of the United States intend, in the most distant way, to encourage such a result. It is not of their motives or designs, but of the tendency of their acts, that it is my duty to speak. It is, if possible, to make senators themselves sensible of the danger which lurks under the precedent set in their resolution; and at any rate to perform my duty, as the responsible head of one of the co-equal departments of the Government, that I have been compelled to point out the consequences to which the discussion and passage of the resolution may lead, if the tendency of the measure be not checked in its inception.

It is due to the high trust with which I have been charged; to those who may be called to succeed me in it; to the representatives of the people, whose constitutional prerogative has been unlawfully assumed; to the people and to the States; and to the constitution they have established; that I should not permit its provisions to be broken down by such an attack on the executive department, without at least some effort "to preserve, protect, and defend" them. With this view, and for the reasons which have been stated, I do hereby solemnly protest against the aforementioned proceedings of the Senate, as unauthorized by the constitution; contrary to its spirit and to several of its express provisions; a subversion of that distribution of the powers of Government which it has ordained and established; destructive of the checks and safeguards by which those powers were intended, on the one hand to be controlled, and on the other to be protected; and calculated by their immediate and collateral effects, by their character and tendency, to concentrate in the hands of a body not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties, and fatal to the constitution of their choice.

The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as upon my public character; and as it must stand forever on their journals, I cannot close this subscription for that defence which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking, that I have lived in vain, if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person, enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased; in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life, in defence of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration, or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and

dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt—if any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I would have sought an alliance with that powerful institution, which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs: had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigour of manhood, could I find an attraction to allure me from the path of duty; and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame, instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honoured, and usurpers expiate their crimes. The only ambition I can feel, is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honoured in the history of my country. No, the ambition which leads me on, is an anxious desire and a fixed determination, to return to the people, unimpaired, the sacred trust confided to my charge, to heal the wounds of the constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all, and granting favours to none, dispensing its blessings like the dew of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a Government that the genius of our people requires, such a one only under which our State may remain for ages to come, united, prosperous, and free. If the Almighty Being, who has hitherto sustained and protected me, will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief, that I have contributed in some small degree, to increase the value and prolong the duration of American labour.

To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent, with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the executive department; and, to the end, also that my motives and views in the executive proceedings denounced in that resolution, may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this message and protest may be entered at length on the journals of the Senate.

April 15, 1834.

ANDREW JACKSON.

POOR-LAW PROJECT.

I was not able to attend in my place in Parliament last night (Wednesday), without inconvenience too great to be overcome. I am sorry that I was not present, because I should have made one in voting for Sir CHARLES BURRELL's bill; yet it must be confessed, that that bill wants a great deal more to make it what it ought to be; and that the time for passing it will be when this ridiculous and mischievous poor-law project shall have received the reprobation of the Parliament. We are to have, it seems, a new and more expeditious mode of discussing the clauses of this bill. It seems intended to force us into a gallop, to which I have no objection; but, if the breath remain in my body, and the legs will bear that body up, never shall this bill pass, without every man in England clearly understanding its objects, its tendency, and the feelings which it ought to produce in the minds of the working people.—N.B. Many of my readers are calling upon me to print the whole of this bill in the *Register*. It ought to be in the *Register*: the project ought to be recorded in this work of mine; beginning this week, I will continue week after week, till I have inserted the whole of the bill, just as it was laid on the table of the House by Lord ALTHORP.

A BILL FOR THE AMENDMENT AND BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS RELATING TO THE POOR IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[Note.—The words printed in *italics* are proposed to be inserted in the committee.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to alter and amend the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in England and Wales; be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under the royal sign manual, to appoint *three* fit persons to be commissioners to carry this act, and the powers and authorities hereinafter contained, into execution; and also from time to time, at pleasure, to remove any of the commissioners for the time being, and upon every or any vacancy in the said

number of commissioners, either by removal or by death, or otherwise, to appoint some other fit person to the said office; and until such appointment it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing commissioners or commissioner to act as if no such vacancy had occurred.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall be styled "The Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; and the said commissioners, or any two of them, may sit, from time to time as they deem expedient, as a board of commissioners for carrying this act into execution; and the said commissioners shall respectively have all the protection and indemnity to which the judges of a superior court of record are by law entitled, and shall be and are hereby empowered by summons under their hands and seal, to require the attendance of all parties and witnesses, and such other persons as they may think fit to call before them upon any question or matter connected with or relating to the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor, and also to make any inquiries and require any answer or returns as to any such question or matter, and also to administer oaths, and examine all such parties, witnesses, and other persons upon oath, and to require and enforce the production upon oath of books, deeds, papers, accounts, and writings, or copies thereof respectively, in any case relating to any such question or matter, as the said commissioners may deem proper; or in lieu of requiring such oath as aforesaid, the said commissioners may, if they think fit, require any such party, witness, or other person, to make and subscribe a declaration of the truth of the matters respecting which he shall have been or shall be so examined; and the said commissioners shall also have power, by warrant under their hands and seal, of committing all persons guilty of any contempt of the said commissioners sitting as a board, for any period not exceeding one calendar month, to the King's Bench Prison, or to the common gaol or house of correction of any county or place in which such offenders shall be: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be deemed to extend to authorize or empower the said commissioners to act as a court of record, or to require the production of the title, or of any deeds, papers, or writings relating to the title of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments not being the property of any parish or union.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall cause to be made a seal of the said board, and shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all rules, orders, and regulations made by the said commissioners in pursuance of this act; and all such rules, orders, and regulations, or copies thereof, purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the said board, shall be received as evidence of the same respectively, without any further proof thereof; and no such rule, order, or regulation, or copy thereof, shall be

valid, or have any force or effect, unless the same shall be so sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall once in every year, at such time and in such form as any one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state shall direct, submit to the principal secretary of state requiring the same, a general report of their proceedings; and every such report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks after the receipt of the same by such principal secretary of state if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not sitting then within six weeks after the next meeting thereof.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall from time to time, at such times and in such form as any one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state shall direct, give to the principal secretary of state requiring the same such information respecting their proceedings or any part thereof as the said principal secretary of state shall require.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall and they are hereby empowered from time to time to appoint such persons as they may think fit to be assistant commissioners for carrying this act into execution, at such places and in such manner as the said commissioners may direct, and to remove such assistant commissioners, or any of them, at their discretion; and on every or any vacancy in the said office of assistant commissioner, by removal, or by death or otherwise, to appoint, if they see fit, some other person to the said office: Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for the said commissioners to appoint more than nine such assistant commissioners to act at any one time, unless the lord high treasurer, or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury for the time being, or any three or more of them, shall consent to the appointment of a greater number.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners may and they are hereby empowered from time to time to appoint a secretary, assistant secretary, and all such clerks, messengers and officers as they shall deem necessary, and from time to time, at the discretion of the said commissioners, to remove such secretary, assistant secretary, clerks, messengers and officers, or any of them, and to appoint others in their stead: Provided always, That the amount of the salaries of such secretary, assistant secretary, clerks, messengers and officers shall from time to time be regulated by the lord high treasurer, or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, or any three or more of them.

And be it further enacted, That every commissioner and assistant commissioner to be appointed from time to time as aforesaid shall, before he shall enter upon the execution of his office, take the following oath before two of his judges of his Majesty's courts of King's

Bench or Common Pleas, or one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer; (that is to say)

"I, A. B., do swear, That I will faithfully, impartially and honestly, according to the best of my skill and judgment, execute and fulfil all the powers and duties of a commissioner [or assistant commissioner, as the case may be,] under an act passed in the fourth year of the reign of King William the Fourth, intituled, [here set forth the title of this act.]"

And the appointment of every such commissioner and assistant commissioner, together with the time when and the judge or baron before whom he shall have taken the oath aforesaid, shall be forthwith published in the *London Gazette*; and a notification of such appointment and of the taking of such oath shall from time to time be sent, under the hands and seal of the said commissioners, to the clerk of the peace of every county in England and Wales, to be by him kept and preserved with the records of such county.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to delegate to their assistant commissioners, or to any of them, such of the powers and authorities hereby given to the said commissioners (except the powers to make general rules or by laws, or to commit for contempt), as the said commissioners shall think fit; and the powers and authorities so delegated, and the delegation thereof, shall be notified in such manner, and such powers and authorities shall be exercised at such places, for such periods, and under such circumstances, and subject to such regulations as the said commissioners shall direct; and the said commissioners may at any time revoke, recall, alter or vary all or any of the powers and authorities which shall be so delegated as aforesaid, and, notwithstanding the delegation thereof, may act as if no such delegation had been made; and the said assistant commissioners may and are hereby empowered to summon before them such persons as they may think necessary for the purpose of being examined upon oath upon any question or matter relating to the poor or their relief, or for the purpose of producing and verifying upon oath any books, deeds, papers, accounts and writings, or copies of the same, in anywise relating to such question or matter, and not relating to or involving any question of title to any lands, tenements or hereditaments not being the property of any parish or union, as such assistant commissioners may think fit, and which oath the said assistant commissioners are hereby empowered to administer; Provided nevertheless, that in lieu of requiring such oath as aforesaid the said assistant commissioners may, if they think fit, require such person to make and subscribe

declaration of the truth of the matters relating which he shall have been or shall be examined; and all summonses and orders made by any such assistant commissioner in pursuance or exercise of such delegated powers and authorities shall be obeyed, performed

and carried into effect by all persons as if such summons or order had been the summons or order of the said commissioners; and the breach, non-observance, or non-performance thereof shall be punishable in like manner.

And be it further enacted, That every commissioner and assistant commissioner shall, by virtue of his respective office, and without any commission or oath other than the oath hereinbefore directed to be taken by every commissioner or assistant commissioner, and whether qualified by estate or not, be and be entitled to exercise all the powers and functions of a justice of the peace in all counties, liberties, precincts, and places in England and Wales, in all matters relating to the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor, or the execution of this act; and all summonses or warrants of every such commissioner or assistant commissioner, as such justice, shall run into and be observed and executed in all counties, liberties, precincts, and places in England and Wales; and the said commissioners and assistant commissioners, and all persons acting in execution of or in obedience to such summonses and warrants respectively, shall respectively be entitled to all the protection and advantages given by law to justices of the peace, and to officers and others acting in execution of or in obedience to the summonses and warrants or under the authority of such justices: Provided always, That no commissioner or assistant commissioner shall act as a justice of the peace in the enforcing or recovery of any penalty, or in the commitment of any person for any offence against the provisions of this act; and that nothing herein contained shall authorize any such commissioner or assistant commissioner to act as a justice of the peace at any general or quarter sessions of the peace, or adjournment thereof, in any county, liberty, precinct or place.

And be it further enacted, That if any person, upon any examination upon oath under the authority of this act, shall wilfully and corruptly give false evidence, or if any person shall wilfully refuse to attend in obedience to any summons of any commissioner or assistant commissioner, or to give evidence, or shall wilfully alter, suppress, conceal, destroy, or refuse to produce any books, deeds, papers, accounts, and writings, or copies of the same, which may be so required to be produced before the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a *misemeanour*; and if any declaration, made and subscribed in lieu of such oath, shall be untrue in any particular, the person making and subscribing the same shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, which may be recovered in the same manner and under the same provisions as any penalty or forfeiture may be recovered under this act.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, in any case where they see fit, to order and allow such expenses of witnesses, and of or attending the production of any books, deeds, papers, ac-

counts, or writings, or copies thereof, to or before the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, at such commissioners' meeting: reasonable, to be paid as follows; that is to say, out of the poor-rates of the respective parish or union which, in the opinion of the said commissioners, shall be interested or concerned in such attendance, or production respectively in all cases in which such witnesses shall not be obliged or required to go or travel more than *ten* miles from the respective parish or union which shall be interested or concerned as aforesaid; and in all other cases the expenses so ordered or allowed shall be deemed and dealt with as part of the incidental expenses attending the execution of this act.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act the administration of relief to the poor throughout England and Wales, shall be subject to the direction and control of the said commissioners; and in executing the powers given to them by the regulating of the quantity, quality, and mode of such relief, this act, the said commissioners shall and are hereby authorized, and required from time to time, as they shall see occasion, to make and issue all such rules, orders, and regulations for the management of the poor, for the government of workhouses, and the education of the children therein, and for the apprenticing the children of poor persons, and for the guidance and control of all guardians, vestries, and parish officers, so far as relates to the management or relief of the poor, and the keeping, examining, auditing and allowing of accounts, and making and entering into contracts in all matters relating to such management or relief, or to any expenditure for the relief of the poor, and for carrying this act into execution in all other respects, as they shall think proper; and the said commissioners may, at their discretion, from time to time suspend, alter or rescind such rules, orders, and regulations, or any of them: Provided always, that no general rule of the said commissioners shall operate or take effect until the expiration of *forty* days after the same or a copy thereof shall have been sent, signed and sealed, by the said commissioners, to one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state: and if at any time after any such general rule shall have been so sent to such principal secretary of state, His Majesty, with the advice of his privy council, shall disallow the same or any part thereof, such general rule or the part thereof so disallowed shall not come into operation if such disallowance be notified to the said commissioners at any time during the said period of *forty* days; but if such disallowance be made at any time after that period, such disallowance shall, by one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state be notified to the said commissioners; and from and after such disallowance shall have been so notified, then such general rule, so far as the same shall have been so disallowed, shall cease to operate, subject however, and with-

out prejudice to all acts and transactions under or in virtue of the same, previously to such disallowance having been so notified; and no general rule or order or regulation shall be removable by writ of certiorari or otherwise into any of His Majesty's courts of record.

And be it further enacted, That a written or printed copy of every rule, order or regulation of the said commissioners shall, before the same shall come into operation, in any parish or union, be sent by the said commissioners by the post, or in such manner as the commissioners shall think fit, sealed or stamped with their seal, addressed to the churchwardens and overseers of such parish, the guardians of such union or their clerk, and also to the clerk of the peace of the county, and to the clerk, to the justices of the petty sessions, held for the division, in which such parish or union shall be situate; and such churchwardens, overseers, guardians, or their clerk, clerks of the peace, and clerks to the justices aforesaid, are hereby required to keep and preserve, notify and give publicity to such rules, orders, and regulations, in such manner as the said commissioners shall direct, and also to allow every owner of property the rate-payer, in every such parish or union, to inspect the same at all reasonable times, free of any charge for such inspection, and to furnish copies of the same, being paid for such copies, in the same manner, and at the same rate, as copies of the poor-rate are by law allowed or required to be taken or furnished; and in case any such churchwarden, or overseer, guardian, clerk, clerk of the peace, or clerk to the justices, to whom such rules, orders, or regulations, or copies thereof, shall be sent as aforesaid, shall neglect to keep and preserve, notify and give publicity to the same in the mode prescribed or directed by the said commissioners, or shall refuse such inspection, or to furnish or allow such copies thereof to be taken as aforesaid, every person so offending shall for every such offence be subject and liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of *ten* pounds nor less than *forty* shillings, to be recoverable in the same manner as any penalties are by this act directed to be recovered: Provided also, that if any such rule shall after the same shall have come into operation be disallowed in manner hereinbefore mentioned, then and in every such case, the said commissioners shall send by the post, or in such manner as they shall think fit, to every parish or union affected by the said rule, notice of such disallowance; such notice of disallowance to be addressed, kept, preserved, notified, not publicly inspected, and copies thereof furnished or allowed to be taken in such and the same manner, and subject to the same penalties as are hereinbefore mentioned respecting the rules, orders and regulations of the said commissioners.

And be it further enacted, That all the powers and authorities given in, and by a certain act of Parliament, passed in the twenty-

second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor," and in and by a certain other act passed in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of his said late Majesty, intituled, "An act to amend the laws for the relief of the poor," and all acts for amending such acts respectively, and also all the powers and authorities given by every other act of Parliament, general as well as local, for or relating to the building, altering, or enlarging of poor-houses and workhouses, and to the acquiring, purchasing, hiring, holding, selling, exchanging, and disposing thereof, or of land whereon the same may have been or may hereafter be erected, and of preparing such houses for the reception of poor persons, and the dieting, clothing, employing, and governing of such poor, and the raising or borrowing of money for any of the purposes aforesaid, and for repaying the same, and all powers of regulating and conducting all other workhouses whatsoever, and of governing, and providing for, and employing the poor therein, and all powers auxiliary to any of the powers aforesaid, or in any way relating to the relief of the poor, shall in future be under the control, and subject to the rules, orders, and regulations, of the said commissioners; and the said commissioners and assistant commissioners respectively, and every of them, shall be entitled to attend at every parochial and other local board and vestry, and take part in the discussions, but not to vote at such board or vestry: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, any power to order or direct the building, purchasing, hiring, altering, or enlarging of any workhouse, or the purchasing or hiring of any land at the charge or for the use of any parish or union, save and except as such powers are expressly given and to be exercised in the manner and subject to the limitations prescribed by the provisions of this act.

And whereas by the said act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, it is (among other things) enacted, that the rules, orders, and regulations, specified and contained in the schedule thereunto annexed should be duly observed and enforced at every poor-house or workhouse to be provided by virtue of the said act, with such additions as should be made by the justices of the peace of the limit wherein such house or houses should be situate, at some special session, provided that such additions should not be contradictory to the rules, orders, and regulations established by that act, and provided that the same should not be repealed by the justices at their quarter sessions of the peace; and it is expedient that such additions, or other rules, orders, or regulations, under that or any local act, should not in future be made without the sanction of the said commissioners; be it therefore enacted, That no additions

shall hereafter be made to the rules, orders, and regulations contained in the schedule to the said recited act, and no rules, orders, and regulations shall hereafter be made under the authority of the said recited act, or any local act relating to poor-houses, workhouses, or the relief of the poor, until the same shall have been submitted to, and approved and confirmed by the said commissioners; and that the same, when so confirmed, shall be legally valid and binding upon all persons; and the said justices at quarter sessions shall have no power to repeal the same.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, from time to time when they may see fit, by any writing under their hands and seal, by and with the consent in writing of a majority of the guardians of any parish or union, or with the consent of a majority of the owners of property, entitled to vote in manner hereinafter prescribed, and rate-payers in any parish not under the government or control of guardians, such last-mentioned majority to be ascertained in manner provided in and by this act, to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union not having a workhouse or workhouses to build a workhouse or workhouses, and to purchase or hire land for the purpose of building the same thereon, or to purchase or hire a workhouse or workhouses, or any building or buildings for the purpose of being used as or converted into a workhouse or workhouses; and with the like consent to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union having a workhouse or workhouses, or any buildings capable of being converted into a workhouse or workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution, or to build, hire, or purchase any additional workhouse or workhouses, or any building or buildings for the purpose of being used as or converted into a workhouse or workhouses, or to purchase or hire any land for building such additional workhouse or workhouses thereon, of such size and description, and according to such plan, and in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution; and the overseers and guardians to whom any such order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such sum or sums of money as may be necessary for the purposes specified in such order, by such powers, ways, and means as are now by law given to or vested in churchwardens and overseers or guardians of the poor for purchasing or hiring land, or for building, hiring, and maintaining workhouses for the use of the poor in their respective parishes or unions, or to borrow money for such purposes, under the provisions of this or any other act or acts.

And be it further enacted, That for the bet-

ter and more effectually securing the repayment of any sum or sums of money which may be borrowed for the purposes aforesaid, with interest, it shall be lawful for the said overseers or guardians to charge the future poor-rates of such parish or union with the amount of such sum or sums of money: Provided always, that the principal sum or sums to be raised for such purposes, whether raised within the year or borrowed, shall in no case exceed the average annual amount of the rates raised for the relief of the poor in such parish or union for *three* years, ending at the *Easter* next preceding the raising of such money; and that any loan or money borrowed for any of the purposes aforesaid, shall be repaid by annual instalments of not less than *one tenth* of the sum borrowed, with interest on the same, in any one year.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, and they are hereby empowered, from time to time, when they may see fit, and without requiring any such consent as aforesaid, by any writing under their hands and seal, to order and direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union having a workhouse or workhouses, or any building capable of being converted into a workhouse or workhouses, to enlarge or alter the same, according to such plan and in such manner as the said commissioners shall deem most proper for carrying the provisions of this act into execution; and the overseers or guardians to whom any such order shall be directed are hereby authorized and required to assess, raise, and levy such sum or sums of money as may be necessary for the purposes specified in such order, by such powers, ways, and means as are now by law given to or vested in churchwardens and overseers or guardians of the poor for altering, enlarging, and maintaining workhouses for the use of the poor in their respective parishes or unions: Provided always, that the principal sum or sums to be raised for such purposes, without such consent as aforesaid, shall in no case exceed *one-tenth* of the average annual amount of the rates raised for the relief of the poor in such parish or union for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding the raising of such money.

And for diminishing the expense of providing and supporting workhouses, and for the more effectual classification of poor persons receiving relief therein; be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, as and when they shall see fit, to declare so many of such parishes as they may specify to be united for the purpose of having one or more of such workhouses for their common use; and such parishes shall thereupon be deemed a union for that purpose; and the said commissioners may issue such rules, orders, and regulations as they shall deem expedient for the classification of the poor of such united parishes in such workhouse or workhouses accordingly, and such poor may be received, maintained, and

employed in any such workhouse or workhouses as if the same belonged exclusively to the parish to which such poor shall be chargeable; but notwithstanding such union and classification, each of the said parishes shall be separately chargeable with and liable to defray the expense of such of its poor as may be received and maintained in any of the said workhouses.

And be it further enacted, That when any union of parishes shall be proposed to be made or shall be made under any of the provisions of this act, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners and they are hereby required from time to time, by such means and in such manner as they may think fit, to inquire into and ascertain the expense incurred by each parish proposed to form part of such union for or relating to the relief or on account of the poor belonging to such parish whether such relief shall have been given in or out of any workhouse for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding such inquiry; and thereupon the said commissioners shall proceed to calculate and ascertain the annual average expense of each parish for that period; and the several parishes included or proposed to be included in such union shall, from the time of effecting the same, contribute and be assessed to a common fund for purchasing, building, hiring, or providing, altering or enlarging any workhouse or other place for the reception and relief of the poor of such parishes, or for the purchase or renting of any lands or tenements under and by virtue of the provisions of this act, of or for such union, and for the future upholding and maintaining of such workhouses or places aforesaid, and the payment or allowance of the officers of such union, and the providing of utensils and materials for setting the poor on work therein, and for any other expense to be incurred for the common use or benefit or on the common account of such parishes, in the like proportions as on the said annual average of the said *three* years such relief had cost each such parish separately, until such average shall be varied or altered as hereinafter provided: Provided always, and the said commissioners are hereby authorized, if they shall so think fit, but not otherwise, from time to time, either upon the application of the guardians of such union, or of the overseers of any parish forming part of the same, or without such application, to cause a like inquiry and calculation to be made and average ascertained for the *three* years ending at the *Easter* next preceding such inquiry; and from and after the ascertaining of any such average, or of any succeeding average, the respective parishes of such union shall contribute and be assessed to the common fund thereof, for the purposes aforesaid, in the proportions which the expense of such parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such period, upon the average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a

like inquiry shall be again made, and a new average and proportion ascertained, for the future assessment of such parishes.

And whereas in divers unions formed under the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor," or under local acts of incorporation, the whole of the expense, as well of upholding the united workhouses therein, as of maintaining and relieving the poor of the respective parishes of such unions, is assessed upon such parishes in the respective proportions fixed at the period when such unions were formed, and in others a part of such expenses is so levied, and a part subjected to variations at stated periods: And whereas some of the parishes of such unions have contributed, and still continue to contribute, as their fixed proportion of the general fund, a sum much larger, and others a sum much less, than the actual expense incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to them respectively: For remedy thereof, be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this act, to cause an inquiry to be made and an account rendered, as far as it may be practicable to render the same, by the visitors, directors, acting guardians, or other officers of such parishes or unions respectively, of the expense incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to each parish within any such union, whether such poor shall have been relieved in or out of such parish respectively, or in or out of any united workhouse, and whether such expense has been paid by the general fund of such union, or by the parochial funds of any of the parishes thereof, or by any private rate or general subscription in lieu of a rate among the ratepayers of any such parish, and whether passed through the books or paid under the control of the managers or officers of such union, or not, for the period of three years ending at Easter one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, including therein a due proportion of the expense of maintaining the united workhouses and establishment of such union, calculated according to the actual expense otherwise incurred for the relief of the poor belonging to each such parish; and the average annual amount of such expense shall be deemed and taken to have been the annual expense incurred by each parish on account of its poor, notwithstanding such parish may have contributed a greater or smaller sum than such annual average to the general funds of the union during such period; and such annual average so ascertained as aforesaid shall be deemed and taken as the fixed proportion to be contributed and paid by each such parish respectively towards a common fund for the future hiring, maintaining, and upholding, repairing, altering, or enlarging of any workhouse, and the renting of any land used by such union at the passing of

this act, and for the purchasing, building, hiring, maintaining, upholding, repairing, altering or enlarging of any new workhouse or workhouses, or other place for the reception and relief of the poor belonging to the parishes of such union, and for the renting or purchase of any lands or tenements under or by virtue of the provisions of this act, and the payment or allowance of any officers of such union, and the providing of utensils or materials for setting the poor on work therein, and for any other expense to be in future incurred for the common use or benefit of such parishes, and in addition to the cost or proportion of cost of the poor of such parishes, who shall be maintained or relieved in or out of any workhouse of such union, for which each such parish shall in future be charged separately; any provision or enactment in the said recited act, or in any such local acts, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, and the said commissioners are hereby authorized, if they see fit, but not otherwise, upon the application of the guardians of any such last-mentioned union, or of the overseers of any parish forming part of the same, or without such application from time to time to cause an inquiry and calculation to be made and average ascertained for the three years ending at the Easter next preceeding such inquiry, of the expense incurred by each such parish, as well in respect of its contribution to such common fund, as of the cost or proportion of cost of its poor which shall have been maintained or relieved in or out of any workhouse of such union during such period of three years; and from and after the ascertaining of such average, or of any succeeding average, the respective parishes of such union shall contribute and be assessed to the common fund thereof for the purposes for which such common fund is hereinbefore declared to be applicable in the proportions which the expense of such parishes shall be found to have borne to each other during such period, upon the average which shall have been so last ascertained, until a like inquiry shall be again made, and a new average and proportion ascertained for the future assessment of such parishes to such common fund.

And for facilitating the inquiries directed by this act; be it enacted, That unless and until they shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said commissioners to be incorrect, the returns made to Parliament of the sums expended for the relief of the poor of any parish for the last three years previous to the passing of this act shall be deemed to be the actual expense incurred by each such parish respectively during that period, for the purposes aforesaid, and on account of the poor belonging to such parish respectively, and shall be taken as the ground on which such wages shall be calculated and ascertained.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act so much of the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his said late

Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor," as provides that no parish, township, hamlet or place, which shall be situate more than ten miles from any poor-house or workhouse to be provided under the authority of that act, shall be permitted to be united for the purposes therein mentioned with the parishes, townships, hamlets, and places which shall establish such poor-house or workhouse as therein mentioned, and as limits the class or description of persons who shall be sent to such poor-house or workhouse, and so much of a certain act made and passed in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain provisions in Local Acts for the Maintenance and Management of the Poor," as repeals all enactments and provisions contained in any act or acts of Parliament, since the commencement of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, whereby any parish, township, or hamlet at a greater distance than ten miles from such house of industry or workhouse shall thenceforward be empowered or authorized to become contributors to or to take the benefit of such house of industry or workhouse, shall be and it the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners from time to time, as they may see fit, by order under their hands and seals, to declare any union, whether formed before or after the passing of this act (except when united for the purposes of settlement under the provisions herein contained), to be dissolved or any parish or parishes, specifying the same, to be separated from or added to any such union, and, as the case may be, such union shall thereupon be dissolved, or such parish or parishes shall thereupon be separated from or added to such union accordingly, and the said commissioners shall in every such case frame and make rules, orders, and regulations as they may think fit for adapting the constitution, management, and board of guardians of every such union, from or to which there shall be such separation or addition as aforesaid, to the altered state of the same, and every such union shall after any such alteration be constituted, managed, and governed as if the same had been originally formed under this act in such altered state, and in case any union shall be wholly or partially dissolved or altered, then the parishes constituting or in case of a partial dissolution, separated from any such union shall thenceforth be subject to be re-united, or united with other parishes or unions or otherwise dealt with according to the provisions of this act, as the said commissioners shall think fit. Provided always, that in every such case the said commissioners of all, and they are hereby required to, cause that the proper sum of rate for every parish of such union or of the workhouse or other property held or enjoyed by such union for the use of the poor or benefit of the rate-

payers therein, and also the proportionate amount chargeable on every parish in respect of all the liabilities of such union existing at the time of such dissolution or alteration of the same; and the said commissioners shall thereupon fix the amount to be received or paid, or secured to be paid, by every parish affected by such alteration, and the sum to be received, if any, by such parish, shall be paid, or, as the said commissioners shall direct, be secured to be paid to the overseers or guardians of the same, for the benefit of such parish, and in diminution of the rates thereof, and of the expense attending such alteration; and the sum to be so paid or secured to be paid by every such parish shall be raised, under the direction of the said commissioners, by the overseers or guardians of such parish, or charged on the poor-rates of such parish, as the said commissioners may see fit, and shall be paid or secured for the use and benefit of the union from which the same shall have been so separated, or of the persons or parishes otherwise entitled thereto, as the case may be. Provided always, that no such dissolution or alteration of the parishes constituting any such union as aforesaid shall in any manner prejudice, vary, or affect the rights or interests of third persons, unless such third persons, by themselves or their agents, shall consent, in writing, to such dissolution or proposed alteration, and that no such dissolution or alteration shall take place or be made unless a majority of not less than two thirds of the guardians of such union shall also concur therein, and in every such case, when the said majority of the guardians of such union shall so concur in such proposed alteration, the terms on which such concurrence shall have been given, if approved by the said commissioners, shall be binding and conclusive on the several parishes of such union.

And be it further enacted, That in any union already formed, or which may hereafter be formed in pursuance of, or under the provisions of this act, it shall be lawful to and for a majority, consisting of three fourths of the guardians of such union, under their hands, to agree, subject to the approbation of the said commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective parishes forming such union, that, for the purposes of settlement, such parishes shall be considered as one parish, and in such case such agreement shall be reduced into writing in such form as the said commissioners shall prescribe, at the same and as many parts or duplicates thereof as the said commissioners shall direct, shall be signed by the said majority of the said guardians consenting thereto, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, one whereof shall be forthwith deposited with the said commissioners, and another or others with the clerk or clerk of the peace of the county or counties, district, or districts in which the parishes of such union shall be respectively situate, and the said clerk or clerks of the peace shall,

and is or are hereby required, upon the receipt of such agreement, or any part or duplicate thereof so signed and sealed as aforesaid, to file the same with the records of such county or counties, district or districts; and from and after the depositing of the same as aforesaid the said agreement shall for ever thereafter be binding on each of such parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled; and the settlement of a poor person in any one of the parishes of such union shall be considered, as between such parishes, a settlement in such union, and the expense of maintaining, supporting, and relieving every such poor person, and all other expenses of maintaining, supporting, and relieving the poor to which any one of such parishes shall be liable after the depositing of such agreement, part, or duplicate as aforesaid, or of ascertaining, litigating, or adjudging the settlement of any poor person in any of such parishes, shall form part of the general expenses, and be paid out of the common funds of such union: Provided always, that wherever such agreement is entered into as aforesaid, the rate or proportion of contribution to such common funds to be thereafter paid by each of the parishes of such union shall be ascertained and fixed in like manner as in and by this act is provided for in cases where any union of parishes is made or proposed to be made under the provisions thereof, and shall not be subject to further variation.

And be it further enacted, That wherever any such last-mentioned union shall have been formed in pursuance of the provision last herein contained, it shall and may be lawful for the guardians of such union, by any writing under their hands, to agree, with the approbation of the said commissioners, for or on behalf of the respective parishes for which they shall so act as guardians, that, for the purposes of raising in common the necessary funds for the relief of the poor of such union, such parishes shall be considered one parish; and in such case such agreement shall be signed by the said guardians, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, and one part thereof deposited with the said commissioners, and a counterpart or counterparts thereof, signed by the said guardians, and signed and sealed by the said commissioners, deposited with the said clerk or clerks of the peace of the county or counties, district or districts in which the said parishes of such union shall be situate; and the said clerk or clerks of the peace shall and is and are hereby required upon the receipt of such agreement to file the same with the records of such county or counties, district or districts; and from and after the depositing of such last-mentioned agreement, the same shall be for ever binding upon such parishes, and shall not be revoked or annulled.

And be it further enacted, That from and after such depositing of the said agreement, the said guardians shall, under such regulations as the said commissioners shall in that

respect prescribe, proceed to ascertain and assess the value of the property in the several parishes of such union rateable to the relief of the poor, and to cause to be made such surveys and valuations of the said property or any part thereof as may be necessary from time to time to make a fair and just assessment upon the said united parishes in respect of such property so rateable as aforesaid; and every such assessment or valuation, and all rates grounded thereon, shall from time to time be laid before the justices acting for the several parishes in such unions at their petty sessions, or at a special sessions called for the purpose, to be by them adjusted, allowed and confirmed in such manner as rates for the poor are now adjusted, allowed and confirmed by justices at any general or quarter sessions, or at any special or petty sessions of such justices; and the rate-payers affected by such assessment or valuation shall in every such case and from time to time have the like power of appeal against any such assessment or valuation before such justices at any petty or special sessions as is now given to or vested in rate-payers in the case of appeals against the poor-rates or any assessment to the relief of the poor, before the justices at their general or quarter sessions, or any adjournment thereof; and from and after the making, adjusting, confirming, and allowing of every such assessment or valuation the same shall be binding upon all the parishes of such union and the rate-payers therein, as if the same were the separate assessment of each parish respectively.

And be it further enacted, That from and after any such common rate shall have come into operation, the proportions of contribution fixed at the period of uniting such parishes, or existing at the time of such last-mentioned agreement for a common rate, shall wholly cease; and all expenditure in respect of the poor of such union, or chargeable in any way on the poor-rates of the respective parishes thereof, shall be deemed and be the common expenditure of such union, and be chargeable upon and paid out of the common or general fund to be raised upon such parishes under such common rate, according to the valuation or assessment of the rateable property in such parishes, so ascertained, confirmed and allowed by the said justices from time to time in manner hereinbefore provided: Provided always, that the expense of every such valuation shall at all times be a charge on the common rate of such parishes: Provided also, That in case any parish of such union, at the period of entering into such agreement for a common rate, shall not be represented by a guardian elected solely by such parish, such parish shall not be bound by any such agreement unless a majority of the owners of property entitled to vote in the manner provided by this act, and of the rate-payers in such parish, shall, by their votes in writing, testify their assent to such agreement in such form as the said commissioners shall prescribe; and in case such assent shall not be so given,

such parish shall be wholly omitted from such agreement, and be liable and continue to pay such proportion only of the common assessment as it was bound to pay upon the forming of the union of such parishes.

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

PAYNE, H., Rotherham, Yorkshire, grocer.
TROUGHTON, C., Overton, Hampshire, silk-throwster.

BANKRUPTS.

BOULTING, J. jun., Wells, Somersetshire, innholder.
BOWKER, J., sen., Salford, Lancashire, dyer.
BROOKES, A., Newport, Shropsh., scrivener.
DUCOTE, P. A., St. Martin's-lane, lithographer.
GARDENER, J., Llangollen, Denbighshire, linen-manufacturer.
GENGE, R., East Chiswick, Somersetshire, sail-cloth-manufacturer.
HARPER, W., New-street, Dorset-square, butcher.
JENKINS, J., Land-end, Staffordsh., cooper.
PISTRUCCI, F., Broad-street, Golden-square, artist.
ROSS, C., Beverley, Yorkshire, wine-merchant.
SAINTY, P., Wivenhoe, Essex, shipwright.
SANDYS, H. W., and H., Crane-court, Fleet-street, scriveners.
SCHONSWAR, G. jun., Willeroy, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
TEWSLEY, W., Mortlake, Surrey, grocer.
WORLEY, W., Birmingham, nurseryman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

LOCHORE, J., Glasgow, builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

SMALL, M., Bristol, hackney-coach-proprietress.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

PALLMER, C. N., Norbiton-house, Surrey, ship-owner.
PERRY, C., Drury-lane, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BARROW, J., Selby, Yorkshire, wharfinger.
BEANS, P., Manchester, grocer.
BROWN, H., J. H. Bradley, and B. Harris, Gloucester and Birmingham, merchants.

CARTER, P. A., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, licensed victualler.

COLBOURNE, J., Sturminster, Newton Castle, Dorsetshire, and Poole, merchant.

DAWSON, J., Liverpool, scrivener.

FORD, R., Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothier.

HUXTABLE, W., and R. Genge, Ilfracombe, Devonshire, ship-builders.

JACKSON, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer.

PEACOCK, T., Skeldersgate, Yorkshire, timber-merchant.

STOCK, J., Bristol, cabinet-maker.

WOOD, J., Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, collier.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 2.—The supplies of Wheat, together with Spring Corn from the home counties, as well as more distant parts have been extremely limited. Wheat met rather more inquiry on the part of the millers, without, however, rendering the trade brisk, though preserving a steady aspect, and prices of fine white samples may be noted 1s. to 2s. per quarter higher; but red qualities did not advance more than 1s. per quarter; secondary descriptions participated in the improvement, but were dull sale. In bonded Corn nothing transpiring.

Barley met inquiry, and grinding as well as distilling qualities must be noted 1s. higher. We did not hear of any transactions in bond.

Malt was more in request, and held at an advance of 1s. to 2s.

The supply of Oats, except from Scotland, has been very trifling, and as holders in consequence advanced their demands, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per quarter from the rates of this day week, dealers refrained from purchasing to any extent, in anticipation of increased supplies, and the trade did not exhibit much animation. Speculators having transmitted extensive orders abroad for the article, are awaiting their execution, previous to the purchasing the article in bonded warehouse, and therefore little business is transacting in loco in the foreign article; for rather a large parcel, however, of Russian feed, 14s. per quarter was refused.

Beans extremely scarce, and 1s. to 2s. dearer than on Monday.

Peas, being also in very limited supply, advanced considerably in value, owing to the demand, and unfavourable reports of the crops. White Peas must be noted 3s. to 4s. per qr. higher, and feed 2s. per quarter.

Flour dull sale, and ship marks difficult of disposal.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk 44s. to 49s.

— White 43s. to 54s.

— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire..... } 42s. to 46s.

— White, ditto 45s. to 52s.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| — West Country red. | 43s. to 46s. |
| — White, ditto | 45s. to 51s. |
| — Northumberland and Berwickshire red. | 39s. to 44s. |
| — White, ditto | 40s. to 46s. |
| — Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red. | 36s. to 42s. |
| — White, ditto | 43s. to 44s. |
| — Irish red. | 35s. to 41s. |
| — White, ditto | 39s. to 43s. |
| Barley, Malting | 28s. to 30s. |
| — Chevalier | —s. to 30s. |
| — Diavilling | 27s. to 29s. |
| — Griauding | 25s. to 29s. |
| Malt, new | 34s. to 48s. |
| — Norfolk, pale. | 50s. to 56s. |
| — Ware | 50s. to 58s. |
| Peas, Hog and Grey | 34s. to 36s. |
| — Maple | 36s. to 38s. |
| — White Boilers | 36s. to 41s. |
| Beans, Small | 34s. to 40s. |
| — Harrow | 31s. to 38s. |
| — Tick | 30s. to 36s. |
| Oats, English Feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| — Short, small | 23s. to 25s. |
| — Poland | 23s. to 26s. |
| — Scotch, common | 23s. to 24s. |
| — — Potato | 26s. to 27s. |
| — — Berwick | 25s. to 26s. |
| — Irish, Galway, &c. | 20s. to 21s. |
| — — Potato | 23s. to 25s. |
| — — Black | 22s. to 23s. |
| Bran, per bushel. | 12s. to 14s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Butter, Dorset. | 40s. to —s. per cwt. |
| — Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| — York | 40s. to 42s. |
| Cheese, Dble. Gloucester | 48s. to 62s. |
| — Single ditto. | 44s. to 48s. |
| — Cheshire | 54s. to 74s. |
| — Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Hams, Westmoreland. . | 50s. to 60s. |
| — Cumberland ... | 46s. to 58s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 2.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was moderately good; the supply of Beasts and Porkers rather limited. Trade was throughout dull. With Lamb, Veal, and Pork at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef and Mutton at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots, at least three-eighths, about equal numbers of Short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts; and the remaining eighth, about equal numbers of Hereford, Irish Beasts, Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full third of the Sheep were South Downs, another third new Leicesters of the South Devon and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; and the remaining third about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents,

Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

A full moiety of the Lambs, the whole of which were supposed to number about 4000, were South Downs; and the remainder about equal numbers of new Leicesters, of different crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry casual breeds.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, about 1,000 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Short-horns, Devons, runts, and homebreds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 250, chiefly Short-horns, with a few Scots, Devons, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 140, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly Devons, with a few Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, in about equal numbers of Sussex beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

THE FUNDS.

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| 3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur | |
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MAPS,

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

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IRISH CHURCH.

THE COMMISSION which has been issued by the King to inquire into the state of this church, and which has given rise to so much debating in both Houses of Parliament, has for its object to ascertain whether the revenues of the church in Ireland be, or be not, greater than is necessary in proportion to the number of Church Protestants who are in Ireland. If they be found to be greater than is necessary, the Ministers in the House of Commons have pledged themselves to take away the surplus and apply it to public uses. Lord GREY has given a similar pledge, or pretty nearly; but, according to the reported speeches of the Lord Chancellor and Lord LANSDOWNE, they do not mean to go this length, but mean that the surplus should be applied to charitable purposes, or purposes of education, CONNECTED WITH THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH. This would not be a *taking away*: so that the Ministry themselves do not seem to be in harmony upon the subject. However, this is a matter with which I shall not further meddle at present.

What I now propose to do is, to give my readers some very interesting information with regard to the number of Church Protestants in Ireland, as compared with the Catholics and Dissenters, and especially with the Catholics; and also, which is a much more interesting matter than any statement relative to the existing numbers, information with regard to the *increase or decrease* of church Protestants in Ire-

land. This is the great matter; for, if the church Protestants have been constantly decreasing in number for a century; if this be the case, will the most zealous friend of the established church pretend that an endeavour ought to be made to uphold that church in Ireland, at an enormous expense in money; and an expense still more enormous, of constant discontent, turmoil, affrays, and bloodshed? If church protestantism were upon the increase, however small that increase might be; if this were the case, there might be some ground for continuing to uphold this church, though at so enormous an expense. It is, indeed, monstrous to suppose that when there is now only one church Protestant to sixteen Catholics and Dissenters; when the account stands thus, at the end of three hundred years of expenses to convert the people to the church; it is monstrous to suppose that the work of conversion will ever be carried on with success; but, if the number of converts had been increasing in ever so small a degree during the last hundred years, there might be churchmen found to say, "*Let us try another three hundred years.*"

But if it be found indubitably true, that the number of church Protestants have gone on gradually decreasing during the last hundred years, is there any churchman, or any other human being, who will pretend that we ought still to uphold that church at such an expense of treasure and of blood? The Commission which is going forth, if faithfully executed, will ascertain the positive numbers and the relative numbers; and it is also to report, whether there has been an increase or decrease of church Protestants. In the meanwhile I shall here endeavour to explain to my readers how the matter now stands; and I shall first take an account, which was made out by order of the Government, and printed in the year 1731; that is to say, *a hundred and three years ago*; according to which account it would appear

that there were then three churchmen to every eight Catholics. So that there were then three out of every eleven while there is at this time, or is said to be, only one churchman out of every sixteen Catholics and Dissenters. The following is a copy of this account which I take from a publication made at DUBLIN, in 1736. I beg the reader's attention to this account, which he will observe was a government official account. The object of this publication doubtless was, to make it appear that the number of Protestants was great; and it is most likely that the Dissenters, if there were any then, were included with the church-people. But at any rate it is an official government account; and if it be false, the falsehood is a government falsehood. At any rate we have a right to assume that the relative numbers as here stated were the real numbers; and then we have a foundation whereon to proceed in judging of the justice and the wisdom of upholding this Protestant church in Ireland.

An Abstract of the number of Protestant and Popish families in the several counties and provinces of Ireland, taken from the returns made by the Hearthmoney Collectors, to the Hearthmoney Office in Dublin, in the years 1732 and 1733: those being reckoned Protestant and Popish families where the heads of families are either Protestants or Papists. With Observations.—Dublin, 1736.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

| Counties. | Protestant Families. | Popish Families. |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Antrim | 14899 | 3461 |
| Down | 14060 | 5210 |
| Ardmagh | 6064 | 3279 |
| Donegal | 5543 | 4144 |
| Tyrone | 5587 | 6123 |
| Derry | 8751 | 2782 |
| Fermanagh | 2913 | 2127 |
| Monaghan | 2838 | 5096 |
| Cavan | 1969 | 6237 |
| Total | 62624 | 38459 |

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

| Counties. | Protestant Families. | Popish Families. |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Dublin { City | 8823 | 4119 |
| { County | 1928 | 6336 |
| Kilkenny | 970 | 9785 |
| Kildare | 656 | 7614 |
| King's County | 1237 | 6677 |
| Longford | 819 | 3742 |
| Louth | 897 | 5136 |
| Meath | 1691 | 14416 |
| Queen's County | 1355 | 7313 |
| Carlow | 1000 | 4079 |
| Westmeath | 1139 | 7120 |
| Wexford | 2193 | 10837 |
| Wicklow | 2543 | 5260 |
| Total | 25241 | 92434 |

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

| Counties. | Protestant Families. | Popish Families. |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Waterford | 827 | 10163 |
| Cork { City | 2569 | 5398 |
| { County | 4520 | 36938 |
| Limerick | 2056 | 14820 |
| Kerry | 1073 | 13273 |
| Tipperary | 1627 | 16476 |
| Clare | 665 | 9348 |
| Total | 13337 | 106407 |

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

| Counties. | Protestant Families. | Popish Families. |
|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Galway | 911 | 15912 |
| Mayo | 697 | 11466 |
| Rosecommon | 790 | 7312 |
| Sligo | 1166 | 5067 |
| Leitrim | 735 | 4314 |
| Total | 4299 | 44101 |

| Provinces. | Protestant Families. | Popish Families. | Total of both. |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Ulster | 62624 | 38459 | 101083 |
| Leinster | 25241 | 92434 | 117675 |
| Munster | 13337 | 106407 | 119744 |
| Connaught | 4299 | 44101 | 48400 |
| Total.. | 105501 | 281401 | 386902 |

As three to eight.

To this account were added observations on the part of the Government;

and it will be seen that these observations were made with the view of causing it to be believed that the Protestants were increasing, in proportion to the Catholics. These observations are as follows, and very well worthy of the greatest attention.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING ABSTRACT.

THIS abstract contains the number of families reported by the hearthmoney collectors, to be found in their respective districts throughout the kingdom in the year 1732. And though it appears from their returns, that there were 386,902 families, yet we must take notice, that all the inhabitants of the kingdom are not taken into the account; for neither soldiers or their families, nor those who live in colleges, hospitals, and poor-houses, nor above 2,000 certificate houses, (as those are called which by reason of their poverty are excused from paying hearthmoney) are included in that number; the former articles not having been within the course of inquiry of said collectors, and the last omitted by some of them in their returns.

From the number of families we may find the number of inhabitants of the kingdom, by allowing such a number of souls to each family as they reasonably may be supposed to contain one with another at a medium.

In order to find out such medium, several gentlemen have had the curiosity to take an exact account of the number of men, women, and children, in every house, in several large districts in the country, and in great towns, and found upon trial, in some parts of the open country, but four and a third, and four and a half in a house; in other parts, where manufactures were carried on, four and three quarters, and five in a family, but in large towns and cities, five, six, seven, or eight, and particularly in Dublin, near ten souls to a house one with another.

This inequality of numbers in country and city houses, seems to arise from hence, that the lower sort of people, who are generally very poor and make

the bulk of the nation, have few or no servants in their houses, but on the contrary send out their children to wealthier families, and furnish them with servants and apprentices, whereby their own families are diminished, and those of the rich are increased.

From what has been said, we may reasonably allow five to a family throughout the kingdom, considering that the largeness of families in cities and great towns will make up the deficiencies in the country.

If there be 386,902 families in the kingdom, and if we allow five to a family, then those families will contain one million nine hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and ten souls, and if we add to them the 12,000 soldiers and their families, and all such who live in colleges, hospitals, poor-houses, and the unreturned certificate houses above mentioned, none of which are included in the aforesaid number of families returned by the hearthmoney collectors, we may very well conclude that there are very near two millions of inhabitants in the kingdom.

It appears by the abstract that there are 105,501 Protestant families, and 281,401 Popish families in the kingdom, which are in proportion to one another as three to eight, that is, supposing the whole to be divided into eleven parts, the Protestants make three of them, and the Papists eight.

If we take into the account the 12,000 soldiers and their families, and all those who live in colleges, hospitals, and poor-houses, and many servants from Great Britain, who have settled among us, who are all Protestants, and not included in the number of Protestant families before mentioned, and reckon them equal to 7,000 families, as we may reasonably do, and add them to the said 105,501 families, then the number of Protestant families being 112,501, will be in proportion to the Popish families exactly as one to two and a half.

If the number of Protestant families be to those of Papists, as one to two and a half, or as one to two and two thirds, it may be asked what proportion do

Protestants bear to Papists with respect to their numbers in general ?

To this 'tis answered, that what proportion soever there is between Protestants and Papists, with respect to the number of their families, the same proportion will hold good also with respect to the number of Protestants and Papists in or belonging to those families ; for though the families of Protestants, who have most of the estates and wealth of the kingdom in their hands are generally much larger, and have more servants, than those of Papists ; and though it be allowed that there are great numbers of Popish servants in Protestant families, and few or no Protestant servants in Popish families, yet if we allow an equal number of souls, five for instance to every family, as well Popish as Protestant, throughout the kingdom, then every Papist and Protestant will be taken into the account whether they live in their own or other families. A family properly speaking is made up of a man, his wife and children, and whatever difference there is between families with respect to their largeness, the same arises from the number of servants more or less in those families ; the families of the rich are increased by taking in servants from the poor ; and the families of the poor are lessened by that means. Protestant families are furnished with servants both from Protestant and Popish families of the lower sort, and if they are enlarged by taking in Popish servants, of consequence Popish families, from whence such servants are taken, must be diminished in the same proportion.

Suppose three families, one Protestant and two Popish, each originally consisting of five persons, and that a servant is taken from each of the Popish families into the Protestant one, then there will be seven persons in the Protestant family, and four in each of the Popish families. In this case, as the proportion of families is two to one, so the proportion of individuals, or of Papists to Protestants, originally belonging to those families, is also two to one. From hence it follows, that though there be many Popish servants

in Protestant families, yet if we suppose all families to contain an equal number of souls, they will be all taken into account as much as if they had still remained in their own families, or had been separately reckoned in the families where they live.

This may serve as a rule in political arithmetic, that when we know the number of families in any country, we may find the number of inhabitants, by allowing five souls, or any other number, as a proper medium to each family ; and by knowing of what persuasion or religion the heads of those families are, we may also find the number of persons of each persuasion nearly ; for that number will be in proportion to the number of their respective families. Provided, however, and upon this supposition, that they are equal breeders, and that the members of each family continue to be of the religion of the head of the family, and that there be no accession of people to either side from other countries ; for in such cases the proportions may vary a little. It cannot well be supposed but that the women of the same country are equal breeders, except that the poor have generally more children than the rich ; but as to the other cases, it must be allowed, that many Protestants come yearly into Ireland from England, Scotland, and Wales, and settle with us ; but no Papists come into Ireland but such as before went from thence ; and many servants taken from Popish families, and others, become Protestants, and continue so. 'Tis true that many Protestants have of late years left the kingdom to settle in America, and 'tis no less certain that many Papists do yearly go abroad, either to enter into foreign service, or to make their fortunes, who never return again ; this may make a diminution of the stock of people in the nation, or in some measure lessen their increase, but will make little or no variation in the proportion between Protestants and Papists, the decrease on both sides, on account thereof, being very near in proportion to their whole numbers. This abstract confirms another sort of computation, made use of to show, that

there are not three Papists to one Protestant in Ireland, which computation was grounded on the following suppositions, which are generally allowed to be true.

1st. That the province of Ulster contains more than the fourth part of the inhabitants of the kingdom.

2dly. That there are so many Protestants in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, as there are Papists in Ulster; and therefore supposing all in Ulster to be Protestants, and all in the other three provinces to be Papists, the consequence must be, that there are not three Papists to one Protestant; now it appears by the abstract, that Ulster contains more than a fourth part of the families of the whole kingdom, and that the Protestants of the other three provinces are more in number than the Papists in Ulster, and consequently the Protestants must be more than a fourth part of the whole.

Sir William Petty, in his "Political Survey of Ireland," page 8, published in 1672, computed that there were then in Ireland three Protestants to eight Papists; it does not appear upon what grounds he made this computation; but this is certain, that whatever was the disproportion in number between Protestants and Papists in 1672, the present disproportion must be much less, considering the great numbers of Protestants, who soon after the revolution, and ever since, have come over from Great Britain into Ireland, and settled among us.

Most of the computations concerning the number of Protestants and Papists in Ireland have hitherto been made without any good or probable foundation. The general notion was, that the disproportion between Papists and Protestants was much greater than what appears by this abstract; but this very probably was owing to this, that such gentlemen who took particular notice of the great number of Papists in some parts of the kingdom, did not make proper allowances for other parts, where the Protestants are more numerous. But now, that we have a distinct account of all the Protestant and Papish families in the kingdom, returned by the hearthmoney collectors, who could with ease make a true return of the

heads of families, whether they were Protestants or Papists, and we presume have done it with some tolerable exactness, pursuant to the directions they received from the commissioners of the revenue for that purpose; we may reasonably believe the same is near the truth. And though there may be mistakes in some of the returns, yet as such mistakes may be on both sides, there may be little or no difference in the whole. And if there should be a mistake of 1,000 or 2,000 families on either side, this will make but an inconsiderable variation in the proportion which they bear to one another, when taken altogether.

As the bills of mortality for the city of Dublin give some light to that part of the abstract which relates to the said city, I shall here observe, that it appears from the accounts of burials and christenings of Dublin for seven years, ending the 25th of March 1735, published by William Mulhallen, registrar, that at a medium yearly for the said seven years, 2,519 persons were buried in Dublin, and 1,578 christened; so that the christenings were near two-thirds of the burials. But no account being taken of the number of children born yearly at that time, we may supply that defect by taking notice, that it is found by many observations, that in very large cities the burials exceed the births, but in the country the births exceed the burials.

We will however suppose and allow the births and burials to be equal in Dublin, viz. 2,519 each: now we must take notice, that the burials mentioned in the bills of mortality for Dublin comprehend those of all persuasions who are buried in Dublin; viz. Conformists, Dissenters, and Papists; but the number of these christened or baptized comprehends the children of Conformists only, who are reported by the clerks of the respective parishes to be christened therein, exclusive of the children of Dissenters and Papists. So that the children of Conformists alone, which amount to 1,578, are very near two-thirds of all the births, which are 2,519. And if we add to them the children of Dissenters, they will both together

make up considerably more than two-thirds of all the births, which agrees very well with the return of the hearth-money collectors, which makes the proportion of Protestant to Popish families in Dublin as nine to four.

It is true that many who die in Dublin are buried in some adjoining burying places in the country, and are therefore omitted in the bills of mortality, so that the number of deaths are more than the burials. And it is no less certain, that many children of Conformists are omitted in the number of those christened; but as these omissions on both sides may be nearly in proportion to their respective numbers, there may be little or no difference in the whole.

From hence we may easily account for that great inequality which constantly appears between burials and christenings in all the bills of mortality for London and Dublin; the christenings in London not being more than three-fourths of the burials, and in Dublin not quite two-thirds; when at the same time in Paris and other places the births are commonly more than the burials, or very near equal to them. But this is owing to the different manner of keeping their accounts of the bills of mortality; for in Paris they keep an account of all burials and births, but in London and Dublin only of burials and christenings; and in the article of christenings none are included but the children of those of the established church.

This abstract is published for the satisfaction of those who are curious in political arithmetic, which has been often of service to rectify mistakes, clear up difficult points, and furnish useful hints for the advantage of the public.

This, then, was the state of the case a hundred years ago. We have no Government official return of the relative numbers of the whole kingdom of a date later than that which I have just inserted; but I have before me an account relative to the county of KILKENNY, drawn up in consequence of an order of the House of Lords, and communicated by the Bishop of Ossory, and bearing date in the year 1800,

thirty-four years ago. According to that account the total population was then, 100,191. The increase of population from 1731 to 1800 was from 42,108 to 100,191; and, in the same period, the decrease of Protestant families was three hundred and twenty-four, which, reckoning five to a family, makes sixteen hundred and twenty. Instead of increasing with the population even, there is a decrease of Protestants, while the population has been more than doubled. Upon what ground, then, is any one to expect that the Protestants will ever increase, and what grounds can there be for the upholding of this church?

These facts, which all come from undoubted authority, are quite enough to satisfy any reasonable man that this establishment ought not to be attempted to be upheld any longer. If any one defend it upon a religious score, the Protestant religion is receiving an injury and not a benefit from this establishment; because the daily decline of the members of the church in point of numbers must, unavoidably, be a great injury to the church; and must do injury to it in England, as well as in Ireland. Whether it was right in the first instance, to endeavour to impose the Protestant establishment upon Ireland, is another matter; but that it can never be upheld there, without prodigious injury to the whole kingdom, is certain. Before, however, I speak of the expense of upholding this establishment, let me insert another document, showing the decrease of the Protestants from the year 1731 to the year 1831, which shows, as far as thirty-seven parishes are concerned, that the decrease has been greater in proportion since the union than before. This account is made out from the census returns, as far as relates to population, and from the personal inquiry and examination of Mr. FINN, as far as relates to the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants. He has challenged contradiction. No one contradicts; and my readers may rely on the accuracy of the account, as well as on that of the observations appended to it. This account, and these observations, are as follow:

Statement showing the relative increase of population in the progress of a century in thirty-eight parishes indiscriminately, chosen in the diocese of Ossory, compared with the stationary state and decline of Protestantism in the same period; together with a view of the manner in which parochial benefices are held by the clergy of the establishment as regards residence, &c.

| PARISHES. | Population in 1731. | | Population in 1831. | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | Total Inhabitants | Total Protestants | Total Inhabitants. | Total Protestants. |
| (1) Kilcoan | 83 | None. | No Return. | None. |
| (2) Ballygurrán | 214 | None. | 693 | None. |
| (3) Kilbride | 75 | None. | 937 | None. |
| (4) Killmackamogue | 250 | 23 | 1027 | 1 |
| (5) Kilcollum | 300 | 49 | 2139 | None. |
| (6) Rathpatrick | 490 | 67 | 1627 | None. |
| (7) Killeculiheen ... | 422 | 92 | 1352 | 24 |
| (8) Rathkyran | 445 | 34 | 1511 | None. |
| (9) Aglishmartin ... | 148 | None. | 1485 | None. |
| (10) Portnescully | 630 | 23 | No Return. | None. |
| (11) Polcroan | 697 | 38 | 1246 | 6 |
| (12) Tubrid | 71 | 6 | 1103 | None. |
| (13) Ballytarsua | 201 | 32 | No Return. | None. |
| (14) Clonmore | 227 | 27 | 1147 | 15 |
| (15) Burtagh | 560 | 45 | 3225 | 65 |
| (16) Eirke | 795 | 94 | 2390 | 40 |
| (17) Glashare | 164 | 48 | 902 | None. |
| (18) Innistioge | 974 | 193 | 3303 | 244 |
| (19) Clonemary | 285 | 8 | 736 | 53 |
| (20) Roer | 1406 | 120 | 3509 | 64 |
| (21) Thomastown ... | 497 | 44 | 3132 | 66 |
| (22) Kilfane | 314 | 55 | 898 | 31 |
| (23) Collumkil | 300 | 49 | 860 | 7 |
| (24) Tollaherin | 394 | 22 | 895 | 22 |
| (25) Jerpoint | 44 | 17 | 1357 | 45 |
| (26) Burnchurch | 421 | 69 | 1450 | 50 |
| (27) Duosford | 394 | 34 | 1153 | 25 |
| (28) Callan | 1371 | 210 | 6111 | 170 |
| (29) Killaloe | 509 | 5 | 1690 | 17 |
| (30) Ballycallan | 445 | 13 | 1807 | 16 |
| (31) Tolleroan | 677 | 64 | 3962 | 17 |
| (32) Fiddown | 1013 | 236 | 3946 | 374 |
| (33) Owing | 363 | 18 | 2342 | 45 |
| (34) Tibragny | 292 | 40 | No Return. | 5 |
| (35) Muckully | 126 | 9 | 885 | 5 |
| (36) Whitechurch ... | 215 | 38 | 2342 | 36 |
| (37) Dunkit | 615 | 103 | 2933 | 11 |
| Total.... | 16,487 | 1935 | 64,225 | 1458 |

OBSERVATIONS.

(1) Incumbent resides in another diocese, and has also the vicarial tithes of the parish of Killbride.

(2) This is one of six parishes held by one incumbent, not resident.

(3) See Killcoan, not resident.

(4) Same as Ballygurram, not resident.

(5) This is one of three parishes forming the union of Dunkit tithes, 480*l.*, of which 160*l.* is paid to the vicar, not resident.

(6) Is one of six parishes held by one incumbent, not resident.

(7) This is one of two parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident in either parishes, and has another benefice in the diocese of Ferns, where he resides, of two parishes. A curate, who is non-resident, does the duty of the 24 souls for 50*l.* per annum.

(8) This parish is appropriate to the vicars choral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

(9) Incumbent resides in the diocese of Tuam, on his benefice of Dunmore, which produces 646*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* per annum.

(10) This is one of three parishes which form the union of Polcroan.

(11) Incumbent resides in his glebe-house here; he has two other parishes in the county.

(12) This is one of five parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(13) This is one of two parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(14) Incumbent who has the foregoing parish resides in his glebe-house, on a glebe of eleven acres, built for him by assessment on the parish.

(15) Incumbent resides, tithes 409*l.*

(16) Incumbent resides in a glebe-house, on a glebe of 15 acres, built for him by parochial assessment of 800*l.* The tithes amount to 700*l.* per annum.

(17) This is one of three parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(18) Incumbent resides; has Clossamary parish; tithes of both 365*l.* per annum.

(19) As above.

(20) Incumbent non-resident; tithes 516*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*, and has three other parishes in this diocese.

(21) The incumbent resides in the glebe-house, on a glebe of 12 acres, erected for him by an assessment on the parish of 650*l.*; he has two other parishes in the diocese.

(22) This is one of three parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident in any one of them, having another benefice in the diocese of Kilmore, of great value, the glebe lands alone amounting to 265 Irish acres. The tithes of two of the parishes amount to 490*l.* per annum.

(23) This is one of three parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

Incumbent non-resident. Tithes 210*l.*

(25) This is one of fourteen denominations of parishes held by one incumbent, who is non-resident.

(26) Incumbent resides, has 13 other parishes in the diocese.

(27) This is one of the foregoing parishes held by one incumbent.

(28) Rector resides; tithes 550*l.* per annum; and has five other parishes in the diocese.

(29) These two parishes form part of a union of six parishes, that of Callan where the incumbent resides.

(30) This is one of six parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(31) This is similarly situated as the last-named parish.

(32) Incumbent resides. The church erected in 1817, at an expense of 1,500*l.* assessment. Tithes 687*l.*, besides that of four other parishes in the union.

(33) This is one of three parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(34) This is one of five parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(35) This is one of three parishes held by one incumbent, non-resident.

(36) Incumbent resides in a glebe-house, on a glebe of sixteen acres, built for him by assessment on the inhabitants.

(37) This is one of three parishes held by a vicar. Tithes 553*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* of which, 184*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* is paid to the vicar.

Here it appears that there are forty-three Catholics to one Protestant; or at least that there is only one Protestant out of every forty-three persons in these parishes. Only *one* Protestant, observe, out of every *forty-three* persons; and with this fact in your mind pray look at the observations which Mr. FINN has appended to this account, and then say, not whether it be just that these revenues should be thus applied, but whether it be possible for them to continue to be thus applied. Here you have a true picture of the state of Ireland with regard to this church. Here you have before you the real cause of all the turmoil and all the bloodshed in Ireland: the real cause of the sufferings of the people of that country; and so far from the upholding of that church being conducive to the upholding of the church in England, it must, if attempted to be upheld now, be the cause of pulling down the church in England.

It was upon this ground that I petitioned the Parliament in 1829 to repeal and put an end to this Irish church altogether. The Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEEL, in supporting the Catholic Emancipation Bill, declared one of their objects to be, to make the Protestant church in Ireland *more secure*.

I gave it as my opinion that it would not only make it less secure, but must lead to its extinguishment in a very short time. Events have proved that I was right; and if that petition had been listened to we never should have heard of the troubles that now exist. If the church of Ireland had been extinguished at once, as it justly might have been, the church of England would not have been affected by it, the least in the world. Now the case is different. The indiscreet friends of the church obstinately persevere in considering the two churches indissoluble; in considering them *as one and the same*; and they seem resolved that the church of England shall be dragged down along with the church of Ireland, which it is utterly impossible any longer to uphold.

Now let us look at the *expense* of upholding this church. It is very well known; it has been proved in five hundred instances, that the army, the *police*, the *peace-preservation* force, and indeed all the extraordinary force unknown to the constitution, have been demanded solely, and kept up solely, in consequence of the upholding of this church. Allowing eight thousand men to be necessary to be kept up in Ireland at all times, even if the country were in a proper and desirable state, there are now twenty-four thousand men, consequently the sixteen thousand are kept up solely in order to uphold this church. The police stationed about all over the country, and the peace-preservation force, besides the scouting force kept up at DUBLIN, to be sent off in cases of emergency; none of these would have any existence were it not for the sole purpose of causing the tithes and the dues of the church to be collected; in short for the sole purpose of upholding this Protestant church as by law established. So that the cost, the annual cost, of upholding the church, amounts as follows:

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|---------|----|----|
| The police force | .... | 292,820 | 8 | 2½ |
| Peace-preservation force | | 56,751 | 19 | 0 |
| Dublin scouting force | | 10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Effective army | ..... | 846,000 | 0 | 0 |

£1,204,572 7 2½

This is what we pay annually for upholding the church in Ireland. Far better to withdraw the church, and pay the incumbents and patrons out of the consolidated fund, because there would then be no turmoil and no bloodshed. The whole of the tithes payable to the clergy do not annually amount to this sum. In the county of KILKENNY the police alone now costs within a mere trifle as much as the amount of the tithes and the rent of the glebes! The amount of the tithes in that county is twenty-three thousand pounds, the amount of the glebes seven thousand pounds; these together make thirty thousand pounds; and last year the cost of the police alone in KILKENNY was 29,258l.; though observe, in 1829, before the passing of the Emancipation Bill, the cost of the police was 7,761l. Giving to KILKENNY its share of the standing army, the police and army maintained solely for the purpose of upholding this church cost a great deal more annually than the worth of the tithes and glebes of that church!

Why then is this church upheld? It is upheld lest the pulling of it down, or the letting of it fall, should pull down the church of England; and I think that it must be manifest to every man who will take the trouble to think a little upon the subject, that to attempt longer to uphold this church in Ireland, to persevere in coupling it with the church of England, is the surest possible way of pulling down the latter. The great ground of defence of the church of England is this, *that it is the poor man's church*; that it provides religious teaching free of expense to him who has no real property in the country; that it provides a place of worship and administration of all rites and ceremonies for him as well as for the rich man; that he has as much right to his seat in the church, and the performance of all its services, as the squire, the lord, or the king himself has; that the rich, having the lands and houses distributed amongst them, have been obliged to leave reserved to the poor man this *his share* of the country in which he was born, and which he is bound to defend

against all enemies; that to take this church from him, and to tell him to go and hire and pay a minister, would be a breach of the social compact with him; that this church is one of the undoubted rights of the poor man; and that therefore the Government is bound to uphold it. This is the great argument in defence of the church of England, and indeed the only argument upon which any church-establishment can be defended.

But, can this argument be urged in defence of the church of *Ireland*? Is it the poor man's church there? No: and it never was; it never was established; properly speaking, never established. The poor man flees from it as something which he abhors. It might be proper to attempt to establish it; but it is not proper to continue to uphold it by force such as I have been describing; and at such a dreadful expense, of every description.

It is of the greatest importance that the commission now issued by the King, should be executed with fidelity and with promptitude; for now we are about to have the first official account of the relative number of Protestants and Catholics in Ireland. When we have that, we shall see how the case really stands; and, if it be such as all men expect, it will be impossible to uphold this church any longer; and if the friends of the church of England be really its friends, they will apply themselves to facts and to arguments to show that there is no earthly resemblance between the two cases.

It will be the duty of the Irish priests and Irish gentlemen, and all intelligent persons in every parish in Ireland, to adopt every precaution in their power, to prevent these inquiring commissioners from receiving false information. It will be their duty to see, as far as they are able, that the commissioners receive true information; for if they do not receive it, they cannot communicate it to the Government. It must be the desire of the commissioners to make a true report; it is of the greatest possible importance that they should make such a report. The peace and happiness of

Ireland may depend upon that report; and it is, therefore, the bounden duty of Irishmen, whether Protestants or Catholics, in all the parishes, to afford to the commissioners every assistance in their power.

With this piece of advice, I conclude this article, hoping that it will have a tendency to convince every reasonable man, that there never can be peace in Ireland, until the Protestant hierarchy be removed; and that, so far from the upholding of the church of Ireland being necessary to the upholding of the church of England, any further attempts to uphold the former must inevitably tend to pull down the latter.

WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW BILL.

BEFORE I make any remarks upon this subject, let me tell my readers that I have inserted, in another part of this *Register*, Mr. LITTLE's two letters on the subject of poor-laws in Scotland, to the like of which it is manifest that some persons intend to bring the poor-laws in England. I desire the reader to go through those letters once more, and then he will more clearly understand what is meant here.

On the House going into a committee on this bill on Monday, and taking up the thirty-third clause for discussion, I made the following motion: "That this House will proceed no further with this bill, until it has appointed a select committee to inquire into the causes of the great increase in the poor-rates." After a debate of some length, the motion was negatived by 140 against 10, the minority being as follows:

Cobhett, W.
Egerton, W.
Evans, Colonel
Faithful, G.
Fielden, J.
Finn, W.
Godson, R.
Hodges, T.
Robinson, G.
Schulefield, J.

SHUT OUT.

Attwood, T.

After this I came away; and the committee ran through several clauses. On Tuesday morning the forty-fifth clause came on for discussion. There was a considerable debate upon several parts of this clause; but upon the question being put, "that the clause as amended stand part of the bill," I proposed to add a proviso in the following words: "Provided always, that no rule or regulation be made to separate husband from wife, or either from children; nor any rule or regulation to shave the heads of, or to put badges or odious dresses upon, poor persons requiring relief."

Before I could proceed far in urging the adoption of this motion, the time for adjourning arrived. When the subject was taken up again on Thursday, a debate of more than two hours ensued; the Ministers declaring that it was not meant to shave the heads, or otherwise to disgrace poor persons; but they would not consent to insert such declaration in the bill, which I thought absolutely necessary, seeing that the poor-law commissioners had spoken highly in praise of that manner of dealing with the poor. Upon a division there were 18 for the motion, and 126 against the motion; the names of the minority being as follow:

Attwood, T.
Baines, E.
Beauchamp, A. W.
Brotherton, J.
Cobbett, W.
Faithful, G.
Fancourt, C.
Fielden, John
Finn, W. F.
Hurdy, J.
Hodges, T. L.
O'Connor, F.
O'Connell, M.
Phillips, M.
Scrope, P.
Tancred, H. W.
Williams, Colonel
Willoughby, Sir H.

The House will go into the com

mittee again on Friday night; but this *Register* will be in the press before that will take place.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

Annan, 10. Feb. 1834.

SIR,—Certain remarks on the subject of "POOR-LAWS," attributed to Mr. Hume, and recently published in the newspapers, induce me to trouble you with this letter.

You have already said, in answer to Mr. Hume, that there are poor-laws in Scotland. My purpose is, first, to state with the utmost brevity, what the nature of these laws is, and then to make a few remarks, with the intention of showing what appear to me to be the defects in them.

In Scotland, then, a settlement is acquired by three years' continuance residence in any parish; the individual claiming it being, during no part of that period, a proper object of parochial relief. The settlement of a legitimate child, who has not, by residence as just described, acquired one for himself, is in the parish of his father; the settlement of an illegitimate child, under similar circumstances, in the parish of his mother.

Only the "aged, lame, and impotent," or, to use the words of the old statute, "Sik as necessairlie mon be susteined by almes," are entitled to parochial relief. Thus an able-bodied labourer or artisan, though he may have six, eight, or even ten children dependent on him for support, and though his clear earnings may not amount to five shillings per week; nay, though he may be out of employment altogether, has no right to parochial relief by the law of Scotland.

The sums necessary for the relief of the "aged, lame, and impotent," in each parish where the law has been brought into operation, are payable, one half by the heritors, that is, the owners, and the other half by the occupiers of lands and houses. To raise these sums, assessments are imposed, from time to time, at meetings called for the purpose by the heritors and kirk-session, which latter body consists of the parish minis-

ter, and three, four, five or six elders, who are generally either heritors or occupiers within the parish. These bodies moreover, possess the power, not only of imposing the assessments, but of deciding upon the claims of each applicant for relief; in other words, the individuals, who have the money to pay, are made the judges, whether any ought to be paid or not; and, if it ought, to what amount. And by the law as now interpreted (for it was not so originally), neither our justices of the peace, nor our sheriff are entitled to interfere with their decisions; against which, consequently, there is no redress, but through the medium of our supreme civil court—the Court of Session.

In Scotland, a man, who is not himself an heritor, cannot calculate, with certainty, upon remaining in the parish of his settlement. On the contrary, he may be banished from that parish at any term of Whitsuntide, by the simple operation of removing him from his dwelling, which can be done by law in the most summary manner, and refusing to let him another. The instances in which this has been done, are numerous; and the reason for it generally is, either that the victim is verging towards poverty, whence there is a desire to throw him upon some other parish, if possible; or, that he has, from some cause or other—perhaps a supposed offence against the game-laws—become obnoxious to the heritors, or their leader. In no one instance has redress been obtained for oppression of this sort: indeed, the law, as it stands, does not afford it.

Many parishes in Scotland belong all, or nearly all, to one heritor; and such heritor may not only banish any labourer, having his settlement in the parish, in the manner above-mentioned, but he may, with impunity, prevent that labourer from obtaining employment, by a prohibition addressed to his tenants, under pain of his displeasure, which is sure to produce the desired effect. A case of this kind having occurred, not long ago, the labourer, after two years of grievous suffering, brought an action of damages against

his alleged oppressor. The defence was, that the prohibition, which was not denied, amounted to nothing more than a fair and legitimate exercise of moral influence; and although it was admitted, that the labourer, and able-bodied man, with a wife and five young children, could not obtain redress, or relief, in any other way, this defence, in a Scotch court of law, was found sufficient.

Such is a brief but correct outline of the "poor-laws" of Scotland. And now for the remarks which I promised in the outset, in so far as they have not been anticipated.

On the point of settlement our rule is certainly both simpler and better than that observed in England. For although it may be questionable whether three years' residence in a town is sufficiently long for giving a settlement, there can be no doubt, I think, that a man ought, of right to have his settlement in that parish in which he may last have lived and exercised his industry for such a length of time as to render it probable, in the average of instances, that more benefit has accrued from his labour there than anywhere else. This appears to me to be the sound principle, so that the length of time only is a matter for consideration and adjustment.

The rule, that no able-bodied man is entitled, under any circumstances, to parochial relief, is a barbarous one, and often productive of the most dreadful consequences. In the very parish in which I write, and within the last four weeks, many sudden and unexpected deaths have occurred amongst persons of this class. The unusual circumstance led to an investigation, the result of which was, that owing to the long course of rainy weather, and the consequent scarcity of out-door work, the utmost want and misery prevailed in many families not entitled by law to parochial relief, and who, therefore, had not applied for it. The evil having been discovered, prompt measures were adopted for remedying it; and it was remedied, by stretching the law a little, and applying the provisions of the Cholera Acts to the case. Had it hap-

pened in a parish differently circumstanced, however; in one of those numerous parishes, for instance, where there are no resident heritors, or where assessments for the relief of the poor have not yet been brought into operation, the distressed families might have been all starved to death, before the law could have interfered to save them.

I must here break off, for the present, because my paper is exhausted; but in a future letter I shall enter more fully into the defects of our Scotch system of poor-laws, and I shall prove, if I am not very much mistaken, before I have done, that nearly all those portions of them which the Malthusians have marked out as beauties, are, on the contrary, gross deformities, and have led, and are daily leading, to the most disastrous consequences.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient,
and very humble servant,
JAMES LITTLE.

Annan, 10. March, 1834.

SIR,—Before proceeding with my task of pointing out what appears to me to be the defects in the poor-laws of Scotland, I have to state that the paragraph of my letter to you of the 10. of Feb., in which I ventured to hint my preference of our law of settlement, to that observed in England, has not been printed with perfect accuracy, owing, probably, to the indistinctness of my manuscript. For this reason, I deem it proper here to repeat it, in the terms in which it ought to have stood, which are as follow:

On the point of settlement, our rule is certainly both simpler and better than that observed in England. For, although it may be questionable whether three years' residence is a term sufficiently long for giving a settlement, there can be no doubt, I think, that a man ought of right to have his settlement in that parish in which he may last have lived and exercised his industry for such a length of time as to render it probable, on the average of instances, that more

benefit has accrued from his labour there than anywhere else. This appears to me to be the sound principle—as that length of time only is matter for consideration and adjustment.

I may now add, on this part of the question, that three years' residence is, in my opinion, a term too short to square with my principle as just stated; that seven years' residence, on the other hand, though that by our law was once the term, appears to be too long for the ends of justice; and that, if I were called upon to decide, at this moment, I would prefer five years to either.

In prosecuting my task, I shall first advert to that portion of our poor-laws, by which, while the burden of maintaining the poor is laid one half upon the owners, and the other upon the occupiers of land and houses, the latter, with the exception of such small number of them as may be members of the Kirk Session, are excluded from all share both in the imposing of the assessments, and in deciding upon claims for relief. This is clearly and obviously a defect. All rate-payers ought, surely, to have a voice in the imposing of the rates; and, so long as our principle is acted on, they ought likewise to have a voice in the distribution of them. Were the law altered to this effect, the poor would be greatly benefited, first, because the occupiers, as coming in more immediate contact with them, and knowing their wants, would be much more ready to relieve them than the owners or heritors, who, in many instances, must be totally ignorant of their condition; and, secondly, because the occupiers would have an interest in making fair allowances, to put an end to public begging, which prevails to an enormous extent in Scotland, and from which they suffer severely, while the heritors are little affected by it, and, therefore, often incline to encourage it rather than otherwise.

The next defect in our poor-laws, which presents itself to my notice, consists in this, that the heritors and Kirk Session, or in other words, the payers of the rate, have the power of deciding upon applications, for relief, subject to no control, save that of the Court of

Session. This rule, as may naturally be anticipated, is often productive of the most dreadful consequences. To the application of a poor man for relief, the answer of the heritors and Kirk Session may be either, "Your settlement is not in our parish," or "we do not deem you a fit and proper object for parochial relief." If it be the former, the sheriff, on an application by the poor man, may, after a formal process of perhaps six months' duration, decide the question of settlement. His power, however, is strictly confined to this; for, although he may recommend interim relief, the law, as now interpreted, does not authorize him to compel it. If his decision be favourable to the applicant, the heritor and Kirk Sessions after his functions have been performed, may still return the second answer before stated, or to accomplish their purpose more dexterously (and this is the plan generally resorted to in such cases), they may give sixpence, threepence, twopence, or a penny per week by way of allowance! There is now no redress but through the Court of Session, as to which court it has become a proverb, that for a less state than 100*l.*, no prudent person would pass its threshold. And how is an aged, lame, or impotent man, standing in such circumstances, and devoid of means or friends to reach this high and expensive court? The thing is impossible. He is, therefore, to all intents and purposes without redress. If not supported by private charity, he must necessarily pine from want of food, and die of what ignorant country surgeons will, perhaps, call a "decay of nature." Though his death may be sudden, and somewhat extraordinary, nothing will be said about it, since we have neither coroner nor coroner's inquest in Scotland; and since the poor have no press at their command, through which to make known to the world their wrongs and their sufferings!

The good people of England will naturally think, that I have here somewhat overcharged the picture; but I can assure them, and I will prove, moreover, by reference to particular instances in a future letter, that I have not gone

so much as one hair's breadth beyond the truth. The most galling thing in the whole matter is, that the law, as I have just stated it, is, "judge-made law" of a recent date, and totally at variance with our ancient statutes on the subject of the poor. For the chief of those statutes passed in the year 1579, and still held to be in observance, after establishing many salutary regulations, and in particular, 1. That such persons "as necessairlie mon be sustained be alms," shall be supported by the persons of substance within their respective parishes; and 2. That the "Provosts and baillies of ilk burgh and towne, and the justice constitute be the King's commission in every parochin to landwart," shall have jurisdiction over those "persons, being abell to further this charitable worke"; who shall "obstinatlie refuse to contribute to the releife of the pure, or discourage others from sa charitabil ane deed"; concludes with this most solemn injunction, "that the shireffes, stewards, and bailies of regalities, and their bailies over all the realme, and their deputes, see this present act put to due execution in all poyntes, within their jurisdictions respective, as they will answer to God and our Sovereign Lord thereupon." What a contrast, in point of humanity, between these measures of our ancestors of the sixteenth century, and the doctrines of our Malthusian philosophers of the nineteenth!

You will again hear from me on this all-important subject when I can command a little more leisure. In the meantime,

I remain, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JAS. LITTLE.

PROJECT

FOR

DESTROYING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

I HAVE no time for making remarks on the following article, nor indeed are any observations necessary. It is the most seditious article that ever I read in all my life. A few years ago a man

would have been put more than half to death for the publishing of an article like this.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 12. June 1834.)

It has often been made a matter of reproach to the members of the constituent assembly, that they destroyed all the old institutions of their country, without having any idea of the manner in which the place of many of them might be properly supplied. The authors of parliamentary reform cannot be accused of rashness in this respect; for influenced perhaps by the mischievous consequences of the boldness of the French reformers, they have rather erred on the side of timidity. It has, for instance, been demonstrated, again and again, that two independent powers cannot exist in the same country; and that the theory of certain constitutional writers, who attended to words more than things, that the British Legislature consisted of three branches equally independent of each other, King, Lords, and Commons, was without foundation, as the power of the purse, to which all other powers are subordinate, belonged to the House of Commons, and the House of Lords only kept its ground by nominating or controlling a majority of the other House. The return of the representatives having been given by the Reform Bill to the mass of owners of property, it became thenceforth impossible for the Lords to control the Commons, and the two Houses became in reality what theoretical writers had before falsely assumed them to be.

Whether a government be democratical, monarchical, or mixed, it ought to be guided by a regard for the interests and welfare of the community. The House of Commons, since the passing of the Reform Bill, is identified with the community, and members must have their eyes constantly fixed on their constituencies. But the House of Lords is, from its composition, not only not identified with the mass of owners of property, but may be said to have interests directly at variance with those of the community. Five-sixths, at least, of

the members of that House are paupers, that is, men either without property or with incomes so small as to be unable to maintain themselves in a manner suitable to what is expected from their rank. It is the interest of the majority of such a body (the rich minority have no such interest) that the establishments at home and abroad should be large and expensive, that the church should abound with the abuses of sinecures, pluralities, and non-residence, that the revenues of the church should be unequally distributed, in order that they may force the Ministry for the time being to silence their opposition by means of money, places, and pensions, for themselves and their relatives. At present every colony is filled with children, legitimate and illegitimate, relations, and tool-eaters, of the nobility, and incomes are given to those personages altogether out of proportion to the value of their services, in compliment to their connexions. While the House of Commons is therefore compelled to follow the prevailing inclination of the community for economy and retrenchment, the House of Lords will, from the circumstances stated, be constantly opposed to all measures beneficial to the people, especially measures for their pecuniary relief. To the Reform Bill they gave a forced consent, but they have doggedly opposed all measures for giving due effect to it. It is notorious that Ministers durst not have attempted to do in the case of municipal corporations what they have done by a royal commission, that they could not have hoped to obtain an act for inquiry into the state of the Irish church. Ministers have hitherto been enabled to proceed, solely by avoiding all measures to which the Lords are disinclined, and unfortunately they are disinclined to almost every good measure. They felt, no doubt, that the House of Lords was entitled to a trial; and that if vigorous measures still were found necessary, they would derive great assistance in them from affording to the people a proof that the existence of the House of Lords was incompatible with the welfare of the country.

'The leopard cannot change its spots. The House of Lords cannot change its anti-popular character; and we have no doubt that means must be resorted to, ere long, for ridding the nation of such a nuisance.

But how is its place to be supplied? for we presume that a double legislature will be deemed indispensable. Indeed, after what has taken place in America, it is evident that it might be dangerous to commit to any one House, however appointed, the power of deciding, without appeal, on measures which might work incalculable woe to the community if not arrested or impeded in their progress. A deputation from the body of Peers would, however, never do, as the deputation would be imbued with the feelings of the majority; and it is the order itself which is bad. A decimation of the order, excluding all the paupers (after inquiry into the amount of incomes), with a power in Ministers to create fresh peers, the condition being property to a certain amount, might free the House from its tendency to support abuses injurious to the interest of the community, and give it a *Conservative* character in a good sense, that is, might identify it with the owners of property.

But perhaps the best method of all would be to give to the same bodies who return the House of Commons the power of returning from the peers a certain number, say one hundred, a proportion to be returned by the great towns, and another proportion by counties. In this way we shall have two assemblies, differing in their elements, yet not opposed in interest to each other; the Houses of Lords and Commons would always be in harmony with each other, being responsible to nearly the same constituencies. Another great advantage would be that the Lords would be under the necessity of qualifying themselves for the task of legislation, and of keeping on good terms with the rest of their countrymen. The great misfortune is, that at present they have no motive for cultivating the good will and regard of the nation, and of properly qualifying themselves for their duties.

The *Globe* of last night observes, that "the House of Lords, in its present shape, consists of men deeply interested in the peace and prosperity of the country, and in great part of men of judgment and abilities. It is composed too, of men who are sufficiently tempted to seek power by all honest means, and they must see that, under the constitution of this country, power and influence, the power of being useful, cannot be acquired or retained by those who shall set themselves factiously to oppose the settled conviction of the constituencies which are represented in the House of Commons. By this constantly operating force the House of Lords will be drawn to habitual concurrence with the Commons, without surrendering its independence and its usefulness. If the Lords should be factious, they will certainly be most foolish. They may be so; but it is not the duty of a Minister to commit a crime in anticipation of their folly."

We have already admitted that many of the members of the House of Peers are deeply interested in the peace and prosperity of the country; and many of them no doubt are men of judgment and abilities. But if the whole property possessed by the 420 Peers of the United Kingdom does not exceed three millions, while much or half of this amount is possessed by about twenty individuals of the body, and a decided majority are poor men, some of them, not a few, absolutely dependent, we do not see how it can be maintained that the House of Lords (for the majority must in all cases be taken for the body) is deeply interested in the prosperity of the country. It is, no doubt, difficult to say who is not interested in the prosperity of the country, in one sense of the word. All who prey on the community, even thieves and swindlers, are interested in its prosperity; for a falling off in the means of the country must be felt by all who live at its expense. When Sir James Graham drew attention to the members of the Privy Council dividing nearly three quarters of a million among them, he was aware that a rich community alone could afford so exten-

sive a prey. But this is not what is properly meant by an interest in the welfare of the country. The mass of the owners of property must always have an interest in good government but individual owners of property may often have a greater interest in misgovernment than in good government; and in the case of the House of Peers, it would not be difficult to show that the majority are exactly in that predicament. With respect to the judgment and abilities of the House of Lords, we presume that nature makes no exception in favour of Peers, and that out of 420 hereditary legislators, there may be fewer, but there can hardly be more, able men than are to be found in any 420 men in the other educated classes. Any man who has had any experience of the world, will not be very sanguine as to the amount of judgment and abilities to be found in any class. Of one hundred men sent to a university, there will seldom be found more than ten, certainly never more than twenty men who can be called able. There are, in truth, few men, whether Lords or Commons, who think for themselves. Whether men from trades' unions, constituent bodies, or hereditary assemblies, leading individuals will draw the mass after them. We allude to this circumstance not by way of disparaging the Peers, but to show that all general attributions of abilities to men in the mass really mean nothing.

Our contemporary merely states what we have stated above, when he says that, under the constitution of this country, the power of being useful cannot be acquired or retained by those who should set themselves factiously to oppose the settled conviction of the constituencies which are represented by the House of Commons. But we have seen that the House of Lords have set themselves factiously to oppose this settled conviction. There is no disguising the fact, that there is in the House of Lords a majority of sixty against Ministers and against the constituencies. There is not a difference merely on any one point, but a settled disposition hostile to the administration of Earl Grey, which

has been manifested from its commencement to the present time. We must either suppose the administration of Earl Grey an anti-national administration, or we must suppose this constant and uniform opposition factious, and dictated by the worst motives. All the palliatives which we have seen, such as that the House of Lords represents a large class of owners of property, are beside the question; because good government is not what conduces to the welfare or pleases a particular class, but what conduces to the welfare of the mass of the owners of property. The boroughmongering government which has been overturned, had the sanction of the great owners of property; but it was not on that account the less unjust. The Reform Act has very properly transferred all power to the constituencies, and the great proprietors will have their fair share of influence in these constituencies, and they ought to have nothing more.

We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by words. Sufficient deference has been shown by the administration of Earl Grey to the Peers; but it is notorious that they are to be gained by no concessions compatible with the public interests, and that Earl Grey can only hope to have their concurrence by ruining himself with the nation. We would not deprive the House of Lords of their fair opinion on the various matters that come before them; but the difference between them and the constituencies is radical and uniform. We believe that there is no extremity which they would not embrace, if it held out the slightest hope of a possibility of destroying the reformed constitution. The great danger is lest Earl Grey commit what in vulgar language is called, "falling out of the frying-pan into the fire," ruin himself with the country, in order not to come to extremities with the Peers. It is quite clear that the Peers are, as at present constituted, quite unmanageable, and that the House must be remodelled, if we are to have a Government moving in harmony with the settled conviction of the constituencies.

A BILL FOR THE AMENDMENT AND BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS RELATING TO THE POOR IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[Note—The words printed in *italics* are proposed to be inserted in the Committee.]

(Continued from p. 633.)

And whereas by the said recited acts made and passed in the twenty-second and fifty-ninth years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, and the said acts to amend the same respectively, and also by a certain other act passed in the first and second years of the reign of his present Majesty intitled, "An act for the better regulation of vestries, and for the appointment of auditors of accounts in certain parishes in England and Wales," divers provisions have been made for or concerning the union of parishes, and the election of parish or select vestry, vestrymen, visitors, guardians of the poor, and auditor of parish accounts, and it is expedient that such provisions respectively should not be brought into operation in any parishes in which they have not yet been adopted, without the consent of the said commissioners, be it therefore enacted, That from and after the passing of this act no union or incorporation of parishes shall be formed under the said first-mentioned act, and visitors, guardians, auditors, select vestry, or other vestry, or any vestrymen, shall be chosen or appointed under any of the said acts, in any parish whatsoever not having adopted the provisions of such acts respectively at the time of passing this act, without the previous consent of the said commissioners, testified under their hands and seal.

And be it further enacted, That where any parishes shall be united by or with the concurrence of the said commissioners, for the purpose of having a common workhouse or other workhouse in common, a board of guardians of the poor for such union shall be constituted and chosen, and such workhouse or workhouses shall be governed, and the relief of the poor in such union shall be administered by such board of guardians; and the said guardians shall be elected in manner hereinafter mentioned by the rate-payers and such owners of property in the parishes forming such union as shall in manner hereinafter mentioned require to have their names entered as entitled to vote as owners in the rate books of such parishes respectively; and the said commissioners shall determine the number and prescribe the duties of the guardians to be elected in each union, and also the number of parishes in such union which shall be joined for the purpose of electing one or more guardian or guardians, or the number of guardians which shall be elected for any one or more of such parishes; and such guardians, when so elected, shall continue in office until the *Easter* meeting next following their appointment, at which, and at every succeeding *Easter* meeting, such guardians for the time being shall

go out of office, and the guardian for the ensuing year shall be chosen, and in the event of any vacancy occurring in such board by the death, removal, or resignation, or refusal, or disqualification to act, of any elected guardian, between the periods of such first and the next and any subsequent annual election, or in case the full number of guardians shall not be duly elected at such subsequent election of guardians for the time being, the other or remaining members of the said board shall continue to act until the next election, or until the completion of the said board, as if no such vacancy had occurred, and as if the number of such board were complete, and every justice of the peace residing in any such parish, and acting for the division in which the same may be situated, shall be an *ex officio* guardian of such united or common workhouses, and shall, until such board of guardians shall be duly elected and constituted as aforesaid, and also in case of any irregularity or delay in any subsequent election of guardians, receive and carry into effect the rules, orders, and regulations of the said commissioners, and after such board shall be elected and constituted as aforesaid, shall *ex officio* be and act as a member of such board, in addition to and in like manner as such elected guardian. Provided always, that except where otherwise ordered by the said commissioners, no *ex officio* or other guardian of any such board is aforesaid shall have power to act in virtue of such office, except as a member and at a meeting of such board, and no act of any such meeting shall be valid unless *three* members shall be present and concur therein. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent such owners and rate-payers from electing the same persons, or any or either of them, to be guardians for the year next ensuing.

And be it further enacted, That if the said commissioners shall, by any order under their hands and seal, direct that the workhouse or workhouses, and the relief of the poor of any single parish, should be governed and administered by a board of guardians, then such board shall be elected, and constituted, and authorized, and entitled to act for such single parish, in like manner as is heretofore provided in respect to a board of guardians for united parishes, and the resident officiating minister or ministers of such parish (if any), and every justice of the peace resident therein, and acting for the division in which the same is situated, shall be and may act as *ex officio* members of such board.

And be it enacted, That in all cases of the election of guardians under this act, or whenever the consent of the owners of property or rate-payers in any parish or union shall be required for any of the purposes of this act, except when otherwise expressly provided for in this act, the votes of such owners and rate-payers shall be given in writing, and collected and returned in such manner as the said commissioners shall direct, and in every

such case the owner, as well as the rate-payer in respect of any property in such parish or union, shall be entitled to vote, and shall have the same number and proportion of votes respectively as is provided for occupiers in, and by an act made and passed in the fifty-eighth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries," and in and by an act to amend such act made and passed in the fifty-ninth year of his said late Majesty King George the Third; and the majority of the votes of such owners and rate-payers which shall be actually collected and returned, shall in every such case be binding on such parish; and for the purpose of ascertaining the number of votes to which each such owner shall be entitled, the aggregate amount of the assessment for the time being of any property belonging to such owner in such parish, or on any person or persons in respect of the same, to the poor-rate, shall be deemed to be and be taken as the annual value of such property to such owner; and where any such owner shall be the bona fide occupier of any such property, he shall be entitled to vote as well in respect of his occupation as of his being such owner. Provided always, that no owner shall, as such, be entitled to vote, unless he shall previous to the day on which he shall claim to vote, have given a statement in writing of his name and address, and the description and rental of the property in the parish as owner whereof he claims to vote, to the overseers of such parish, and the said overseers are hereby required to enter in the rate-books of such parish the names and addresses of the owners who shall send such statements, and the rental of the property in respect whereof they respectively claim to vote: Provided also, that every person who shall not vote, or who shall not comply with the directions to be made by the said commissioners for the giving and returning of votes, shall be omitted in the calculation of votes, and considered as having had no vote on the question whereon he might have voted.

And be it further enacted, That all elections of guardians, visitors, and other officers for the execution of any of the powers or purposes of the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor," or of any local act of Parliament relating to poor-houses, workhouses, or the relief of the poor, or any act to alter or amend the same respectively, shall hereafter, so far as the said commissioners shall direct, be made and conducted according to the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners may and are hereby authorized, by writing under their hands and seal, to make by-laws, rules, orders, and regulations to be observed and enforced at every work-

house already established by virtue of the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor," or any general or local act of Parliament, or hereafter to be established by virtue of such acts, or any of them, or of this or any other act of Parliament relating to the relief of the poor, for the government thereof, and the nature and amount of the relief to be given to, and the labour to be exacted from the persons relieved, and the preservation thereof of good order, and from time to time to suspend, alter, vary, amend, or rescind the same, and make any new or other by-laws, rules, orders, and regulations to be observed and enforced as aforesaid, as they from time to time shall think fit, and to alter at their discretion any of the rules, orders, and regulations contained in the schedule to the said recited act, or any local act of Parliament, and also to alter or rescind any by-laws, rules, orders, and regulations heretofore made in pursuance of the said recited act, or any local act of Parliament relating to workhouses or the relief of the poor; and that all by-laws, rules, orders, and regulations to be from time to time made by the said commissioners under the authority of this act shall be valid and binding, and shall be obeyed and observed, as if the same were specifically made by and embodied in this act, subject nevertheless to the said power of the said commissioners from time to time to rescind, amend, suspend, or alter the same: Provided always, that if any such by law, rule, order, or regulation shall be directed to or affect more than one union, the same shall be considered as a general rule, and subject and liable to all the provisions in this act contained respecting general rules.

And be it further enacted, That where any rules, orders, and regulations, or any by-laws, shall be made or directed by the said commissioners to be observed and enforced in any workhouse, it shall and may be lawful for any justice of the peace acting in and for the county in which such workhouse shall be situated, to visit, inspect, and examine such workhouse at such times as he shall think proper, for the purpose of ascertaining whether such rules, orders, regulations, or by-laws are or have been duly observed and obeyed in such workhouse, as well as for such other purposes as justices are now authorized to visit workhouses under and by virtue of a certain act made and passed in the thirtieth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to empower Justices and other Persons to visit Parish Workhouses or Poor-houses, and examine and certify the State and Condition of the Poor therein to the Quarter Sessions." Provided always, that where no such rules, orders, regulations, or by-laws, shall have been directed by the said commis-

sioners to be enforced and observed in the workhouse of any parish, nothing in this act contained shall be construed, to restrain or prevent any justice of the peace, physician, surgeon, or apothecary, or the officiating clergyman of any parish, from visiting such workhouse, and examining and certifying the state and condition of the same, and of the poor therein, in such manner as they or any of them are authorized to do in and by the said last recited act.

And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall authorize the ordering into any workhouse, or the detention therein, of any lunatic, insane person, or dangerous idiot; and every person wilfully ordering into any workhouse, or detaining therein, any such lunatic, insane person, or dangerous idiot, shall be deemed guilty of a *misdemeanour*.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, as and when they shall see fit, by order under their hands and seal, to direct the overseers or guardians of any parish or union, or of so many parishes as the said commissioners may in such order specify and declare to be united for that purpose, to appoint an assistant overseer or assistant overseers, and such other permanent paid officers as the said commissioners shall think necessary for superintending or assisting in the administration of the relief and employment of the poor in such parish or union, or united parishes; and the said commissioners may and they are hereby empowered to define and specify and direct the execution of the respective duties of such assistant overseers and officers, and the places or limits within which the same shall be performed, and the mode of the appointment and dismissal of such assistant overseers and officers, and, when the said commissioners may see occasion, to regulate the amount of salaries payable to such assistant overseers and officers respectively, and the time and mode of payment thereof, and the proportions in which such respective parishes, if so united, shall contribute to such payment; and such salaries shall be chargeable upon and payable out of the poor-rates of such parish or union, or respective parishes, in the manner and proportions fixed by the said commissioners, and shall be recoverable against the overseers or guardians of such parish or union, or parishes, by all such ways and means as the salaries of assistant overseers or other paid officers of any parish or union are recoverable by law; and all such payments shall be valid, and shall be allowed in the accounts of the overseers or guardians paying the same.

And be it further enacted, That in every parish or union where there shall be a board of guardians, such guardians shall and they are hereby authorized and required to appoint a treasurer and such other officers, for such periods, and to execute such duties as the said commissioners may by their rules, orders or regulations direct; and subject to such rules, orders or regulations as the said commission-

ers shall in that behalf direct, the said guardians shall take from such treasurer or other officer such security as the said guardians may think sufficient; and all balances due from any guardian, treasurer, overseer or assistant overseer, or other person having the control and distribution of the poor-rate and accountable for such balances, may be recovered in the same manner as any penalties and forfeitures are recoverable under this act: Provided nevertheless, that no such proceeding shall exonerate or discharge the liability of the surety of any such guardian, treasurer, overseer, assistant overseer, or other person as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners may and they are hereby authorized and empowered, as and when they shall think proper, by order under their hands and seal, to remove any master of any workhouse or assistant overseer or other paid officer of any parish or union whom they shall deem unfit for or incompetent to discharge the duties of any such officer, or who shall at any time refuse or wilfully neglect to obey and carry into effect any of the rules, orders, regulations or by-laws of the said commissioners, whether such union shall have been made or such officer appointed before or after the passing of this act, and to require from time to time the persons competent in that behalf to appoint a fit and proper person in his room; and that any person so removed shall not be competent to be appointed or to fill any paid office connected with the relief of the poor in any such parish or union, except with the consent of the said commissioners under their hands and seal.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the period fixed by the said commissioners for any rule, order or regulation relating to contracts to come into operation, any contract which shall be entered into by or on behalf of any parish or union for or relating to the maintenance, clothing, lodging, employment or relief of the poor, or for any other purpose relating to or connected with the general management of the poor, under or according to the provisions of this act, unless made and entered into in conformity with the rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners in that behalf in force at the time of making and entering into the same, or otherwise sanctioned by them, shall be voidable, and if the said commissioners shall so direct, may be declared null and void; and all payments made under or in pursuance of any contract not made and entered into in conformity with such rules, orders or regulations, at any period after which the said commissioners shall have declared the same null and void as aforesaid, shall be disallowed in passing the accounts of the overseer, guardian or other officer by whom such payments shall have been made.

And be it further enacted, That upon proof to the said commissioners or any assistant commissioner, of any fraud or abuse in or in

the performance of any contract by or as the part of the contractor or his agents, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to vacate or annul such contract, and to direct such parties as they may think proper to commence and carry on such prosecution, action or other legal proceedings against such contractor or his agents as the said commissioners may think expedient, at the expense of the parish or union interested in such contract; and no release or discharge given by the party in whose name such action or other proceedings shall be brought shall be effectual or pleaded or given in evidence by the defendant in any such suit; and such party as aforesaid shall be fully indemnified by the overseers or guardians of such parish or union, by and out of the rates raised for the relief of the poor, from and against all the costs and expenses to which he may be liable in consequence of such action or other proceeding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act a certain act made and passed in the forty fifth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act to amend an act made in the ninth year of King George the First, for amending the laws relating to the settlement, employment, and relief of the poor, so far as the same respects contracts to be entered into for the maintenance and employment of the poor," shall be and the same as hereby repealed: Provided always, that nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to effect or make void any bond or other security which shall have been entered into or given before the passing of this act, under or in pursuance of the provisions of the said act hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That so much of a certain act made and passed in the fifty-fifth year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An act to prevent poor persons in workhouses from embezzling certain property provided for their use; to alter and amend so much of an act of the thirty-sixth year of his present Majesty as restrains justices of the peace from ordering relief to poor persons in certain cases for a longer period than one month at a time; and for other purposes therein mentioned, relating to the poor," as inflicts a penalty on persons having the management of the poor if concerned in providing or in any contract for the supply of any goods, materials or provisions for the use of any workhouse or workhouses, or otherwise for the support or maintenance of the poor for their own profit, and all remedies for the recovery of such penalties, shall apply, and the same are hereby extended and made applicable to every commissioner, assistant commissioner, guardian, treasurer, master of a workhouse, or other officer to be appointed under the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, by such orders or regulations as they may think fit, to declare

to what extent the relief to be given to able-bodied persons or to their families in any particular parish or union, may be administered out of the workhouse of such parish or union, by payments to money, or with food or clothing in kind, or partly in kind and partly in money, and in what proportions, to what persons or class of persons, at what times and places, on what conditions, and in what manner such outdoor relief may be afforded; and all relief which shall be given by any overseer, guardian or other person having the control or distribution of the funds of such parish or union, contrary to such orders or regulations, shall be and the same is hereby declared to be unlawful, and shall be disallowed in the accounts of the persons giving the same, subject to the exceptions hereinafter mentioned. Provided always, that in case the overseers or guardians of any parish or union to which such orders or regulations shall be addressed or directed shall, upon consideration of the special circumstances of such parish or union, or of any person or class of persons therein, be of opinion that the application and enforcing of such orders or regulations, or of any part thereof, at the time or in the manner prescribed by the said commissioners, would be inexpedient, it shall be lawful for such overseers or guardians to delay the operation of such orders or regulations, or of any part thereof, for any period not exceeding the space of thirty days; and such overseers or guardians shall, before the expiration of such thirty days, make a statement and report of such special circumstances to the said commissioners; and all relief which shall be given by such overseers or guardians, before an answer to such report shall have been returned by the said commissioners, if otherwise lawful, shall not be deemed unlawful although the same shall have been given contrary to such orders or regulations or any of them, but in case the said commissioners shall disapprove of such delay, or think that for the future such orders and regulations ought to come into operation, notwithstanding the special circumstances alleged by such overseer or guardian, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, by a peremptory order, to direct that, from and after a day to be fixed thereby, such orders and regulations, or such parts or modifications thereof, as they may think expedient and proper, shall be enforced and observed by such overseers and guardians; and if any allowance be made or relief given by such overseers or guardians after the said last mentioned period, contrary to any such last-mentioned order, the amount of the relief or allowance so given shall be disallowed in the accounts of the party giving the same: Provided also, that a quarterly report of all such cases as shall occur in any quarter shall, at the end of every such quarter, be laid by the said commissioners before one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state: Provided also, that in case the overseers or guardians of any parish or union in which such

orders or regulations shall be in force shall depart from them, or any of them, in any particular instance or instances of emergency and shall, within *fifteen days* after every such departure, report the same and the grounds thereof to the said commissioners, and the said commissioners shall approve of such departure, then and in such case the relief granted by such overseers or guardians, if otherwise lawful, shall not be unlawful or subject to be disallowed.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the *first day of June one thousand eight hundred and thirty five*, no overseer, guardian, or other person, having the distribution of the poor-rates, shall give any relief therefrom, to able-bodied persons or their families, who at the time of applying for such relief shall be wholly or partially in the employment of any person or persons, nor in any case shall such overseer, guardian, or other person, give such relief to any able-bodied person without setting the person so relieved, and whether relieved in or out of any workhouse, on work; and all sums which any such overseer, guardian, or other person, having the distribution of the poor-rates as aforesaid, shall pay or disburse contrary to this provision, shall be disallowed on passing the accounts of such overseer, guardian, or other person.

And be it further enacted, That an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intitled, "An Act to amend so much of an act made in the ninth year of the reign of King George the First, intitled, 'An Act for amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment, and Relief of the Poor,' as prevents the distributing occasional relief to poor persons in their own houses, under certain circumstances and in certain cases;" and so much of an act made and passed in the fifty-fifth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intitled, "An Act to prevent Poor Persons in Workhouses from embezzling certain property provided for their use, to alter and amend so much of an act of the thirty-sixth year of his present Majesty as restrains Justices of the Peace from ordering relief to poor persons in certain cases for a longer period than one month at a time, and for other purposes therein mentioned relating to the poor," as extends the period for which occasional relief may be ordered by any justice or justices to poor persons at their own homes; and so much of the said act made and passed in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intitled, "An Act to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor," as empowers any justice or justices to order relief in certain cases for a limited time, or in cases of urgent necessity, or in cases where parishes are under the management of guardians, governors, or directors, appointed by special or local acts, or in cases where parishes have not a select vestry, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That from and

after the *passing of the act*, the ordering, giving and directing all relief to the poor of any parish which, according to the provisions of any of the said recited acts or of this act, or of any local acts, shall be under the government and control of any guardians of the poor, or of any vestry, and whether forming part of any union or incorporation or not (but subject in all cases to, and saving and excepting the powers of, the said commissioners appointed under this act), shall appertain and belong exclusively to such guardians of the poor, or vestries, or to a board thereof, according to the respective provisions of the acts under which such guardians and vestries may have been or shall be appointed; and it shall not be lawful for any overseer of the poor or other person to order or give, or cause to be given, any relief from the poor-rates to the poor of any such parish, save and except under the direction and control or in pursuance of the order of such guardians of the poor, or vestries, or any board thereof, as the case may be.

And be it enacted, That from and after the *passing of this act*, the master of every workhouse shall, on such days and times, and in such form as the said commissioners shall appoint, take an account of, and register in a book to be provided at the expense of the parish or union to which such workhouse shall belong, and to be kept specially for that purpose, the name of every poor person who shall on any of such days and times be in the receipt of relief at or in such workhouse, together with such particulars respecting the families and settlement of every such poor person, and his and their relief and employment, as the said commissioners shall think fit, and in like manner, on such days or times as the said commissioners shall appoint, the overseer of the poor of every such parish shall register in a book so to be provided, the name of every poor person then in the receipt of relief in such parish out of the workhouse, together with such particulars respecting the family and settlement of every such poor person, and his and their relief and employments, as the said commissioners shall think fit; and as to all persons who shall thereafter receive relief at, or in, or out of a workhouse, a similar register and account shall be kept by the like person respectively when and as often as such relief shall be granted.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the *passing of this act* all relief given to or on account of the wife, or to or on account of any child or children under the age of *sixteen*, shall be considered as given to the husband of such wife, or to the father of such child or children, as the case may be, and any relief given to or on account of any child or children, under the age of *sixteen*, of any widow, shall be considered as given to such widow.

And be it further enacted, That every man who shall marry a woman having a child or children at the time of such marriage, whe-

lawful for the said commissioners, and they are humbly authorized and required to make, from time to time and at all times hereafter, such rules, orders, and regulations, for the relief, conveyance, and routes of vagrants and discharged prisoners, as the said commissioners may think fit.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the time when such rules, orders, or regulations, shall have come into operation, so much of a certain act made and passed in the fifth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled, "An Act for the Punishment of Idle and Disorderly Persons, and Rogues and Vagabonds, in that part of Great Britain called England," or of any other act, as enables any visiting justice or other justice of the peace, to grant certificates to discharged prisoners entitling them to receive alms in their route; and also of a certain other act made and passed in the same year, intituled, "An Act for amending an Act of the last Session of Parliament, relating to the Building, Repairing, and Enlarging, of certain Jails, and Houses of Correction; and for procuring Information as to the State of all other Jails and Houses of Correction in England and Wales," as requires the overseers of the poor to pay to prisoners, on producing a pass, the allowance fixed in such pass by visiting justices to be paid to such discharged prisoners on their route, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That from and after such time as the said last-mentioned rules, orders, or regulation, shall have come into operation, in case any discharged prisoner shall require for himself or herself, or any child or children, which, from being in a state of nurture, or without other protection, may have been confined in prison with such prisoner, the means of returning to his, her, or their place, of last legal settlement, and any sum or sums of money which shall be otherwise required for conveying such discharged prisoner, or his or her said child or children, or for the relief or conveyance of any vagrant, or the family of any vagrant, on their respective routes, such means shall be afforded and such sum or sums of money paid for the purposes aforesaid by and to the respective persons and in the manner to be fixed by the said rules, orders or regulations of the said commissioners, and the amount thereof shall be a charge upon the rates, and be repaid by the treasurer, of the county or counties by law now liable to or charged with the expense and cost of such means of removing discharged prisoners or their said child or children, and of allowance to them on their routes, or of the conveyance of vagrants and their families.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the period at which any rule, order or regulation of the said commissioners shall come into operation for the binding of poor children apprentices, the assent or consent of any justice to the binding, assigning, transferring, or discharging, of any such poor child, or the al-

lowance of any contract or indenture of apprenticeship made under or in pursuance of such rule, order or regulation, shall not be necessary but instead of such assent or consent of justices, as is now required by law, such justices or any one justice are and is hereby authorized and required to examine and ascertain whether the rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners, then in force for the binding of poor children apprentices have been complied with, and to certify the same at the foot of every such contract or indenture, and of the counterpart thereof, in such form and manner as the said commissioners by such rules, orders, or regulations, may direct, and until so certified, no such contract or indenture of apprenticeship shall be valid: Provided nevertheless, that nothing contained in this act, or in any rule, order, or regulation, of the said commissioners contained, shall affect the jurisdiction of any justices of the peace over any master or apprentice during the period of apprenticeship.

And be it further enacted, That so much of a certain act made and passed in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to Regulate the Binding of Parish Apprentices," as provides that no child shall be bound apprentice by the overseers of the poor of any parish, township, or place, to any person residing or having any establishment in trade at which it is intended that such child shall be employed, out of the same county, at a greater distance than *forty* miles from the parish or place to which such child shall belong, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the rate-payers in any parish, and such of the owners of property therein as shall, in manner herebefore mentioned have required their names to be entered in the rate-books of such parishes respectively as entitled to vote as owners, assembled at a meeting to be duly convened and held for the purpose, after public notice of the time and place of holding such meeting, and the purpose for which the same is intended to be held, shall have been given in like manner as notices of vestry meetings are published and given, to direct that such sum or sums of money as the said owners and rate-payers so assembled at such meeting may think proper, shall be raised and borrowed as a fund, or in aid of any fund or contribution for defraying the expenses of the emigration of poor persons having settlements in such parish, and willing to emigrate, to be paid out of or charged up in the rates raised or to be raised for the relief of the poor in such parish, and to be applied under and according to such rules, orders, and regulations as the said commissioners shall in that behalf direct: Provided always, that no such direction for raising money for such purpose as aforesaid shall have any force or effect unless and until confirmed by the said commissioners, and that the time to be limited for the repayment of any sum so

charged on such rates as aforesaid shall in no case exceed the period of years from the time of borrowing the same: Provided also, that all sums of money so raised, as last hereinbefore mentioned, and advanced by way of loan, for the purposes of emigration, or such proportion thereof as the said commissioners shall, by any rule, order, or regulation, from time to time direct, shall be recoverable against any such person, being above the age of sixteen years, who or whose family, or any part thereof, shall refuse to emigrate after such expenses shall have been so incurred, or shall become chargeable to such parish within twenty years from the period of his or their emigrating therefrom, in such and the like manner as is hereinafter provided with respect to relief, or the cost price of relief, given to any able-bodied person, his wife or family.

And be it further enacted, That where it shall be lawful, under the provisions of any of the herein recited acts, or of any local act, or of this act, to raise or borrow any sum or sums of money for the purpose of purchasing building, altering, or enlarging any workhouse or workhouses in any parish or union, or for purchasing land whereon to build the same, or for defraying the expenses of the emigration of poor persons having settlements in any parish, and being willing to emigrate, it shall be lawful for the overseers or guardians of such parish or union, with the consent of the said commissioners, to be testified under their hands and seal, to make application for an advance of any sum necessary for any such purposes to the commissioners appointed under an act made and passed in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to authorize the issue of Exchequer Bills, and the advance of money out of the Consolidated Fund, to a limited amount, for the carrying on of Public Works and Fisheries in the United Kingdom, and Employment of the Poor in Great Britain in manner therein mentioned"; and the said exchequer bill-loan commissioners are hereby empowered to make such advances, upon any such application as aforesaid, upon the security of the rates for the relief of the poor of such parish or union, and without requiring any further or other security than a charge on such rates.

And be it further enacted, That, except as hereinafter mentioned, every child born in England or Wales after the passing of this act, shall, if legitimate upon the death of his or her surviving parent, if illegitimate upon the death of his or her mother, and whether legitimate or illegitimate, on attaining the age of sixteen years, be entitled to a settlement in the place of his or her birth, and shall retain such settlement for life, or until such child, being a female, shall marry; and that until every such child shall attain the age of sixteen years, or until the death of the surviving parent of such child, if legitimate, or of the mother of such child, if illegitimate, before such child shall attain the age of sixteen years,

the settlement of such child shall follow and be considered the same as the settlement, if any, of its parents or surviving parent, if such child be legitimate, or of its mother, if such child be illegitimate.

And be it further enacted, That every child born in any united workhouse of any woman whose settlement at the time of such birth shall be in any of the parishes contributing to the support of such workhouse, shall, for the purposes of settlement, be considered to have been born in the place of its mother's settlement; and that every child born in any workhouse of any woman whose settlement at the time of such birth shall be in any parish not contributing to the support of such workhouse, but chargeable or liable at the time of such birth for the expense of the support of such woman, shall, for the purposes of settlement, be considered to have been born in the parish so chargeable or liable as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That no child born, after the passing of this act, of any woman not having a settlement, or whose settlement shall at the time of the birth of such child be suspended, or born of any woman being a prisoner in any prison or house of correction, or of any woman whilst under confinement as an idiot or person of unsound mind in any house or asylum duly licensed for the reception of insane persons or idiots, or of any woman bona fide admitted as a patient in any hospital for the relief of sickness or accidents, or in any house duly licensed for the reception of pregnant women, pursuant to an act of Parliament passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for the better Regulation of Lying-in Hospitals and other places appropriated for the Charitable Reception of Pregnant Women; and also to provide for the settlement of Bastard Children born in such Hospitals and Places," shall be entitled to a settlement by birth in the parish where such child was born.

And be it further enacted, That in any future question regarding the settlement by birth of any person, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and whether born before or after the passing of this act, the place where such person shall be shown by the testimony of such person, or by any other evidence, to have earliest existed, or to have been earliest known, shall be adjudged to have been the place of his or her birth, until proof shall be given to the contrary.

And be it further enacted, That no settlement shall be acquired or changed after the passing of this act, except by birth or parentage as hereinbefore provided, or in the case of a female, by marriage; and that the settlement of a female who shall marry shall be changed or suspended by marriage as heretofore: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the acquiring or commencing of any settlement under any contract or indenture of apprenticeship, the term whereof shall have commenced, but shall not

be completed at the time of passing this act.

And be it further enacted, That no person under any contract of hiring and service not completed at the time of the passing of this act shall acquire or be deemed or adjudged to have acquired any settlement by reason of such hiring and service.

And be it further enacted, That, except as to any service under any indenture or contract of apprenticeship the term whereof shall not have expired at the passing of this act, no title to a settlement inchoate but not complete at the time of the passing of this act shall after the passing thereof be or be capable of being perfected by any of the modes by which any title to a settlement might otherwise be gained or perfected under or by virtue of any former statute.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act so much of any act or acts of parliament as enables any single woman to charge any person with having gotten her with child, or as renders any person so charged liable to be apprehended or committed, or required to give security, in any such charge, or as enables the mother of any bastard child or children to charge or afflictate any such child or children on any person as the reputed or putative father thereof, or as enables any overseer or guardian to charge or make complaint against any person as such reputed or putative father, and to require him to be charged with or contribute to the expenses attending the birth, sustentation or maintenance of any such child or children, or to be imprisoned or otherwise punished for not contributing thereto, or as in any way renders such reputed or putative father liable to punishment or contribution as such, or as enables churchwardens and overseers, by the order of any two justices of the peace, confirmed by the sessions, to take, seize and dispose of the goods and chattels, or to receive the annual rents or profits of the lands of any putative father or mother of bastard children, and so much of any such act or acts as renders an unmarried woman with child liable as such to be summoned, examined or removed, or as renders the mother of any bastard child or children liable as such to be imprisoned or otherwise punished, shall, so far as respects any child which shall be likely to be born or shall become a bastard after the passing of this act, or the mother or putative father of such child, be and the same is hereby repealed.

And be it further enacted, That every security given or recognizance entered into by any person or persons, or his or their surety, before the passing of this act, to indemnify any parish or place as to any child or children likely to be born a bastard or bastards, whereof any single woman shall be pregnant at the time of the passing of this act, or to abide and perform such order or orders as might have been made touching such child or children, pursuant to an act made and passed in the eight-

teenth year of the reign of her said late Majesty queen Elizabeth, concerning bastards begotten and born out of lawful matrimony, shall be and the same are hereby declared null and void, and every person who shall at the time of the passing of this act be in custody upon the commitment of any justice or justices for not having given such security or entered into such recognizance, shall be discharged (upon the application of such person) by any one of the visiting justices of the gaol in which such person shall be in custody under any such commitment.

And be it further enacted, That the mother of every child which shall be born a bastard after the passing of this act shall, so long as such mother shall be unmarried or a widow, be bound to maintain such child as a part of her family, and that all relief granted to such child shall be considered as granted to such mother. Provided a way, that such liability of such mother as a widow shall cease on the marriage of such child, if a female.

And be it further enacted, That in case of the inability of the mother of such child to maintain the same, or of the death of such mother, the grandfather and grandmother of such child on the mother's side shall be liable to relieve and maintain such child in like manner as the father and grandfather, mother and grandmother, of poor persons are liable to relieve and maintain such poor persons under and by virtue and in pursuance of a certain act of Parliament, made and passed in the forty-third year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Elizabeth, intituled, "An Act for the Relief of the Poor."

And be it further enacted, That all sums of money which shall be assessed by any justices of the peace on the father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, child or children, of any poor person for the relief or maintenance of such person, under or by virtue of the provisions of any of the said recited acts or of this act, and all penalties and forfeitures to which any person so assessed by such justices for such relief or maintenance shall be liable for any default in paying the same by virtue of the provisions of any of the said recited acts or of this act, shall be recoverable against any person so assessed or charged in like manner as penalties and forfeitures are recoverable under the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act no poor person shall be removed or removable under any order of removal from any parish or workhouse by reason of his being chargeable to or relieved therein, until twenty one days after a notice in writing of his being so chargeable or relieved, accompanied by a copy or counterpart of the order of removal of such person, and by a copy of the examination upon which such order was made, shall have been sent by the overseers or guardians of the parish obtaining such order, or any three or more of such guardians, to the overseers of the parish to whom such order shall be directed. Pro-

vided always, that if such overseers or guardians as last aforesaid, or any *three* or more of such guardians, shall, by writing under their hands, agree to submit to such order, and to receive such poor person, it shall be lawful to remove such poor person according to the tenor of such order, although the said period of *twenty-one* days may not have elapsed: Provided also, that if notice of appeal against any such order of removal shall be received by the overseers or guardians of the parish from which such poor person is directed in such order to be removed, within the said period of *twenty one* days, it shall not be lawful to remove such poor person until after the time for prosecuting such appeal shall have expired, or in case such appeal shall be duly prosecuted, until after the final determination of such appeal.

And be it further enacted, That in every case where notice of appeal against such order shall be given, the overseers or guardians of the parish appealing against such order, or any *three* or more of such guardians, shall with such notice, or within *ten* days before the first day of the sessions at which such appeal is intended to be tried, send or deliver to the overseers of the respondent parish a statement in writing under their hands of the grounds of such appeal, and upon the hearing of such appeal it shall not be lawful for the overseers of such appellant parish to be heard in support of such appeal, unless such notice and statement shall have been so given as aforesaid, nor to go into or give any evidence of any other grounds of appeal than those set forth in such statement.

And be it further enacted, That upon every such appeal the parish against which the same shall be decided, shall, in addition to the costs of maintenance and relief of any such poor person from the time of notice of his having so become chargeable as aforesaid, having been sent to the overseers of the poor of the parish to which such poor person shall finally be adjudged to belong, pay to the other the full costs, charges, and expenses which such parish may have incurred or shall have been put to by reason of such appeal, to be ascertained by the justices determining the same, or if they see fit by the clerk of the peace of the county where such appeal shall be heard or determined, who shall in either case certify the amount thereof; and in case the overseers of the poor of the parish liable to pay the same shall upon demand, and upon the production of such certificate, refuse or neglect to pay the same, the amount thereof may be recovered in the same manner as any penalties or forfeitures are by this act recoverable: Provided always, that no charges or expenses of relief or maintenance shall be recoverable under a suspended order of removal unless notice of such order of removal, with a copy of the same, and of the examination upon which such order was made, shall have been given within *ten* days of such order being

made to the overseers of the poor of the parish to whom such order is directed.

And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said commissioners; and they are hereby empowered, from time to time as they may think fit, to require from all persons in whom any freehold, copyhold, or leasehold estate, or any other property or funds belonging to any parish, and held in trust for or applicable to the relief of the poor, or which may be applied in diminution of the poor-rate of such parish, shall be vested, or who shall be in the receipt of the rents, profits, or income of any such estate, property or funds, a true and detailed account in writing of the place where such estate may be situate, or in what mode or on what security such other property or funds may be invested, with such details of the rents, profits, and income thereof, and of the appropriation of the same, and of all such other particulars relating thereto as the said commissioners may direct and require; and such statement or a true copy thereof, shall, under the regulations of the said commissioners, be open for the inspection of the owners of property and rate-payers in such parish.

And be it further enacted, That no advertisement inserted by or under the direction of the said commissioners in the London Gazette or any newspaper, for the purpose of carrying into effect any provisions of this act, nor any mortgage, bond, instrument, or any assignment thereof, given by way of security in pursuance of the rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners, and conformable thereto, nor any contract or agreement made or entered into in pursuance of such rules, orders, or regulations, and conformable thereto, shall be charged or chargeable with any stamp duty whatever.

And be it further enacted, That the said commissioners shall and may receive and send by the general post from and to places within the United Kingdom, all letters and packets relating solely and exclusively to the execution of this act free from the duty of postage, provided that such letters and packets as shall be sent to the said commissioners be directed to the "Poor-Law Commissioners," at their office in London, and that all such letters and packets as shall be sent by the said commissioners shall be in cover, with the words "Office of Poor-Law Commissioners, pursuant to Act of Parliament passed in the fourth year of the reign of his Majesty King William the Fourth," printed on the same, and be signed on the outside thereof, under such words, with the name of such person as the said commissioners, with the consent of the lords commissioners of the treasury, or any *three* or more of them, shall authorize and appoint, in his own handwriting (such name to be from time to time transmitted to the secretaries of the General Post Office in London and Dublin), and be sealed with the seal of the said commissioners, and under such other regulations and restrictions as the said lords

commissioners, or any *three* or more of them, shall think proper and direct, and the person so to be authorized is hereby strictly forbidden so to subscribe or seal any letter or packet whatever, except such only concerning which he shall receive the special direction of his superior officer, or which he shall himself know to relate solely and exclusively to the execution of this act; and if the person so to be authorized, or any other person, shall send, or cause or permit to be sent under any such cover, any letter, paper or writing, or any enclosure, other than what shall relate to the execution of this act, every person so offending shall forfeit and pay the sum of *one hundred pounds*, and be dismissed from his office; one moiety of the said penalty to the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the other moiety to the use of the person who shall inform or sue for the same, to be sued for and recovered in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster for offences committed in England, and in any of his Majesty's courts of record in Dublin for offences committed in Ireland, and before the sheriff or stewardry court of the shire or stewardry within which the party offending shall reside, or the offence shall be committed, for offences committed in Scotland.

And be it further enacted, That all payments, charges and allowances made by any overseer or guardian, on a charge upon the rates for the relief of the poor, contrary to the provisions of this act, or in variance with any lawful rule, order or regulation of the said commissioners, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be illegal, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, and every justice of the peace is hereby required to disallow as illegal and unfounded all payments, charges or allowances contrary to the provisions of this act, or to any lawful rule, order or regulation of the said commissioners, which shall be returned in any account of any overseer of the poor or guardian in which shall be presented for the purpose of being passed or allowed. Provided always, that no allowance by any justice shall exonerate or discharge such overseer or guardian from any penalty or legal proceeding to which he may have rendered himself liable by having acted contrary to the rules, orders and regulations of the said commissioners, or to the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That the leaving of any summons authorized to be issued by any commissioner, assistant commissioner, or justice of the peace under this act, at the usual or last known place of abode of the party to whom such summons shall be directed, or the delivery thereof to the wife of such person, shall in every case be deemed good and sufficient service of such summons.

And whereas in and by the rules, orders, by laws and regulations contained in the schedule to the said recited act made and passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his said late Majesty King George the Third, and intitled, "An Act for the better Relief

and Employment of the Poor," it is amongst other things directed that no spirituous liquors be permitted to be drunk in the poor-houses or workhouses to be provided and established under the provisions of the said recited act, and that no other liquors shall be brought thither without the permission of the governor of such house or houses, be it therefore enacted, that if any person shall carry, bring or introduce, or attempt or endeavour to carry bring or introduce into any workhouse now or hereafter to be established, any spirituous or fermented liquor with out the order or writing of the master of such workhouse, it shall be lawful for the master of such workhouse, or any officer of the same acting under his direction, to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such offender, and to carry him or her before a justice of the peace, who is hereby empowered to hear and determine such offence.

Summary way and upon conviction thereof the party so found guilty shall forfeit and pay any sum of money, not being less than *ten pounds* nor more than *twenty pounds* for every such offence, as such justice may direct, and in default of payment of the penalty hereby imposed, such justice may and is hereby required to commit such offender to the common gaol or house of correction for the district in which such workhouse shall be situated for any space of time not exceeding *three calendar months* unless such penalty shall be sooner paid.

And be it further enacted, That if any master of a workhouse shall order any spirituous or fermented liquor to be carried, brought, or introduced into any workhouse, except for the domestic use of himself or of any officer of the said workhouse or their respective families, or except by and under the written authority of the surgeon of such workhouse or of any justice visiting the same, or of the guardians of such workhouse or in conformity with any rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners, or if any such master or any other officer of any workhouse shall carry, bring, or introduce into such workhouse, or sell, use, lent, or give away therein, or knowingly permit or suffer to be carried, brought, or introduced, or sold, used, lent, or given away therein, any spirituous or fermented liquor, contrary to the rules, orders, and regulations of the said commissioners, or shall punish with any corporal punishment any person in such workhouse, or confine any such person for any offence or misbehaviour for any longer space of time than twenty-four hours, or such further space of time as may be necessary, in order to have such person carried before a justice of the peace, or shall in any way abuse or ill treat, or be guilty of any other misbehaviour, or otherwise misconduct himself towards or with respect to any poor person in such workhouse, every such master or officer of a workhouse so offending, shall for every such offence, upon the complaint of the overseers or guardians of the parish or union

t, which such workhouse shall belong, and upon conviction of such offence before any one justice, forfeit and pay such sum of money not being less than ten pounds nor more than fifty pounds, as such justice may direct; and in default of payment of the penalty hereby imposed, such justice may and is hereby required to commit such offender to the common goal or house of correction for the district in which such workhouse shall be situate, for any space of time not exceeding six calendar months, unless such penalty shall be sooner paid: Provided always, that if at the time when any such master or officer of a workhouse shall be so convicted of any such offence, there shall be due to him any sum of money or salary in respect of his employment as such master or officer of such workhouse, or upon any balance of account, from the overseers or guardians of the parish or union to which such workhouse shall belong, it shall be lawful for such justice, upon the application of such overseers or guardians, by order in writing under his hand, to direct that such sum of money, salary or balance, so far as the same shall extend, or a sufficient part thereof, shall be retained and applied for the use of such parish or union by such overseers or guardians in payment or part payment of any such penalty; and such order shall be a good and valid discharge to such overseers or guardians for so much money as may by such order be directed to be so retained and applied against the claim or demand of the master or other officer of such workhouse in respect of any such sum of money, salary or balance.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

Friday, June 6, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

NORMAN, J., Dorking, Surrey, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

TILSEY, W., and W. Jones, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, bankers.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, T., Sutton St. Edmund's, Lincolnshire, tanner.

DAVIS, B., Manchester and Burnley, cloth-dresser.

GORE, R., Liverpool, merchant.

KEY, W., Isleworth, linen-draper.

LAWLESS, J., Manchester, commission-agent.

METFORD, F., Bath, mealman.

NEWMAN, J., jun., Old Corn-exchange, Mark-lane, corn-factor.

OHLMANN, W. A., and J. C. Kemp, Liverpool, merchants.

PRITCHARD, C., Bath, upholsterer.

TURKINGTON, T., and T. Winlaw, Leeds, tin-plate-workers.

WATSON, J., Calthorpe-street, Grays-inn-lane, dealer in music.

WRIGHT, S. P., Christopher-street, Hatton-garden, painting-brush-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

PHILIP, J., and Son, Dols, Clackmannan, distillers.

Tuesday, June 10, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

CURTIS, H. P., Romsey, Hampsh., scrivener.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

HALLS, J. A., Barnstaple, Devonshire, grocer.
LEADLER, W., Wells-street, Oxford street, and Oxford-street, coach-maker.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

PHILPOT, W., Penmair, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, H., Stoke-upon-Trent, scrivener.

BURTT, W., Sculcoates, Yorkshire, glazier.

COGILL, J., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, saddler.

HIGGINS, J., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, ironfounder.

MESSENGER, J., Bowness, Cumberland, farmer.

MORRIS, R., Liverpool, merchant.

PARKER, W., and S. B., Copperas-lane, Church-street, Deptford, colour-manufacturers.

PIM, J. and J., Bartholomew-close, merchants.

ROPER, C. E., Southampton, hosiery.

SMITH, R., sen., Lower Thames-street, wharfinger.

WOOD, J., Aldersgate-street, chemist.

LONDON MARKETS

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 9.—

The supplies of Wheat which we have received coastways to this morning's market were extremely limited, and Friday's advance of 2s. per quarter on the better qualities was fully maintained, 1s. to 2s. on secondary descriptions; higher prices were at the commencement of the market demanded, but millers were not inclined to accede to any further improvement, and the market closed dull. Some inquiry exists for bonded Wheat, but the relative value of the article abroad being much less than the demands of the local holders, little business was transacted in bonded samples.

Barley came very sparingly to hand, and grinding qualities, which are principally inquired after, were 1s. dearer than on Monday. Orders have been transmitted abroad for the article at the present low currencies demanded at the Baltic ports. In bond the article is held at 16s. to 18s.

Malt was saleable at an advance of 1s. per quarter. The arrivals of Scotch and Irish Oats have rather increased, and the refreshing showers experienced throughout the country, have rather checked the speculative demand, the extent of business therefore became more limited at Friday's currency, which was the turn dearer than this day week. Oats in bond are still in request, and for Russian feed in bond 15s. per quarter was refused; purchases to a considerable amount have been effected in Denmark at from 9s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per quarter.

Beans are extremely scarce, and ready sale at an advance of 2s. per quarter from this day se'night. In bond, 22s. to 24s. has been refused for the article.

Of Peas there are hardly any samples offering; white boilers at market would have realized 2s. to 3s. per quarter more money, and feeding qualities, 1s. to 2s.

The Flour trade ruled firmer, and with a free sale, and ship qualities, particularly Irish, were 1s. to 2s. per sack dealer. Irish, 37s. to 38s., extra fine, 39s.

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| Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk | 46s. to 53s. |
| — White | 50s. to 70s. |
| — Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire | 44s. to 48s. |
| — White, ditto | 46s. to 52s. |
| — West Country red | 41s. to 44s. |
| — White, ditto | 46s. to 52s. |
| — Northumberland and Berwickshire red | 40s. to 46s. |
| — White, ditto | 41s. to 48s. |
| — Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red | 47s. to 44s. |
| — White, ditto | 44s. to 46s. |
| — Irish red | 37s. to 43s. |
| — White, ditto | 39s. to 45s. |
| Barley, Malting | —s. to —s. |
| — Chevalier | —s. to 30s. |
| — Danelling | 29s. to 31s. |
| — Grinding | 28s. to 31s. |
| Malt, new | 31s. to 50s. |
| — Norfolk, pale | 50s. to 55s. |
| — Wa e | 50s. to 60s. |
| Peas, Hog and Grey | 36s. to 44s. |
| — Maple | 40s. to 42s. |
| — White Boilers | 38s. to 41s. |
| Beans, Small | 36s. to 42s. |
| — Harrow | 33s. to 40s. |
| — Tick | 35s. to 38s. |
| Oats, English Feed | 24s. to 26s. |
| — Short, small | 25s. to 27s. |
| — Poland | 25s. to 28s. |
| — Scotch, common | 25s. to 26s. |
| — Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| — Berwick | 26s. to 27s. |
| — Irish, Galway, &c. | 21s. to 22s. |

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| — — — Potato | 21s. to 26s. |
| — — — Black | 22s. to 24s. |
| Bran, per bushel | 10s. to 13s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

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| Butter, Dorset | 40s. to —s. per cwt. |
| — Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| — York | 40s. to 42s. |
| Cheese, Dble Gloucester | 48s. to 62s. |
| — Single ditto | 44s. to 48s. |
| — Cheshire | 54s. to 74s. |
| — Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Hams, Westmoreland | 50s. to 60s. |
| — Cumberland | 46s. to 58s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 9.

This day's supply of Sheep and Lambs was great, much the greatest of the present year, its supply of Beasts and fat Calves good, of Porkers limited. Trade was with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots; about a fourth Short horns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with about 100 Herefords, as many Irish Beasts, about 70 Sussex Beasts, about 40 Town's and Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About two-fifths of the Sheep were South Downs, about the same number new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincoln, horned Dorsets and Somerses, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

A full moiety of the Lambs, the whole of which were supposed to number nearly 9,000, were South Downs; the remainder about equal numbers of new Leicesters, of various crosses and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breeds, and sundry casual breeds.

About 1,500 of the Beasts, at least three-fifths of them Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Short horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few homebreds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge shire; about 400, a full moiety of which were Short-horns, the rest about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts, about 100, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, ab ut a moiety of which were Sussex stores and oxen, the other half about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, &c., from Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; and the remainder,

including the Towu's-end 'cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

A considerable number of the Short-horns, Devons, and runts, were grass fed, and much riper than were those of any part of last June.

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POOR-LAW BILL.

Bell-court, 18. June, 1831

It being my fixed opinion, that the decision of Parliament on this bill will decide, not only whether peace shall continue to exist in England, but whether this present sort of government of King, Lords, and Commons, and of Church and State, shall continue to exist. This being my opinion, I shall here go into the subject, and endeavour to make my readers as well acquainted with every part of it as possible; at any rate as well acquainted with it as I am myself.

The bill does not in words repeal the compact which was made with the people by the act of the 43. of Elizabeth but it does it in *essence*, it does it in fact. It takes away wholly from the gentlemen, magistrates of the county; it takes away from the native overseers, and guides and rulers of the parish, who alone can know the parties, and who alone can feel for them as they ought to do; it takes away from all these all power whatsoever. It provides for the erection of immense workhouses by the uniting of many parishes into one for this purpose; it provides for the bringing of utter strangers to be the masters, the managers, and rulers of the poor; it provides for the placing of all these powers into the hands of three persons in London, to be appointed by the Ministers of the day, and removable at their pleasure. Its main object is, that the poor may receive less than they now receive, though there are other objects

behindhand, which, if this bill be passed, will be developed by degrees.

If the bill itself could leave us in any doubt as to the objects of it, the reports of the hired poor-law commissioners would make us acquainted with what their objects really are. I have not time here to dwell in a particular manner on the cruel regulations which the commissioners recommend; but, as the reader must have observed, there is an everlasting hankering after a system which shall cause the poor in England to be treated as they are in SCOTLAND; so that it is a matter of the greatest importance for us to possess accurate knowledge with regard to the manner in which the poor of Scotland are treated; and it shall be my first business, therefore, to make this matter well understood by every man in England, if I possibly can; and I call upon all men of justice and humanity to assist me in making this information known to the poor of England.

How many times have we heard Mr. Hume boast of the happy state of the working classes in Scotland! How many times heard him boast of the "high moral state," the "feeling of independence," the "laudable pride" of his countrymen! The reader heard Mr. Ewing, the member for GLASGOW, say the other day, in his place in Parliament, that the poor of Scotland would spurn; however poor, however destitute, suffering how much soever from want, they would "spurn parochial relief."

Now these are the grounds upon which Lord ALTHORP expresses his wish to see the management of the poor in the north, brought to resemble the management of the poor in the north. Therefore it is of the first importance that we ascertain what is the treatment and what the condition of the poor in Scotland; and that we make this known to the poor in England, to all those forming an immense majority of the middle

classes in England, who are filled with horror at the idea of treating their poorer countrymen as slaves, and of stripping them of every right that they have hitherto enjoyed. It is of the first importance that we ascertain the truth as to this matter, and that we leave no doubt whatsoever on the subject.

I shall here insert some papers which will remove every doubt upon the subject, and will, at the same time, develop the real views of those who are pushing forward this bill. But I must first state that of which Mr. HUME appears to have been totally ignorant; namely, that there are poor-laws in Scotland; that there always have been poor-laws in Scotland, from the middle of the sixteenth century, and before the passing of the act of Elizabeth: that, according to these laws, the HERITORS, (a word which the reader will keep in mind), that the *heritors*, or LANDOWNERS, should be assessed for the relief of the poor, so that no person might suffer from want. That the landowners, or heritors, have been continually endeavouring to get rid of these assessments; and, to use the phrase of the hard-hearted ruffians, to render the poor "independent" and "throw them upon their own resources"; that is to say, to leave them to starve, if not relieved by private charity. This audacious violation of the law has taken place over a great part of Scotland, and it has been effected, where it has been effected, by the Christian ministers, of the Christian established church of Scotland, who, let it be observed, are appointed to their ministries by the heritors! And here we have the true reason why the people of Scotland, why the middle classes in Scotland, whose justice and humanity revolt at this robbery of the poor, secede from this established church; and why they are now praying the Parliament to take away from the heritors this power of appointing the ministers! Christian ministers, indeed! The very first duty of every Christian is, to "feed the hungry," clothe the naked, and harbour the harbourless "Sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor." "I was hungry, and you

"gave me not to eat; I was athirst, "and you gave me not to drink."

These are the words of him, of whom these Christian ministers of Scotland profess themselves to be followers; they who are the tools in the hands of the rich, to rob, to beggar, and to degrade, unfortunate and indigent persons. Let us now look, then, at some of the works of these Christian ministers of Scotland, and of their hard-hearted patrons, the heritors. Let us see the condition to which they have reduced the working-people of Scotland; and then we shall see the ultimate intention and the natural effects of this poor-law bill; we shall see the reasons that induced the amiable Lord ALTHORPE to wish to introduce the northern system into the southern parts of the country. *Stupidity* is generally the companion of injustice. Accordingly, we find, amongst the immense mass of print that has been laid before us in the House of Commons, a report from two poor-law commissioners, who were instructed to prowl about Scotland, in order, apparently, to ascertain how the heritors of Scotland had gone to work to get rid of all charge on account of the poor, in order that the heritors, or landowners of England might accomplish the same purpose. The names of these commissioners were TURNELL and JOHNSTON, whose reports will be found in appendix to grand report, A, part No. 2, and, at the pages which I shall mention as I go along. These fellows conclude their report by recommending the *forcible putting an end to all assessments in Scotland*, by act of Parliament, and to put an end to them altogether, gradually, in England! It is necessary to keep this their recommendation in view, in order to comprehend what they mean, and what their employers mean, through the whole of the proceeding. I now begin with the report of TURNELL and of JOHNSTON.

1. TURNELL complains (page 194) that, "the pauperism is ascribable "in a great measure to the "assessments, and thinks that the "knowledge that the poor have of "a legal claim to relief removes

"their reluctance to come to the parish; that they now claim, as *a right*, this relief."

2. That as to the treatment of the poor by the HERITORS and the MINISTERS, take these facts: "That it is the practice, when a poor person comes to the assessment fund, to make an inventory of his goods, and to sell them after his death for the BENEFIT OF THE HERITORS. (Page 125). When an individual is found very urgent in claiming support, we insist upon his *brequeathing his effects to the parish*, before he gets the relief. In ordinary cases we do not resort to this measure, as most frequently the applicants have nothing but a *pot, a bed, and a few bed-clothes*, all of which would not sell for twenty shillings. When a pauper dies, however, we generally take possession of his effects, if they be of any value at all."

3. With regard to the amount of relief, and the mode of relief: it is sometimes in money, sometimes in goods, and sometimes in work-house. Tufnell, in page 203, describes the many ceremonies a poor person has to go through before he gets relief, and the sum never exceeds 5s. a month; and, in some cases, not more than fourteen shillings a year. At page 225, "The sums given by us are small, a penny a day is, perhaps, as much as many poor women in this parish may have." In page 222, Johnston relates that, "the poor at Dumfries do not receive more than 11s. a year a-piece: the poorest used to have *licenses to beg* within the parish, being compelled at the same time to wear a badge. Those licenses are now withdrawn, and all the poor placed on the poor-roll, or pension-list."

- 4 With regard to the "*lofty-mindedness*"; that "*high spirit*" which is to be created in England by an abolition of the poor-laws; that

"*high moral condition*" of which Mr. Hume so frequently speaks, TURNELL (page 193) tells us of "the decreasing reluctance of the poor to apply for relief." In page 209, he tells us, that "they had no objection to go to the public soup-kettle; that, to prevent their relief given them being spent in drink, it was sometimes given in necessaries instead of money." And JOHNSTON tells us, in page 226, "we give in kind rather than in money; because when they get money it is spent often as it ought not to be. They contrive also to exchange the provisions for their favourite beverage; but it is not so easily effected in every case."

5. As to their condition, JOHNSTON tells us in page 223, "The Scotch labourers consider it is as no disadvantage to be put on the poor-roll; the habit of drinking potent spirits is now become general amongst the labouring classes, not only injuring their health and paralyzing their industry, but depriving their character, and rendering them insensible to all respect for public opinion or regard for decency of conduct. About a third of the women, and all the children, are without shoes and stockings, and oatmeal, the cheapest of diets, is the universal and principal food."

6. PERSONAL DECENCY. The following fact is taken from TURNELL'S report, page 210. It would well shock every English man, and what will it do to every English woman!

TUFNELL is relating what took place at DALKEITH in consequence of the "wise and judicious proceedings of the ministers," for abolishing assessments and driving people out of a workhouse that was there; and he tells us that, "when the project of abolishing the poor-house was first mentioned to its inmates, they were very averse to leave it; now however they are all pleased

"with their change of situation, and would be very unwilling to return to it: As I was desirous of ascertaining this fact, and also of seeing the condition of some of the poor who had been turned out of the workhouse, I requested the minister to accompany me to one of their houses. We accordingly visited three persons, *one old man and two old women*, who were lodged together in one room, for which the parish paid 6d. per week, which, with 5s. a week between them, was all they got. Had they remained in the workhouse the expense would have been 10s. 9d. per week, at 3s. 7d. each; the parish gains by the change 5s. 3d.

"The charitable sympathies of the *neighbours*, which were before thoroughly dried up, both as respect them and every other inmate of the poor-house, had begun to operate in their favour, and they were receiving some little attentions from their friends, which the minister confidently expected would increase; and that this, together with the produce of what slight work their infirmities would allow them to perform, would shortly enable him to DIMINISH THEIR PAY, and perhaps to WITHDRAW IT ALTOGETHER."

There needs only this last fact! In this one fact we have a sample of the justice of the heritors, of the Christian charity of the minister, of the high-mindedness, that Mr. Ewing of Glasgow talked of, and of the high state of moral feeling, which has so often been the subject of eulogium with Mr. Home. Go, my Lord ALTHORP, and tell the people of Sussex, of Surrey, of Kent, of Hampshire, of Norfolk, of Suffolk, or of Essex; go and tell them, that you want to improve them, till you have brought two women to consent to live day and night, with one man, in one room, for which sixpence a week

shall be paid. Go into those counties and find two women, except they be found in a brothel, who will consent to live in the same morsel of a room with a man, day and night.

This is the high moral state to which the savage heritors of Scotland have brought the poor people of that country. This is what is to be imitated in England. We see that the "*neighbours*," in the middle rank of life, and in the lower rank, too, came to the assistance of these poor people. They were too just to suffer them to starve; they had enough of Christian charity in them to save the poor wretches; and this led the "minister of CHRIST": this encouraged his "Christian charity" to hope, that he should be able to take away their allowance altogether! What will CHRIST say to this minister, when he appears at the last day? Will he applaud him, or will he send him to the receptacle of those, who have violated his laws and despised his commands!

But, reader, do, for God's sake, look over this statement of these commissioners. You find here proofs of the most barbarous treatment of the poor, you find an account of their having "*licenses to beg*," wearing a *beggar's badge*, as a proof of their "high moral condition." You have here an assertion that they are relieved in kind, lest they should get drunk with the money; you have an assertion here, that they are insensible to all respect for public opinion, or their regard for decency of conduct; as proofs, doubtless, of the salutary effects of that "education," with which Lord ALTHORP means to elevate the characters of the working people of England. You have a confession here, that all the children are without shoes and stockings, and that a third part of the women are in the same state, to which might have been added, that the women servants and other women at rough work, pin their petticoats up considerably above their knees. I would rather that the infernal regions would open and swallow England, than that the benevolent Lord ALTHORP, by his bill, should reduce

English women to this miserable state.

But, reader, for God Almighty's sake, look at the paragraph, to which I have put number 2; and, if, on this side of Satan's dominions; on this side of everlasting fire, you can find baseness and barbarity equal to that, do, for God's sake, produce it, in order to mitigate the inexpressible hatred, the burning rage, with which our hearts are filled against these Scotch heritors, and their servile and barbarous priests.

I beg the reader not to think, that I impute this barbarity to the middling class of people in Scotland. On the contrary, I witnessed an anxiety and a zeal amongst them, particularly at EDINBURGH, to obtain due relief for the poor, such as I never witnessed before; and, indeed, I could not, because in England and America there is a legal and efficient provision by law. I have never personally known one Scotchman, and conversed with him upon the subject, who did not complain of this barbarous conduct of the heritors and the ministers; and who was not anxious to see the English system established in Scotland. I shall presently have to insert a letter just received from Mr. LITTLE of ANNAN; and his sentiments are those of every Scotchman that I have ever heard open his lips upon the subject. At EDINBURGH, at DUNFERMLINE, at FALKIRK, at GLASGOW, GREENOCK, PAISLEY, NEW MILNS, KILMARNOCK, DUMFRIES, ANNAN; every where they beset me with complaints, that their poor were ill-treated; and that the heritors were the cause of the vast difference between the enjoyments of the English and Scotch working people.

What! does Lord ALTHORP wish to take away the table cloth, the knives, forks, and plates, and the meat and the bread, from the labourers of Sussex; and to give them the Scotch ditty stool, brass bowl and spoon, in the stead? Does he want to sweep away the neat garden, the embowered privy; and to take away the shoes and stockings of the women of Sussex, and to give them the bare legs and feet, and

the dunghill of the Scotch labourer's dwelling. If he do, a word in his ear. You will not effect your object, my lord; but your name, as long as it live at all, will live coupled on to the intention to do it.

The poor people of Scotland are as good, in their nature, as the people of England; and they show, this upon all occasions; they are debased by the violation of the laws of their country, which compels them, when destitute, to BEG for the means of maintaining life, instead of demanding those means as a right. This is the cause of the degradation of the working people of Scotland; and to their state, nevertheless, the heritors of England wish to reduce the people of England.

Such are the observations which naturally arise from reading the reports of the poor-law commissioners themselves. Then we have the notorious facts, that Scotch vagrants are sent back by hundreds from Cumberland and Northumberland, and that there are regular contracts for the sending of them back; before Mr. HUME makes further attempts to elevate the English to the high moral condition of the Scotch; and before Mr. EWING again asserts, that the poor of Scotland, now ever necessitated, would spurn parochial relief, let the former put an end to this incursion of Scotch vagrants, and let the latter reconcile with the "high spirit" and the "spurning," the fact that these thousands of Scotch invade England every year, to throw themselves upon the parishes of England.

After this comes another undeniable fact; that, in 1819, the injustice and cruelty of the heritors, and of the ministers of the established church, had produced a state of distress, among the poor of Scotland, indescribable. And, what was done then? Did the barbarous heritors do justice? Did they, when hundreds, and hundreds were starving, give relief? Did the cry of starvation soften their hearts? No; but not to give any part of that which they had unjustly kept; but to make an application to Parliament for a

grant of money for the relief of the poor in Scotland! Upon that occasion LIVERPOOL said one of the only two sensible things that I ever heard him say in my life, which was this: "No: let the noble lord ask for an act to establish our poor-law in Scotland, and he shall have it; but if Scotland will not relieve its own poor, I never will consent that England shall do it." Some Scotch lord having then taken occasion to say something against the operation of the poor-laws in England, Lord ELDON said, "that the Scotch landowners could not fail to see the wisdom of the English poor-laws, but that they wanted the justice to adopt them."

I have now to insert a letter just received from Mr. LITTLE of ANNAN, which the reader will remark, is in DUMFRIES-SHIRE, in Scotland. I do beg the reader's best attention to the whole of this letter. Mr. LITTLE clearly perceives the object of the scheme that is now going on: he perceives that the English landlords want to be put upon a footing with the Scotch heritors, and with the grinders of Ireland. He clearly shows that the English FARMER would not be benefited by the change, but, on the contrary, greatly injured by it. It is notorious that the Scotch farmers are in a great deal worse state than the farmers in England. This is very well worthy the attention of the farmers: no lightening of their share of the burden is intended by this bill. The poor-laws prevent the labourers from being ground down to low wages, and to living upon roots and oatmeal. The greedy English heritors want to get the wages and the amount of the relief into their own pockets, as they do in Scotland and Ireland. If they could rob the poor, make them work for next to nothing, and make them live upon the meanest of food, they would make the farmers pay them *double rent*, and the parson would get from them double tithes, unless where it is taken in kind. So that nobody would be benefited but the greedy heritors. I now insert Mr. LITTLE's letter, beseeching every farmer in particular to pay attention to it.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

Annan, 14. June, 1834.

SIR,—I deem this a proper time for resuming the subject of the Scotch poor-laws, and referring to a very few of those numerous instances within my knowledge of their cruel operation, in so far as the poor are concerned.

1. In a parish distant only a few miles from this town a poor female, crippled in both her arms, and totally incapable of labour, applied, about twenty years ago, for parochial relief, and readily obtained an allowance of *eighteen-pence per week*. After receiving this allowance for many years a legacy of nine pounds fell to her, whereupon the heritors and kirk-session instantly withdrew it. The legacy, which has been husbanded with great economy, being now at last all expended, she has again applied for parochial relief. Though *twenty years older* than when she first applied, and much more infirm than she then was, and though it is not pretended that she has a farthing in the world, all that has been allowed to her (thanks to the progress of Malthusian principles) is only *sixpence per week*, or somewhat less than a *penny* per day! Upon this pittance, however, she must be contented to live, or rather to starve, because, as mentioned in my former letters, she has no redress but *through the medium of the Court of Session; a court into which, for the reason there stated, she never can hope to enter.*

2. In the same parish, about sixteen years ago, an infirm and worn-out female made an application in the usual manner for parochial relief. The answer to her application consisted in an *admission of her infirmity*, accompanied by a *denial of her right of settlement*, founded on an allegation that, although she belonged to the parish, she was the *illegitimate child of a man still living*, (this man had cruelly abandoned her almost thirty years before!) who had acquired a settlement in England, at the distance of at least *one hundred and fifty miles!* One would naturally have imagined, that in such circumstances any humane system of poor-laws would have provided that the parish, in which the poor woman

was should relieve her in the meantime, and that, having found out the parish of her husband, they should, at their own expense, remove her to, and fix her upon, that parish. Not so, HOWEVER, THE POOR-LAWS OF SCOTLAND. In perfect consistency with those laws the heritors and kirk-session, while they left the poor woman to starve, simply said, "Your settlement is not in our parish, and we will give you nothing, either for maintenance or removal." As the case related to settlement it was tried before the sheriff. Though it was scarcely credible that the husband, a journeyman cooper, could ever have acquired a settlement in England, by the renting of premises worth 10*l.* per annum; a sort of proof to that effect was brought by the parish. This proof was deemed sufficient to warrant a dismissal of the claim for relief without any allowance for removal. And the poor helpless creature, unable from poverty and infirmity to stir from where she was, and left without the means of living, soon relieved the parish altogether of the scandal of her presence, by quietly removing to a better world.

3. On the 28. day of December, 1820, the minister of another parish in the vicinity of this town, which parish I may observe, belongs almost entirely to our heritor, gave a certificate in these terms to one of his flock: "I hereby certify, that the bearer ——— is a parishioner of ——— within the boundaries of which he has resided thirteen years without being burdened to the public, and maintaining, so far as known to me or the kirk-session, a blameless character. He is now an old infirm man, about seventy-eight years of age, and has, during the last two years, lain in an open tent in a dike side, in consequence of [here is inserted the name of the heritor before alluded to] having prohibited his tenants from giving him a house." This certificate related to a man who had seen better days, whose character, as it bears, was blameless; who had never applied for parochial aid, and who was not likely to do so, because he was well supported by a

dutiful son, who had gone abroad in his early youth, and was then in the West Indies. The heritor, however, having either taken offence at him for some unknown cause, or wishing to throw him upon another parish, had issued the cruel prohibition referred to by the minister. The certificate was given in the hope that the law of Scotland might afford redress against such gross oppressions. NO SUCH REDRESS, HOWEVER, COULD THAT LAW AFFORD. The poor, and I may add venerable, old man, after passing two winters, and these very stormy ones, in "the open tent by the dike side," at last resigned his breath to his Maker in that very "open tent"; and at the age of eighty, and with becoming marks of respect on the part of his more humble neighbours, was carried from it to his last and long abode.

4. In the month of April, 1831, the minister of another parish, situate in Dumfriesshire, gave a certificate to a female residing within his bounds in these terms: "I hereby certify, that the bearer ——— is a native of this parish. Her parents were in great poverty, their house having been burned and their furniture consumed. She is now an orphan without a house, and without other means of support than public charity, being UNABLE TO MAINTAIN HERSELF BY HER INDUSTRY, as she is subject to convulsions, I BELIEVE HER TO BE A FIT OBJECT OF CHARITY." The purpose of this certificate, as is obvious from the wording of it, was, that it might serve as a passport for *begging*; and it was so used accordingly, by the poor woman to whom it was given, throughout a district consisting of perhaps twenty parishes, and for a period of nearly twelve months. At last, however, as was naturally to be expected, it lost its efficacy; and the poor creature found it necessary in consequence to apply to her parish for relief in the ordinary way. On doing so she was surprised by an answer, through the medium of the very minister who had given the certificate before quoted, to the effect that her settlement was not in her parish! Having in vain endeavoured to convince him of his error, she

at last made an application to the sheriff for the purpose of having the question of settlement decided. After a litigation of twelve months in the Sheriff's Court, she was completely successful on this point; and the serious nature of the process, to a person such as she is, may be judged of from this circumstance, that the costs awarded against the parish amounted to 15*l.* or 16*l.* sterling!

The question of settlement being thus decided, it became necessary for the parish to do *something*. And what, it will naturally be asked, did the parish do? Why, notwithstanding the helpless condition of the applicant, as detailed in the certificate before quoted; notwithstanding their admission in the Sheriff's Court, that she was "*unable to maintain herself by her own industry*"; that she was "*an orphan, without friends or any means of subsistence other than public charity*"; and that she was "*a fit object for parochial relief*"; notwithstanding these things, they made an allowance to her of no more than six-sevenths of a penny per day! They thus set at defiance the order of the sheriff, which, *proceeding on their own admission*, was, not that they should "consider" the poor woman's case merely, but that they should "*maintain her as a pauper*." They in short adopted the second of the two modes mentioned in my letter of 10. March, by which heritors in Scotland so frequently make use of to evade the just claims of the poor of their respective parishes.

It will naturally be supposed by the humane people of England, that *some provision* would be made for this poor woman during the long period of the litigation in the Sheriff's Court; but nothing, I am sorry to say, can be more erroneous than such supposition. The sheriff, it is true, recommended an interim allowance by the parish, being all that he deemed himself empowered to do; but the parish paid no regard to his recommendation. The poor woman notwithstanding is *yet alive*. She owes no thanks for her life however to the poor-laws of Scotland. Had the matter depended on them alone, the parish

would long since have been freed by the "*decey of nature*" from all apprehension on her account. That she has been able to live since May, 1838, and to prosecute her claim, is *entirely owing to the charity of an individual who never saw or heard of her prior to that month*.

To these instances, *the proof of every one of, which is within my power, and ready to be produced*, I could, without difficulty add many more of the like character, all within my own knowledge. Instead, however, of lengthening this letter by doing so, I shall conclude by asserting, as in reference to the poor-laws of Scotland, *to which, as it would seem those of England are now to be assimilated*, 1*st*, That, under these poor-laws, any able-bodied labouring man, who is not himself an heritor, may at any time be driven from the parish of his settlement, if he do not choose to take up his abode by the "*dike side*"; and, 2*ndly*, That the heritors of any parish may with complete legal impunity, starve to death any "*aged, lame, or impotent*" person within their bounds, by simply stating, in answer to a claim for relief by such person, "*Your settlement is not with us: or we (the payers, viz.) do not consider you to be a fit object for parochial relief*"!

But it is contended by a certain class of theorists, that a legal provision for the support of the poor is, when philosophically considered, a measure inconsistent with sound policy, because, by removing the *fear of absolute want*, a powerful spur to exertion, it tends to render the labouring classes idle and profligate, and thus produces the evil which it professes to remedy. But how does this doctrine, plausible though it certainly is, square with well-established facts? If there be one portion of the kingdom more than another in which all the evils *really* consequent on the English poor-laws may be expected to be found, that portion must necessarily be the southern agricultural counties of England, where these laws are most completely in operation. How comes it, then, that we hear so much from every traveller, of the "*neat, clean, and com-*

“ comfortable cottages ” of the labourers of those counties, of their “ beautiful gardens,” and of all their domestic comforts? Is it possible to believe for a moment, that such things could be if those labourers, *debased by the poor-laws*, were really an **IDLE AND PROFLIGATE RACE**?

Again, it has been asserted, and in the House of Commons too, that in proportion as the “ principle of the English poor-laws ” has been introduced into Scotland, so the condition of the labouring classes in that part of the kingdom has been deteriorated. Assuming that the term, “ principle of the English poor-laws ” here used, means the imposing of *legal assessments* for the relief of the poor, by the heritors and kirk-sessions of particular parishes, and this is all that it can mean, because no other principle has ever been introduced into Scotland: assuming this to be the case, let it be inquired for a little, what portion of truth there is in the assertion. It is a fact which admits of no dispute, that, in the Scotch counties of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*, there have in almost every parish been legal assessments for the relief of the poor for a long series of years past, while in the Scotch counties of *Kirkcubright* and *Wigtown*, such assessments are rare, comparatively speaking, even at this day. But, will any one venture to say, that the labouring classes in the counties of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*, are in a worse condition than those in the counties of *Kirkcubright* and *Wigtown*? He must be a bold man indeed, who will take upon him to make this assertion! Though the labouring classes of the two former counties are not, perhaps, to be compared in point of comfort or good living with the possessors of the neat, clean, and comfortable cottages and gardens before spoken of, they are still pretty far removed from want, and it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction from any one at all acquainted with the matter, that in their persons, their clothing, and their *habitations*, they are decidedly superior to the same classes in any of those portions of Scotland where recourse has not yet been had to the English “ principle ” of legal assessment.

If farther proof on this point be wanted, let the person desirous of having it, take a ride of a fortnight at any convenient season, beginning at the southern part of the *English* county of *Northumberland*, travelling northward through that county, westward through the Scotch counties of *Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, *Dumfries*, *Kirkcubright*, and *Wigtown*, and then passing across to Ireland. He will thus have an opportunity of observing the effects of the poor-laws, in all their gradations, from the old English system, to no system at all. In *Northumberland*, where the old English system prevails, he will see among the working classes nearly all the comfort that could be wished. In *Berwickshire* and *Roxburghshire*, he will witness a little, and but a very little, diminution of that comfort. As he passes along, he will observe gradually less and less of it at every step. When he arrives in IRELAND, where there are *no poor-laws*, and where, consequently, from the unobstructed operation of the “ spur ” aforesaid, there ought according to theory, to be no debasement and no want, he will find a labouring population, the most wretched, perhaps, that ever was seen upon the face of the earth! And if he will take the trouble of questioning the miserable beggars whom he will observe in shoals upon the road, after he enters *Dumfriesshire*, he will learn from the dialect, if not from the words in which their answers are given, that nineteen out of every twenty of them have come from the West!

One of the well-known effects of poor-laws is, to *raise the wages of labour* and *lower the rents of land*: and hence it is that landlords hate them! Of three acres of tithe-free land of equal quality, one situate in England, another in Scotland, and the third in Ireland, if the rent of the first be 20s., the rent of the second will be at least 40s., and the rent of the third, not less, perhaps, to the immediate cultivator than 4l. sterling. *Here the operation of the poor-laws is perfectly evident.* Where the access to relief is ready, as in England, the labourer must have a fair share of the pro-

duce of his own labour; where it is not so ready, as in Scotland, he must be content with somewhat less than a fair share; and where, as in Ireland, there is no relief at all, nearly all goes to rent, and nothing is left for him but potatoes. The introduction of poor-laws into Ireland would speedily cure this dreadful evil. After such introduction, the condition of the English and Scotch labourer would not be deteriorated by the influx of crowds of wretched Irishmen, accustomed to live upon the poorest sort of food, and willing to work for half wages; after such introduction, the condition of the Irish labourer himself would quickly be improved; and in a short time the world would cease to witness the monstrous anomaly of a country producing and annually exporting immense quantities of the best of human food, while the very labourers by whose toil that food is produced, are precluded from touching any portion of it, compelled, in the most favourable seasons, to live upon a miserable root, and when that root fails them, reduced to a state of absolute starvation!

I think it a pity that so many of those members of Parliament, who, from their *other* acts, seem to be sincerely anxious for the good of the country, should labour under so complete a delusion on this all-important subject. A man who knows *England alone*, who has been accustomed to hear the *squalling* of the rate-payers there (and all payers of money squall occasionally), and who has fallen in with two or three Scotchmen more cunning than honest "i' the South," has a very imperfect knowledge indeed. He ought to see and examine the people of both countries. Were he to do this, his ignorance would be speedily removed, both as to rate-payers and as to rate-receivers. He would hear a tenant of the *Earl of Lonsdale in Cumberland or Westmoreland*, complain bitterly of the demands of the overseer; but, if he asked that same tenant to exchange situations with a tenant of the *Earl of Mansfield in Dunfriesshire* on whom no overseer for the poor ever calls, he would soon discover that poor-rates, under the old English system, are

not such a grievance as he was led to fancy. He would find, that, while they certainly and surely *better the condition of the labourer*, they, at the same time, barring mis-management, always ensure better profits to the farmer.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

JAS. LITTLE.

So much for the Scotch poor-laws, and for their effects, so much for that "*elevation of character*"; that "*independence*," of which we hear so much, as produced by the Scotch system of managing the poor.

Thus, then, we have three countries to make laws for. In one we have seen the labouring people for ages, living in neat cottages, with pretty gardens, and with table cloths, knives and forks, and meat, bread, and beer: one, the people living in filthy holes, without table cloths, knives or forks, or meat, or bread; their legs and feet bare, and their sole diet, the coarsest of oatmeal: one, the people living solely upon potatoes, at the best, inhabiting the same sty with the pig, with their bodies half naked. One would think that it was the state of the *two latter* countries, which would awaken in us a desire to make a change in them, with regard to the treatment of the poor; but this is so far from being the case, that we propose to leave these two countries just as they are, and are hard at work to make a change in the state of the first country. This we produce to the people as a mark of our sincerity. The *real object* of this bill has been closely disguised; but, before it become a law, that object will be clearly understood by every man in the kingdom.

With regard to the proceedings on this bill in the House of Commons, the House was in a committee on the clauses, on last Friday night, on Monday night, and on Wednesday night, when the remainder of the clauses were gone through. On Friday I moved the following:

"That there be laid before this House

"an account of all salaries, allowances, printing expenses, expenses of messengers, and expenses of every description occasioned by the Poor-Laws Commission; also a statement whether any of the Commissioners hold other commissions, or fill any offices for which they receive any pay out of the public purse; specifying what commission, or what office, and also specifying the sum or sums so received; and stating further, whether the secretary to the Commissioners holds any other post of emolument, and what post, and the amount of such emolument."

This motion was agreed to, but the papers have not yet been laid before the House. On Monday I moved the following resolution, previous to the Speaker leaving the chair; and this motion was rejected by the following numbers:

For the motion, . . . 5
Against it 113

Majority 108

"That it is just and expedient to enact that, before any assessment for the relief of the poor shall hereafter be made upon the general property, in any parish of England or Wales, an assessment shall be made on the revenue of the incumbent of such parish, arising from the benefice thereof, to the amount of one-fourth of the net annual amount of the said revenue; that a like assessment, for the same purpose, shall be made on all abbey-lands, and on impropriate tithes (if such there be), in each parish respectively, to the amount of one-fourth of the net annual receipt from the rents or profits of such abbey-lands, or such impropriate or lay-tithes; that no other assessment, for the relief of the poor, shall be made in any parish, unless the amount of these assessments shall be found insufficient for giving relief to the poor, according to the provisions of the act of the 43rd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and that, if these assessments be found insufficient in any parish,

"then shall be made, in aid thereof, on the whole of the lands and tenements and tithes in such parish, including the abbey-lands, the impropriate or lay-tithes, and also the tithes, manse, and glebe, of the incumbent of the parish, an assessment, agreeably to the said act, passed in the 43rd year of Elizabeth."

Those who voted in the minority were:

William Cobbett.
Feargus O'Connor.
John Fielden.
W. F. Finn.
E. Ruthven, jun.

On Wednesday night I moved the following proviso to the seventy-third clause, which clause provides that the fathers, grandfathers, mothers, grandmothers, child, or children, of persons chargeable on the parish, shall, if they have the means of doing it, relieve themselves, and take the charge from the parish. Whereupon I moved this proviso, which I now insert,

"Provided always, that, in manner as aforesaid, the fathers, grandfathers, mothers, grandmothers, child, or children, of any person who is upon the pension list, the sinecure list, the list of retired allowances, list of widows' pensions, compassionate list, and all or any of the other lists of persons receiving, without service, money of taxes raised upon the working people, and others, shall, if such father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, child, or children, be persons of substance, be liable and compellable to yield relief, or maintenance to such pensioned person, under all the penalties and forfeitures provided for by the act of the forty-third of Elizabeth; and that, henceforward, all such pensions and other emoluments shall cease to be paid."

I divided the House upon this proviso, when the numbers were:

Against it . . . 113
For it 18

Majority 95

Those who voted in the minority were as follow :

Blake, M. J.
Buckingham, J. S.
Butler, Colonel
Cobbett, W.
Fielden, John
Finn, W. F.
Gaskell, D.
Gulley, John
Hodges, T. Law
Heathcote, John
Maxwell, John
O'Connor, Feargus
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connell, John
O'Brien, —
Ruthven, Edward
Thompson, Alderman

On the same evening Mr. ROBINSON, member for WORCESTER, after a very able speech, made a motion to leave out all the clauses relating to bastardy, those being the clauses from 69 to 72, inclusive. This motion was rejected, the numbers being :

Against Mr. Robinson's motion 114
For it..... 33

Majority 81

The names of the minority I cannot obtain, at present. After this the other clauses were gone through, and the House appears to have separated at four o'clock in the morning. It is to go into the subject again on Saturday (after this *Register* will have come from the press), and it is supposed, that the House of Commons will have done with it in a week or ten days. Here, in print, I cannot say of this bill, that which I wish to say, but the people of OLDHAM have enabled me to say it in the House, and in the House I say it; and if it pass into a law, the consequences will be, I hope, such as they ought to be.

I have received a sort of circular recommendation upon this subject, full of good sense, that I am very sorry to be compelled to believe will not be listened to. I insert it here as well worthy the attention of my readers, and still more

worthy the attention of members of Parliament.

To the Members of the British Legislature.

Much experience, and more observation on the subject, during the last thirty years, will, I trust, obtain for me your pardon, for thus addressing you, as a legislator, on the proposed alteration of our poor-laws. Those laws, after the experience of two hundred and forty years, are allowed, even by the advocates of a change, to be intrinsically good; the evils complained of being admitted to arise from their violation. The subject is of vital importance to many of the poorer classes, and equally so to the general prosperity of the country. In such case many evils may result from precipitancy; none can arise from due consideration. What I have humbly to propose is, "that so soon as the bill comes out of committee and is printed, a copy of it shall be sent to every parish in the kingdom, requiring the overseers, subject to a penalty, to call a public meeting of the rate-payers in each, and to transmit the resolutions and opinions of such meeting on the subject, to Government, by a certain time." By this means the collective sense of the whole nation will be obtained. As the subject is one which affects individual parishes differently, and each has to bear its own burden, they must certainly be the best judges of the probable effects of the bill as bearing upon themselves, and as the question has become so generally impressed upon their notice, there can be no danger of a little delay being materially injurious in any case. As, therefore, no calculable injury can arise, but, on the contrary, much possible evil may be prevented, and good done by the proposed postponement, I hope that you will exert your influence in every way to promote it, in which hope,

I remain,

With the highest respect,

Your truly obedient Servant,

SAMUEL ROBERTS.

Park Grange, 17. June, 1844.

We have been told, that one of the motives for passing this bill is, to put an end to parish-jobbing. The poor-law commissioners, in their report, have published an instance of this jobbing in the parish of St. Luke, Middlesex, on the evidence given them by a Mr. RICHMOND, one of the guardians of the poor of that parish. The guardians of the poor of that parish have met, and have made a publication as follows. This publication is well worthy the attention of every man in the kingdom. It shows what reliance is to be placed upon the evidence raked together by these commissioners. Here is the character of this parish aspersed, and the aspersions sent, at the country's expense, all over the kingdom, and, which is worse, this evidence is made the foundation of a law oversetting the most important laws in existence. The publication is as follows :

POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

St. Luke, Middlesex.

At a general meeting of the vestrymen of this parish, held in the church on Thursday, the 5. of June, 1834, publicly convened, to take into consideration certain evidence said to have been given by Mr. RICHMOND, one of the guardians of the poor of this parish, to the commissioners of the poor-laws, as printed in their Report: viz "When I came into office it was a recognised principle that the purchase of commodities for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish. The effects of the patronage incident to the purchase of goods to the amount of upwards of 20,000*l.* per annum, from shopkeepers within the parish, patronage exercised by a Board who are themselves shopkeepers, or connected with shopkeepers, may well be conceived. For several years I have contended, but unsuccessfully, for the universal application of the principle that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, provided they gave the requisite security for the due performance of the contract. On investigating the

" purchases of goods within the parish, I found that some of the charges were upwards of 40 per cent. above the market prices. Whatever opposition may be made against an extensive or efficient reform, or generalization of the management of the funds for the relief of the poor, will be based on the retention of parochial patronage and power, although such a motive will never be ostensibly avowed. I have no doubt they will even assume that extended management will be more profuse than their own."

Mr. WILLIAM WOOD, Churchwarden,
in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,—That the statement made by Mr. Richmond, to the commissioners of poor-law inquiry is utterly *without foundation in truth*, because it is clearly proved that instead of its being a "recognised principle," that the purchase of goods for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesman of the parish, upon an average of the last seven years, five-sixths of the sums laid out have been expended with persons living out of the parish, that instead of goods being purchased to the amount of 20,000*l.* per annum, the whole amount has very little exceeded 6,000*l.* upon an average, and has not in any one year amounted to 7,000*l.*, and of that sum only 1,040*l.* per annum, upon an average, instead of upwards of 20,000*l.* has been expended with tradesmen in the parish; that instead of Mr. Richmond having had to contend unsuccessfully for the universal application of the principle, that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, that principle was in operation long before Mr. Richmond entered the parish, and continues to the present time, it being the regular practice to contract for the supply of all the principal articles of consumption with those who made the lowest tender, whether they resided in or out of the parish, after advertisements in the daily papers; that instead of the purchase of goods being used as a means of patronage and power, the tradesmen employed to

serve the parish with those articles that could not be contracted for, have frequently been persons opposed to the guardians of the poor upon parochial matters, as was the case in the person alluded to by Mr. Richmond, who made an overcharge upon an article amounting to 30s., and was detected (but not by Mr. Richmond), and was declared by the guardian board disqualified from ever supplying goods to the workhouse again.

That the following tabular statement details the exact amounts of the whole expenditure in the purchase of goods during the last seven years, together with the manner in which those goods have been obtained :

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Years ending Lady-day | 1828 | 1829 | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | 1833 | 1834 |
| Gross amount paid for Goods | £ 653 | 598 | 625 | 532 | 641 | 594 | 5483 |
| Out of which contracted for by public advertisement | 45 | 59 | 455 | 461 | 371 | 441 | 4526 |
| Not contracted for | 1977 | 2429 | 1614 | 1624 | 2030 | 1414 | 1202 |
| Of which bought out of the parish | 578 | 940 | 614 | 611 | 872 | 945 | 445 |
| Bought in the parish | £ 1399 | 1489 | 1000 | 1013 | 1158 | 469 | 757 |

There is a gross deception as to the amount of money actually expended on

the poor. The whole sum raised in the name of poor-rates, amounts to 8,700,000*l* ; and this is all set down to the poor. My belief is that the poor get very little more than one half of it. The following letter from BOLTON will elucidate this matter in a most satisfactory manner.

TO MR. COBBETT, M.P.

Bolton, 10. June, 1834.

Sir,—In the London papers of Saturday, I saw the report of a speech delivered by you in the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, as it is called, which you concluded by giving notice of a motion for a select committee to inquire into the cause of the poor-rates before the bill was further proceeded in.

Agreeing as I do with the views you have taken with regard to this very important measure, I think it may not be amiss to send you the report of the overseers of the poor for the township of Little-Bolton, by which you will see, that the money collected under the denomination of poor-rates is disposed of, for other purposes than that of relieving the poor. That out of 1,455*l*., 745*l*. are paid to the poor, and 710*l* go for salaries to the overseer, to the collector of the rates, for session fees, &c., &c., the particulars of which I will put down in order that you may have the items in one view before you, as the remainder of the report consists in money paid to the poor belonging to other places, which is repayable, and to bastardy cases which is also repayable, and consequently not necessarily connected with the object I have in view. I will just add that the township of Little-Bolton has not lost 20*l*. in the last twenty years by fathers of illegitimate children. If the proposed amendment had been law during that time the township would have lost many hundreds of pounds, besides the demoralizing effects which such a system would have engendered.

Hoping you will obtain the appointment of a committee for the purpose mentioned in your notice, in order that

honourable gentlemen may see causes at work other than those of the poor-laws, by which their estates are in greater danger of being swallowed up.

PAID TO THE POOR.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Regular Poor, as per list .. | 599 | 4 | 9 |
| Casual Poor | 4 | 7 | 8 |
| Clothing | 6 | 0 | 2 |
| Burials | 28 | 10 | 5 |
| Turton Workhouse | 75 | 2 | 0 |
| Dispensary Subscription and | | | |
| Surgeons | 16 | 1 | 0 |
| Edgworth Workhouse | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| Vagrants | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| Journeys and Removals .. | 11 | 16 | 7 |
| | £ 745 | 9 | 4 |

OTHER EXPENSES.

| | £ | s. |
|---------------------------|-------|-----|
| County Rates | 338 | 2 |
| Cleaning, Coals, &c. | 8 | 12 |
| Stationery, &c. | 15 | 0 |
| Salaries | 200 | 0 |
| Sessions Fees, &c. | 6 | 11 |
| Summonses and Warrants | 3 | 18 |
| Constables Accounts | 94 | 1 |
| Law Expenses | 33 | 2 |
| Sundry Accounts | 2 | 6 |
| Lists for County and Bo- | | |
| rough votes | 6 | 19 |
| Assessors | 1 | 4 |
| Postages of Letters | 4 | 10 |
| | £ 714 | 9 9 |

These are all collected under the denomination of poor-rates.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

THOS. MYERSCOUGH.

The union. This astonished me very much, knowing how good a man and how sound a politician General Cockburn is. In consequence of which the General has written to me to say, that the passage was *wholly ironical*, and that he was far from believing any such thing. I believe him most sincerely; and am very glad that he has furnished me with an opportunity of correcting a passage in his letter calculated to give great pain to so many good men.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

Two numbers of this work will be published on the 1. of next month, and three numbers on the 1. of August; and this will complete the work, chronological table, index, and all; and then I shall have done my duty with regard to "THE SOVEREIGN," and his fishings on VIRGINIA Water; and his palaces and his gateways, and his pony phaetons, and his gilded carpets, so much admired and praised by the ever-damned tax-devourers of London. Ah! this is the solace of my life, to look back at, and to describe how it is, that the greedy and blundering fellows, who have had the affairs of this nation in their hands, have brought themselves into their present pretty pickle. I have just finished the history of PAEL's bill. I lose myself in ecstasy, when I look back at their arrogance and insolence, and then turn my eyes to behold them in their present precious plight, in which they are now receiving the just reward of that arrogance and insolence; and there is no part of them, whose present situation I view with more pleasure than that of the parsons.

SCOTCH POOR-LAWS.

MR. O'CONNELL.

Scarcely a week ago, General Cockburn published a letter in the newspapers, in which he stated his suspicion that Mr. O'Connell was bribed by the Whigs to urge on the question of a repeal of

As we are going to make the labourers of England as happy and as well off as those in Scotland, by taking from them their right to relief, it may not be amiss to hear from Scotch ploughmen their own account of their own situation. I have no doubt, but they have

been stirred up by the discussions which have taken place on this subject. That which is now passing in Parliament is read in the Isle of SKY, and in the ORKNEYS; and I should not be at all surprised if this attempt to extinguish the glorious poor-laws of England were to extend them to Scotland and Ireland. The matter will be now *understood*, and that is a great thing. I recommend the perusal of this article to all my readers, and particularly to Mr. HOWE.

(From the Glasgow Chronicle, 16 June)

A public meeting of the ploughmen of the Carse of Gowrie was held on the 5. instant, at Inchtute, (it being the most central place in the district), for the purpose of forming an association to procure a reduction in their hours of labour. A band of music was in attendance. A series of resolutions were passed to the effect, that from and after Martinmas next, the regular hours of working shall be ten hours per day in summer and eight in winter, but that in seed time, hay time, and harvest, they shall work additional hours, to be paid for such additional hours at the rate of day labourers. The meeting was addressed at considerable length by several individuals, all ploughmen. James Beg, in depicting the toils and hardships to which ploughmen were subjected, said that the ploughmen of the Carse of Gowrie worked twice as much as the negroes in the West Indies. Another speaker imputed the evils to which the ploughmen and their employers, the farmers, as well as the manufacturing operatives were subjected, to the present corn-laws, and maintained that the landlords were the only gainers by these laws. After stating the expectations formed by the farmers of what would be the result of the corn-laws, in keeping up the price of corn, he proceeded as follows: 'They, therefore, took farms at a rent that required these prices, before they could pay it. The prices, however, fell much lower: at present wheat does not exceed 50s. per quarter. Your masters, the farmers, are thus rushing rapidly into ruin, and vainly

strive to save themselves a little by keeping you too many hours at work. You must, however, have at them, if they complain of poverty, tell them you cannot help that; they must insist for a reduction of rent from the laird; that you have submitted too long to an almost unprecedented toll and poverty; and that it would be a blessing for both of you to assist one another in effecting a complete removal of the evil. They will strive to frighten you by speaking of bringing over Irish labourers to fill your places. But I can tell you, that, though they did, they would not keep them three months. (Cheers) They would find they had not the cannie Scot to deal with, (cheers); they would find they had got as ugly customers as the stack burners of England. (Great cheering). The meeting, which consisted of upwards of six hundred persons, all more or less connected with agricultural labour, separated in the greatest order, after appointing a committee to make arrangements for carrying their views into effect.

A BILL FOR THE AMENDMENT AND BETTER ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS RELATING TO THE POOR IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

[Note.—The words printed in *italics* are proposed to be inserted in the committee.]

(Concluded from p. 697)

And be it further enacted, That in case any overseer, assistant overseer, master of a work-house, or other officer of any parish or union, shall refuse or wilfully neglect to aid and assist the guardians of such parish or union, or shall disobey their reasonable orders in carrying the lawful rules, orders and regulations of the said commissioners or assistant commissioners or the provisions of this act into execution, every such offender shall, upon conviction before any two justices, forfeit and pay for every such offence any sum not exceeding five pounds.

And be it further enacted, That if any overseer, assistant overseer, master of a work-house, or other paid officer, or any other person employed by or under the authority of the said guardians shall purloin, embezzle, or wilfully waste or misapply any of the money, goods or chattels belonging to any parish or union, every such offender shall, upon conviction before any two justices, forfeit and pay for every such offence any sum not exceeding

twenty pounds, and also ~~to~~ the amount or value of such money, goods or chattels so pilloined, embezzled, wasted or misapplied, and every person so convicted shall be for ever thereafter incapable of serving any office under the provisions of this or any other act in relation to the relief of the poor.

And be it further enacted, That in case any person shall wilfully neglect or disobey any of the lawful rules, orders or regulations of the said commissioners or assistant commissioners, such person shall, upon conviction before any two justices, forfeit and pay for the first offence any sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence any sum not exceeding twenty pounds nor less than five pounds; and in the event of such person being convicted a third time, such third and every subsequent offence shall be deemed a *misdemeanour*, and such offender shall be liable to be indicted for the same offence, and shall on conviction pay such fine, not being less than twenty pounds, and suffer such imprisonment as may be awarded against him by the court by or before which he shall be tried and convicted.

And be it further enacted, That all penalties and forfeitures by this act inflicted or authorized to be imposed for any offence against the same shall, upon proof and conviction of the offences respectively before any two justices, either by the confession of the party offending, or by the oath of any creditable witness or witnesses, (which oath such justices are in every case hereby fully authorized to administer), or upon order made as aforesaid, be levied, together with the costs attending the information, summonses, and conviction, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels, of the offender, or person liable or ordered to pay the same respectively, by warrant under the hands of the justices before whom the party may have been convicted, (which warrant such justices are hereby empowered and required to grant), and the overplus (if any) after such penalties and forfeitures, and the charges of such distress and sale, are deducted, shall be returned, upon demand, unto the owner or owners of such goods and chattels; and in case such fines, penalties and forfeitures shall not be forthwith paid upon conviction, then it shall be lawful for such justices as aforesaid, to order the offender or offenders so convicted to be detained and kept in safe custody until return can be conveniently made to such warrant of distress, unless the offender or offenders shall give sufficient security to the satisfaction of such justices as aforesaid, for his or their appearance before such justices on such day or days as shall be appointed for the return of such warrant of distress, such day or days not being more than seven days from the time of taking any such security, and which security the said justices as aforesaid are hereby empowered to take by way of recognizance or otherwise; but if upon the return of such warrant it shall appear that no sufficient security can be had thereupon, then it shall be law-

ful for any such justices as aforesaid, as the case may be, and they are hereby authorized and required, by warrant or warrants under their hands, to commit such offender or offenders to be committed to the common jail or House of Correction of the county, riding or place where the offender shall be or reside, there to remain without bail or mainprize for any term not exceeding three calendar months, unless such penalties and forfeitures, and all reasonable charges attending the same, shall be sooner paid and satisfied; and the penalties and forfeitures when so levied shall be paid to or for the use of the parish or union where such offence shall have been committed, to be applied in aid of the poor-rate of such parish or union.

And be it further enacted, That in all cases in which any penalty or forfeiture is recoverable before the justices of the peace under this act, it shall and may be lawful for any commissioner or assistant commissioner, or any justice, to whom complaint shall be made of any such offence, to summon the party complained against to appear before any two justices, and on such summons the said two justices may hear and determine the maker of such complaint, and on proof of the offence, convict the offender, and adjudge him to pay the penalty or forfeiture incurred, and proceed to recover the same, although no information in writing shall have been exhibited or taken by or before such justices; and all such proceedings by summons without information shall be as good, valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as if an information in writing had been exhibited.

And be it further enacted, That where any distress shall be made for any sum of money to be levied by virtue of this act, the distress itself shall not be deemed unlawful, nor the party making the same be deemed a trespasser, on account of any default or want of form in any proceedings relating thereto, nor shall the party distraining be deemed a trespasser ab initio on account of any irregularity which shall afterwards happen in making the distress, but the person aggrieved by such irregularity may recover full satisfaction for the special damage in an action on the case: Provided always, that no plaintiff shall recover in any action for any irregularity, trespass or wrongful proceedings, if tender of sufficient amends shall be made, by or on behalf of the party who shall have committed or caused to be committed any such irregularity, trespass or wrongful proceedings, before such action shall have been brought; and in case no such tender shall have been made, it shall and may be lawful for the defendant in any such action, by leave of the court where such action shall depend, at any time before issue joined, to pay into court such sum of money as he shall see fit, whereupon such proceedings, or orders and judgment shall be had, made and given in and by such court as in other actions where the defendant is allowed to pay money into court.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That if any person or persons shall find himself, herself or themselves aggrieved by any order or conviction of any justice or justices, where such person or persons shall be convicted in any penalty or penalties exceeding five pounds, it shall be lawful for such person or persons to appeal to any general or quarter sessions of the peace to be held in and for the county, riding or division in which such order shall have been made or conviction taken place, within four calendar months next after the cause of complaint shall have arisen, or if such sessions shall be held before the expiration of one calendar month next after such cause of complaint, then such appeal shall be made to the next following sessions, either of which court of sessions is hereby empowered to hear and finally determine the matter of the said appeal, and to make such order therein as to them shall seem meet, which order shall be final and conclusive to and upon all parties, provided that the person or persons so appealing shall give, or cause to be given, at least fourteen days' notice in writing of his, her or their intention of appealing as aforesaid, and of the matter or cause thereof, to the respondent or respondents, and within five days after such notice, shall enter into a recognizance, before some justice of the peace, with sufficient securities, conditioned to try such appeal at the then next general sessions or quarter sessions of the peace, which shall first happen, and to abide the order of and pay such costs as shall be awarded by the justices at such quarter sessions, or any adjournment thereof, and such justices, upon hearing and finally determining such matter of appeal, shall and may, according to their discretion, award such costs to the party appealing, or appealed against, as they shall think proper, and their determination in or concerning the premises shall be conclusive and binding on all parties to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, That no action or suit shall be commenced against any commissioner, assistant commissioner, or any other person for any thing done in pursuance of or under the authority of this act until twenty-one days' notice has been given thereof in writing to the party or person against whom such action is intended to be brought, nor after sufficient satisfaction or tender thereof shall have been made to the party aggrieved, nor after three calendar months next after the act committed for which such action shall be so brought, and every such action shall be brought, laid, and tried, where the cause of action shall have arisen, and not in any other county or place; and the defendant in such action or suit may plead the general issue, and give this act and any special matter in evidence at any trial which shall be had thereupon; and if the matter or thing shall appear to have been done under or by virtue of this act, or if it shall appear that such action or suit was brought before twenty-one

days' notice thereof, given as aforesaid, or that sufficient satisfaction was made or tendered as aforesaid, or if any action or suit shall not be commenced within the time before limited, or shall be laid in any other county than as aforesaid, then the jury shall find a verdict for the defendant therein, and if a verdict shall be found for such defendant, or if the plaintiff in such action or suit shall become nonsuit, or suffer a discontinuance of such action; or if, upon any demurrer in such action, judgment shall be given for the defendant therein, then and in any of the cases aforesaid such defendant shall have costs as between attorney and client, and shall have such remedy for recovering the same as any defendant may have for his or her costs in any other case by law.

And be it further enacted, That in the construction of this act,

The word "auditor" shall be construed to mean and include every person, other than justices of the peace acting in virtue of their office, appointed or empowered to audit, control, examine, allow or disallow the accounts of any guardian, overseer or vestrymen relating to the receipt or expenditure of the poor rate.

The words "general rule" shall be construed to mean any rule relating to the management of the poor, or to the execution of this act, which shall be addressed by the said commissioners to more than one union, or to more parishes or places, than one not forming a union, or not to be formed into or added to a union under or by virtue of such rule.

The word "guardian" shall be construed to mean and include any visitor, governor, director, manager, acting guardian, or other officer in a parish or union, appointed or entitled to act as a manager of the poor, and in the distribution or ordering of relief to the poor from the poor-rate, under any general or local act of parliament.

The word "justice" shall be construed to mean justice of the peace, and to include justices of the peace of any division of a county, riding, borough, liberty, division of a liberty, precinct, county of a city, county of a town, cinque port, or town corporate.

The word "oath" shall be construed to include the affirmation of a Quaker, Sepoiteist or Moravian.

The words "orders and regulations" shall be construed to mean and include any rule, order, regulation or by-law relating to the management or relief of the poor, or the execution of this act, which shall be addressed, directed or applied to any one parish or union, or to any number of parishes which have been or by virtue of any order shall be constituted as a union, or added to a union.

The word "overseer" shall be construed to mean and include overseers of the poor,

churchwardens, so far as they are authorized or required by law to act in the management or relief of the poor, or in the collection or distribution of the poor-rate, assistant overseer, or any other subordinate officer, whether paid or unpaid, in any parish or union, who shall be employed therein in carrying this act or the laws for the relief of the poor into execution :

The word "owner" shall be construed to include any person for the time being in possession of any property rateable to the relief of the poor, and not let at rack-rent, or receiving the rack-rent of any such property, either on his own account or as trustee, agent or receiver of any other person entitled to receive the same, or as mortgagee or other encumbrancer in possession ; and the words "rack rent" shall be construed to mean any rent which shall not be less than two-thirds of the full improved net value of any property :

The word "parish" shall be construed to include any parish, city, borough, town, township, liberty, precinct, vill, village, hamlet, tithing, chapelry, or any other place, or division or district of a place, maintaining its own poor, whether parochial or extra-parochial :

The word "person" shall be construed to include any body politic corporate or collegiate, aggregate or sole, as well as any individual :

The word "poor" shall be construed to include any pauper or poor or indigent person applying for or receiving relief from the poor-rate in England or Wales, or chargeable thereto :

The words "poor-law," or "laws for the relief of the poor," shall be construed to include every act of parliament for the time being in force, and not at variance with the provisions of this act, for the relief or management of the poor, or relating to the execution of the same, or the administration of such relief :

The words "poor-rate" shall be construed to include any rate, rate in aid, mulct, cess, assessment, collection, levy, lay, subscription, or contribution, raised, assessed, imposed, levied, collected or disbursed for the relief of the poor in any parish or union :

The word "union" shall be construed to include any number of parishes united for any purpose whatever under the provisions of this act, or incorporated under the said act made and passed in the twenty-second year of his late Majesty King George the Third, intitled, "An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor," or incorporated for the relief or maintenance of the poor under any

The words "united workhouse" shall be construed to mean and include any workhouse of a union :

The word "vestry" shall be construed to mean any open, customary or select vestry, or any meeting of inhabitants convened by any notice such as would have been required for the assembling of a meeting in vestry, at which meeting any business relating to the poor or the poor-rate shall be transacted or taken into consideration, so far as such business is concerned :

The word "workhouse" shall be construed to include any house or building purchased, erected, hired, or used at the expense of the poor-rate, by any parish, vestry, guardian, or overseer, for the reception, employment, classification, or relief of any poor person therein at the expense of such parish :

And wherever in this act, in describing any person or party, matter or thing, the word importing the singular number or the masculine gender only is used, the same shall be understood to include and shall be applied to several persons or parties as well as one person or party, and females as well as males, and several matters or things as well as one matter or thing respectively, unless there be something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction.

And be it further enacted, That this act may be altered, amended or repealed in this present session of Parliament.

RIGHTS OF THE POOR.

I RE-PUBLISH the following from the Introduction of the second part, or second volume of my HISTORY of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION. The resolution moved in the House of Commons by me, on Monday night, was founded upon the matter contained in the extract, which I beseech the undivided attention of the reader. He will here find every thing that is required fully to justify that resolution ; and it is my firm conviction that a law will be passed consonant with that resolution, at no very distant day.

1. The foregoing PART of this work contains the History of the Protestant "Reformation," the object of which was to show, and, I trust, it has shown most clearly, that that event "has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people." In speaking of the motives to the producing of the event, I said, that a fair and honest inquiry would teach us, that the chief of those motives was PLUNDER. The inquiry was fair and honest, and it has taught to every reader, that plunder was the main object, and, indeed, the

only object, with all the most active, and the most powerful, of the actors in that drama of devastation. The chief object of the present little volume is to show, as far as my means will enable me, the enormous extent and amount of that plunder.

2. To this end I here present to the reader the LIST, which is described in the title-page, but which stands in need of those short explanations which I am now about to give; and, when I have given which, I shall add some observations, which, while they are suggested by bare justice to our well-fed and well-clad Catholic forefathers, are, as the reader will see, imperiously demanded at my hands by mercy to ourselves, their unfortunate, half-famished, ragged, pauperized descendants.

3. The EXPLANATIONS, to which I have alluded in the last paragraph, relate chiefly to the arrangement of the several articles in the list. The order is alphabetical throughout, except that WALES follows ENGLAND, leaving IRELAND to come last. The list, for England, begins, of course, with Bedfordshire, and ends with Yorkshire. Then, under the name of each county, the order is alphabetical again: the list for Bedfordshire, for instance, beginning with Bedford, and ending with Woburn.

4. In each article I have given, as far as my materials would enable me, 1. A description of the nature of the foundation; 2. The name of the founder; 3. The date of the foundation; 4. The estimated yearly value at the time of the confiscation by Henry VIII.; 5. The present yearly value, according to the change in the value of money; 6. By what king, or queen, the property was granted away; 7. To whom it was granted. I will here give a specimen in the article just mentioned. "At Woburn: A Cistercian Abbey, founded near this place, in the year 1145, by Hugh de Bolebec. Valued at 430*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*, now worth 8,613*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* Granted, 1 Edward VI., to John Lord Russell."

5. Alas! when the Russells were hunting the poor Catholics about, in the reign of Charles II., I wonder whether they ever thought of pious and generous Hugh de Bolebec! Bishop TANNER tells us, that this grant was made to Russell in the first year of Edward VI.; Doctor HAYLIN tells us that the people of Devonshire rose, in the second year of Edward VI., and, amongst other things, demanded that some of the monasteries should be re-established; and HUME tells us, that they were, at last, quelled, and punished by martial law, by Lord Russell; aided by German troops! Alas! and poor Hugh de Bolebec never thought of all the while, I would almost be sworn!

6. The whole of the articles are not so perfect in their information as is the one above cited. In some the name of the grantee has not been to be come at; in others the situation is not recorded; in others the name of the founder is wanting; and, with regard to Ire-

land, the information is still more scanty, and that, too, in every respect, and in a very great degree. Nevertheless the LIST, taken altogether, is, I trust it will be thought, a very interesting historical and statistical document, and will be found very commodious as a work of reference; for, if you see, or hear of, any ancient foundation, in any part of the kingdom, and wish to know what it was, and when it arose, how it was put down, and who got it; knowing in what county it is, you turn to the county, which you will find in the order of the alphabet. Then, knowing in or near what city, town, or village it is, you turn, according to the alphabet, to the city, town, or village; or, to the usual name of the abbey, priory, or other foundation. Thus you, with as little inconvenience as possible, get at the best information that I have been able to give.

7. But, it is in the main, it is as the ground of a general conclusion, that the contents of this volume, are of the greatest importance. Here are about two hundred pages of close print filled with a bare list of pieces of once public property, now worth from one hundred pounds to upwards of fifty thousand pounds a year each! Some few of the things in the list, as in the cases of several of the colleges, chapters, hospitals, and other foundations, still continue to be public property; but, these form but a comparatively small part of the general mass; and there is, after all, wholly left out of the list, the numerous private estates, seized on and granted away by the "Reformation" sovereigns, in virtue of acts of attainder and other means, grounded on the adherence of the owners to the religion of their fathers. As, for instance, estates like that of which COWDRY-HOUSE, in Sussex, was the chief seat, and which was seized on by Henry VIII., in virtue of the attainder of the Countess of Salisbury and her heirs, and granted by him to his physician, Sir ANTHONY BROWN, who obtained, from that execrable tyrant, manors and estates running over a considerable part of the north-west of Sussex and of the south-west of Surrey.

8. Besides the public property described in this list, there were the tithes, which were thus seized on and granted away to lay persons by the "Protestant Reformation" sovereigns. Until that event took place, no man had an idea, that it could be possible for tithes to be claimed by any but those who administered religion. But, it was soon found, that a large part of those tithes, the sole objects of which were the promotion of religion, and the relief of the poor and the stranger, had, all at once, by a mere touch of the Protestant wand, been converted into estates for the already nobles and rich men. Such they continue to this day; and, hence those monstrous things, called, *lay-impropriations*, giving, in many cases, thousands of pounds a year to a layman, who never sees the parish, and a few pounds a year to a clergyman who does whatever clerical duty is done in that same parish.

The whole affair was a real *taking away from the middle and lower classes, and a giving to the nobles and the rich*. Yet are there men so blind; or so perverse, as to think, or to pretend to think, that the thing, called the "Reformation," ought to be looked upon as "a blessing."

9. The whole of the rents of the estates of the church, including those tithes which were confiscated and transferred to lay-parsons, amount to, perhaps, *a third part of the whole rental of the kingdom*. There are no means of knowing what the amount really was; for the *valuation* was, in fact, no valuation at all. It was all plundering with one hand and squandering with the other, as may well be imagined, when the historians tell us, Old HARRY (the name which the English gave to the Devil for many years after Old Harry's death, and the name which the Americans give to the devil to this day), when historians tell us that Old HARRY gave a church-estate to a woman who had made a *pudding to please him*, and that Sir MILLS PARTRIDGE won a *ring of church bells* of him at dice! It is impossible to come at any thing like an exact account of the worth of the possessions of the Catholic church. Protestant writers have endeavoured to make the church's rental as *great as possible*, in order to exhibit the clergy as monstrous devourers of the national income. According to the *recorded valuations*, the rental did not amount to more than a *tenth* part of the rental of the kingdom. But, then, these valuations were founded, apparently, solely upon the *reserved rents*, leaving out fines, renewals, heriots, deadlands and various other sources of income, and, therefore, I agree with those historians, who think that the church income, including the impropriated tithes, amounted to a full third-part of the income of all the landowners (clergy included) in the whole nation.

10. Well, then, the good and thoughtless Protestant, who has been, as I was, duped from infancy to manhood; well, then, such good Protestant will ask: "Was not this a great deal too much to be devoured by a parcel of lazy monks and priests and nuns, who did no work of any kind, who lived but to eat and drink and sleep, and who kept the people in ignorance?" Now, my good brother Protestant, be you who you may, you cannot be more zealous or more loud upon this score than I was, for many years of my life; until I, at last, *examined for myself*; not the pages of lying, hired, place-hunting, pension-hunting, benefice-seeking, or rancorous historians; but the pages of the Statute-book and of the books of the ancient laws of my country. This being the case, you are entitled to a *hearing* and a kind answer, from your very natural question; and as I should, about ten years ago, very likely to put myself.

11. Now, then, if the monks and priests and nuns were such *lazy* people; if they

worked neither by hand nor head; if they did nothing but eat, drink and sleep; if this were their real character, and this the habit of their lives, how can you possibly believe, that they had any influence at all over the minds of the people? And, unless they had very great influence over their minds, how can you possibly believe, that they kept the people in ignorance? What, my friend! Were the people susceptible of knowledge? Had they (just as we have) nature's works and laws to enlighten them? Had they a desire to become skillful and learned? And, were they kept in a state of ignorance, were their capacities benumbed, and their propensities thus completely thwarted by *lazy creatures who lived only to eat, drink, and sleep*?

12. By this time, you, I am sure, begin to be ashamed of these assertions; and, the further I go the more fully will you be convinced, that you have been and are, as I formerly was, the dupe of those, who now live upon the spoils of the church of our fathers. Now, then, is it a *fact*, is it *true*, that the Catholic clergy kept, or endeavoured to keep, the people in IGNORANCE? This is a charge that fat and luxurious fellows of the present day are incessantly preferring against them, but, is it not a *false charge*? That it is a false charge you will find proved in the most satisfactory manner, in the first PART of this work, in paragraphs from 29 to 36, and in paragraphs from 129 to 134. But, my friend, look into the *present volume*. Turn over, zealous hater of "monkish ignorance"; turn over to the county of Oxford; then go on to *Oxford city*. Aye! there it is, in that "learned University," the colleges of which are all filled with rosy-gilled and most doctor-like Protestants, and the walls of which colleges incessantly ring with abuse poured forth on the Catholic religion, and especially on the clergy of that church, who are here, above all the places in the world, accused of *keeping the people in ignorance*. there it is, surely, that you will, my good Protestant friend, find something in the way of *proof* to make good this accusation! Turn over the leaves, then, and come to the word "*Oxford*."

13. What! Ave do! Rub your eyes bright, and then look again. What! nothing at all! Oh! everlasting shame on the name of Protestant! Not one single college, hall, or school, founded by Protestants, nor since the day that the word Protestant was pronounced in England! About twenty colleges in all, and all founded and endowed by Catholics; and, as if to put the columnators of the Catholic clergy to shame eternal, as if to make them undergo a sort of hell in this world, out of the twenty, eleven were founded by Catholic Bishops; two by Monks; one by Nuns; and five by Catholic Kings, nobles, gentlemen, and ladies. Aye, and here is the record, that the University itself was founded by Alvars, whose father took him to Rome, where he was educated by the Pope himself! Nay, as if all

this were not enough, here is the record, that the teaching at this University was begun by a monk, who came to England for the express purpose, and in gratitude for the services of whom Alfred founded and endowed a monastery for him at Winchester.

14. Thus, then, my good and true Protestant friend, we have, I think, settled the question about keeping the people in ignorance. We now come to the other assertion which is put forth by you, namely, that this full third part of the rents of the nation "was a great deal too much to be devoured by the monks and priests and nuns," and which you have, as I used to do, repeated out of the books of the really devouring vermin of the present day. Yes, it was "a great deal too much to be so devoured," but, then, my friend, you are not yet aware, that your basis is an assumed fact, and that this assumed fact is a most monstrous lie! In the first place it was physically impossible that they should devour a fifth part of it. How, for instance, were the fourteen monks in the Abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, to devour rents, which, in our money, amounted to 14,891*l* a year? BISHOP TANNAER (a Protestant bishop, mind), says, that "all the monasteries were, in effect, great schools and great hospitals (meaning, in those days, places of hospitality), and were, many of them, obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. In short, their hospitality was such, that, in the Priory of Norwich, one thousand *flor* lunched quarters of malt, and above eight hundred quarters of wheat, and all other things in proportion, were generally spent every year."

15. There! my good duped Protestant friend, that is the way, in which monks and nuns "devoured" their rents! There were but 22 monks in this Priory, so that, in fact, they were the mere agents for distributing amongst the needy and the strangers the rents of their estates. Ah! Good God! what has the thing called the "Reformation" produced at Norwich! Who is there at Norwich NOW to keep hospital? "St. Andrew's Hall," as it is now called, which was the church of this Priory, is the Corn-Market, and now hears, instead of the chantings of its benevolent monks, the chaffings and the cheapings, the lying and raguish cant, of sly Quaker corn-monopolizers. The questions here now are, not how and when malt and wheat shall be distributed to the poor and the stranger, but how they shall be hoarded up, made dear, and kept from the thirsty and the hungry. It was from the platform, on which once stood the high-altar of this Priory, that I addressed to the people of Norfolk, that *Petition*, which they did me the honour to pass, which was afterwards presented to the Parliament, which now lies on the table of the House of Commons, and which is, I trust, destined finally, to be the ground-work of measures, calculated, not, certainly, to restore to us the happiness enjoyed by our Catholic fathers, but to take

away by law, and to give back to the poor, a part, at least, of those church-revenues, which, in Catholic times, were deemed to be, and actually were, the inheritance of the poor and the stranger; for, this is the grand thing for which that *Petition* prays; and, certainly, if the spot from which it sprang could be supposed capable of giving it any degree of effect, one more appropriate than the altar base of this munificent Priory could not have been chosen.

16. Yes, my good and duped Protestant friend, "a great deal too much to be devoured by monks and priests and nuns," and, accordingly, the monks and nuns did not, as you have seen, devour it, nor hardly any part of it. And now, as to the priests, including the bishops. They could not marry, they could have no wives, they had, in fact, no families to provide for; while, as to the monks and nuns, they could possess no private property, could leave nothing by will, and, therefore, were completely trustees for the poor and the stranger. Of the manner, in which the bishops spent their incomes, we have a specimen in the eleven Colleges, out of twenty, founded and endowed by them at Oxford. But the main thing of all is, that the Catholic priesthood, taken altogether, wholly maintained the poor and the stranger, and suffered not the name of pauper to be known in England, and, it never was known in England, until the thing, called the "Reformation," came.

17. This is a matter, which is, at this time (July 1827) of infinite importance. In the Norfolk *Petition* before mentioned, we prayed, that "a part of the public property commonly called church property," might be taken away by law, and applied to other public purposes. My anxious wish, and my hope is, that the prayer of this petition may finally be granted by the Parliament, whether before the Parliament be reformed, I cannot say, but, granted it will be, in the end, I have no doubt, and, with this in my mind it is, that I put forth this little volume the utility of which, in the case thus hoped for, we shall presently see. But, first we ought to consider a little the origin of this "church property," as it is now called, and as it never was called, and as no one ever presumed to call it, until it had the name given it by Protestant priests and bishops, when they once got it into their hands. It is, in fact, the portion of the poor, the infirm, the aged, the widow, the stranger, and of all the necessitous, which portion was lodged in the hands of the clergy for just and wise distribution.

18. In the first PART of this Work, in paragraphs from 49 to 59 inclusive, this matter is fully and clearly stated. In those paragraphs beg to refer the reader. There it is clearly shown, that *riches*, and every other species of income of the clergy, were to be laid upon, and were, in fact and in practice, more the property of the poor than of the monks, nuns, priests, and bishops. Thus it was that there were, in this then happy country, neither

paupers nor common beggars. But, when part of the tithes and estates had been seized and taken away from the clergy altogether and when the remainder had been given to bishops and priests, who were allowed to marry, and who, of course, had families of their own to feed and clothe and to get for tithes for, the beggars, as we have seen in *PARRIS*, paragraph 470 and 471, began to appear, and they soon "covered the land," as the lice did the land of Egypt. Attempts were, as we have there seen, made to keep down their numbers by punishments the most horrible, so that England, which had never before known what poverty was, now saw it in all its most hideous forms.

19. At last, when the hithering and racking Elizabeth had tried vainly, scourging, and even *martial law* in vain, and when she and the principal plunderers began to fear that raging hunger would it not by some means or other assuage, deal them deadly blows, then, and not till then, the *POOR-LAWS* were passed, and this is what of the famous "Reformers" sticks to the landowners clings fast to them, until the present day. The real history of the poor rates and of English pauperism is given Part I., paragraphs from 27 to 237, and in paragraphs from 456 to 577. And we are always to bear in mind, that the money, of food, or clothing, proceeding from the poor rates, is the *poor's property*. It is not *alms*, it is what they have a right to by the *law of nature*, by the *law of God*, and by the *common law of the land*, aye, that same law which, and which alone, gives a man a right to the enjoyment of his field or his garden, also gives the poor and necessitous a right to be relieved out of the fruits of the earth.

20. *And society* it was that caused that which is called *private property*. In a state of nature, when man was and the lands were as God made them and left them the lands were for the common use of all the people. When the people of any country agreed to give up their common right, and to permit private ownership to exist, they must have done it with a view to make their lives *safer and happier*; and therefore it is *impossible*, it is absolutely impossible, that they could have contemplated as a consequence of their social compact, that the lives of the *millions* would ever be placed at the mere mercy of the *thousands*, or perhaps of the *hundreds*. *MATTHIAS* denies the right of the poor to relief; he denies that they have any right to claim relief from those who hold the lands and houses as their private property, and he actually recommends to the Parliament to be so foolish as well as so unjust and cruel as to pass a law to refuse relief to all who shall be born after a certain day, and also to all the parents of such persons. In the way of justification of this horrid proposal he says, that this man wanting relief after this "should be left to the punishment of nature", that he should be told that the "*laws of nature* had doomed him and his fa-

mily to starve"; and that, whatever might be their state of distress, "*they had no claim on society for the smallest portion of food*"! I need hardly say, that this came from the pen of a church of England parson! Arrogant, insolent, stupid, and cruel as it is, its source will be a question of doubt with few men.

21. To the "punishment of nature" this stupid and cruel projector would leave the necessitous. Well, parson, the poor would, I dare say, take you at your word, and jump for joy to be thus referred to the *laws of nature*. These laws, parson, bid them, when they want food, to take it where they can find it, and to care nothing about the place or the person that they take it from. The laws of nature know nothing about *theft* or *robbery* or *burglary*. When, indeed, in no shop, house, barn, mill, or other place, the hungry man can discover food sufficient to satisfy his hunger; or, when finding it, he has not, whether by force of arms or otherwise, the ability to get at it and eat it, then, indeed, I allow, that "*the laws of nature have doomed him to starve*", but parson, it is only when he cannot discover the existence of food, or when, knowing where it is, he has not force to seize it, that the "*laws of nature* doom him to starve".

22. We very well know, that all men are subject, and ought to be subject, as I have, on more than one occasion, before stated, to be called forth, to be compelled to come forth, and, at the risk of their lives, defend their country against a foreign enemy, and also to defend the lands or houses, which are the private property of the possessors, in case of any illegal attempt to take away, or to injure, those lands or houses. Now, suppose the country invaded, or suppose a band of rebels to be gutting, or pulling down, the house of a lord. Suppose *PARSON MATTHIAS* to go to a poor man, to whom he has been before preaching his doctrine, and suppose him to call upon this man to come forth, as a *militia man*, to repel the invaders, or to quell the rebels.

PARSON.—Here, (*CHOPSTICK*) Come away, and bring your arms to defend your country.

CHOPSTICK.—My country, Parson; how is it mine, if I have not in it even a security against being starved to death while the land abounds in food?

PARSON.—But, here is the law, and forth on must come, or be punished severely.

CHOPSTICK.—Law, why the law of nature bids me, first, not to risk my life, next, it bids me to stay at home in these times of peril, to quiet the alarms of, and to protect, my wife and children.

PARSON.—But, here are a parcel of rebels, gutting and pulling down the good Lord Rutland's house.

CHOPSTICK.—Well! Let him drive them away.

PARSON.—But, he cannot; he is not able; our man cannot fight with a thousand, and the law commands us to come forth to the protection of each other.

[Enter Overseer.]

CHOPSTICK — Law! Oh, no, Parson, the law of nature bids the strong to do what they please with that which the weak have got; that law bids these strong poor men to go and take the goods and to pull down and divide amongst them the big house of this rich weak man, and, if I be to be referred to that law, when I and my wife and children are starving for want of relief; if the overseer be to answer my application by telling me, "that the law of nature has doomed us to starve," surely I may refer my lord to the sentences of the same law.

OVERSEER — Why, John, who has been filling thy head with this nonsense? When did I talk to you about the law of nature? Are there not the poor-laws to provide for you, in case of distress, and do you not, in this way, partake in the yearly rents, and, in fact, in the ownership, of my lord's estate?

[Exit Parson, skipping off.]

CHOPSTICK — Ay! That's another man's matter, Master Pinchum! Then, indeed, if I be a sort of part owner with my lord, it is just that I should [taking a club down from the rack] go and fight for the protection of his goods and his house, and here I go to do my best against these rebels.

23 This is the true, the common sense, view of the matter. Agreeably to these principles there are, and always have been, in all countries, except in ill-fated Ireland since the "Reformation," a legal provision, of some sort or other, for the necessitous; a law, of some sort, that effectually provided, that they should not die for want of food and raiment; and, though, in England, many attempts have been made, by Sumptuaries and others, to alter the law in such a way as to make it more and more difficult for the indigent to obtain relief; though attempts of this sort are continually making, they never can, upon the whole, be attended with success, for, before they could obtain that success, the kingdom would be convulsed to its centre; and, indeed, it is clear to every man of sense and reflection, that it is the poor-laws, and the poor-laws alone, which, at this very moment, cause the peace of the country to be preserved.

24 But, though these rates are just and necessary, we are never to forget, that they were not at all necessary, that they never existed, and that the hateful name of *papists* never was known in England, until that "Reformation," as it is called, which caused the enormous confiscations, the particulars of which are stated in this second part of my history. Before that time, the indigent were relieved out of the produce of the *tithes*, out of the revenues of the monasteries, and out of those of the manors and other estates of the bishops. We have seen, in the first part of this work, how a large part of the *tithes* and almost all the revenues of the monasteries were alienated from the poor and from the public, and in what manner they became pri-

vate property. As to the poor, they, after about fifty years of whipping, branding, iron-collaring, shooting, and hanging, got a provision, such as it was, in the poor-laws; but, observe, the public got no compensation for what the aristocracy had taken from it, and every man had now, if not a pauper himself, to pay poor rates, to make up for what the aristocracy had got divided amongst them!

25 A pretty large part of the tithes and of the manors and the other estates belonging to the bishops, the cathedral, and the colleges, remained unconfiscated, and were turned over to the Protestant parsons, bishops, deans, prebendaries, fellows of colleges, and other "spiritual persons" (as the law calls them) of the present "Protestant church of England, as by law established." Now, it is a clear case, that the Parliament, which could take this property from the clergy of one religion, and give it to those of another religion, the Parliament that could in spite of Magna Charta and in spite of the law of the land of a thousand years standing, do this, though, in doing this the Parliament set at nought the wills, or grants, of all the founders of the numerous religious houses and establishments, it is a clear case, that all those who contend, that the Parliament had a right to do these things, must allow, that the Parliament has a right to dispose as it pleases of all that part of the church property, which still continues to belong to the nation, or in other words, which is not private property. The divers religious foundations were made agreeably to the law. If the religion was to be changed, and a new one was to be established, the property in the foundations ought, in justice, in bare justice, to have reverted to the founders, or to their heirs; who, in most cases, were to be found, and were ready to put forward their claim to it. If the religion were found to be bad, the property, the lands, the trees, and the buildings, had committed no offence. Nevertheless, the property was all seized on by the King and Parliament. The Parliament gave it all to the King; and the King, and his successors, gave the greater part of it, in return, amongst the members of the two Houses of Parliament, or their relations! Now, if the King and Parliament had a right to deal thus with property, the heirs of the founders of which were ready to claim it, surely no one can deny, that the present King and Parliament have a right to apply to public purposes that part of this great mass of property, which, as stated above, continues to be the property of the public. There is, I venture to assert, no man that will deny this, and especially no man, who possesses, by descent or otherwise, any part of the Catholic church estates; for, what title has such a man to his estate? What plea has he against an ejectment? He has no title, he has no answer, except those which are furnished by those Acts of Parliament of Henry VIII., which seized, and granted to the King, the estates of the church. This sauce for the goose, so delicious as it

long has been acknowledged to be, must, when the time for another repast shall arrive, be allowed to be sauce for the gadder; and, of this sauce Norfolk-petition would, if acted upon, give the nation a taste.

26. PLUNKETT, who has now been made a lord, and about whom the bleaters in Ireland are, just now, making such a fuss, asserted, in the debate on Mr. HUME's motion for applying part of the clerical incomes in Ireland to other public purposes; this PLUNKETT asserted, in the most unqualified terms, that all *tithes, glebes, and all sorts of property, called church property, were as sacred from the touch of the Parliament, that the Parliament had not more right to sell them, or to apply them in any way, than it had to sell, or otherwise dispose of, any parcel of any man's private property!* Indeed, Plunkett! What, then, are any of those titles good for, by which men now hold the immense masses of property described in this volume? If this King and Parliament have no right to touch that which belongs to the nation, could Harry VIII. and his Parliament have a right to seize and to alienate all these masses of property, great part of which were really *private property*, and had claimants, legal claimants, to demand them? If this King and Parliament have no right to take *public property*, and to apply it to *public purposes*, can those titles be worth one single straw, which rest on Acts of Parliament, which Acts seized on *private property* and applied it to *private purposes!* I might, by comparing the tenure of what the church parsons hold with the tenure of private property, show the gross absurdity of the doctrine of this Plunkett, who, I recollect, was anxious to check the circulation of small pamphlets, *because the mass of the people were now become so much more enlightened than formerly*, I might, by the comparison just mentioned, show the monstrous absurdity of the doctrine of this Plunkett: but, I say, no: I say, let this doctrine stand, if the parsons like; and, then, all the titles of all the holders of abbey-lands, aye, and of the greater part of the cathedral and college-lands, are not worth one single pinch even of Scotch snuff.

27. However, as there certainly is not a man in the kingdom (except some parson, perhaps), besides PLUNKETT, to hold a doctrine like this, we will leave PLUNKETT to have his hearing faculties tickled by the bleaters of Ireland, and will now go on to see a little how, if applied to this mass of "public property commonly called church-property," Norfolk-petition would work.

28. The property which remains to the nation is, I. THE PAROCHIAL TITHES AND GLEBES. II. THE BISHOPRIC REVENUES. III. THE DEAN AND CHAPTER REVENUES. IV. THE COLLEGE REVENUES. Here is still an immense mass of property, and all of it, or nearly all of it, diverted from the uses to which it was formerly applied, and to which it

was intended that it should always be applied. But the questions for us here are, whether it be *now well applied*; and whether it could not be *much better applied than it now is*. As to the *real amount* of it, that will never be got at by the public, as long as it shall remain in the hands in which it now is. No man has ever been able to get an account laid before Parliament, of the amount of this property! Accounts of *every thing else* can be got; but, of this no account can ever be come at. Some years ago, a return was made to Parliament, stating, the *value* of each living, the *population* of the parish, the *size of the church*, the *state of the parsonage-house*, and the *annual worth of the living*. IF UNDER ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS! Here was a crafty trick! Why not state the annual worth, at ABOVE one hundred and fifty pounds! Why this close disguise if ABOVE that mark? Is not the answer ready? To have stated the annual worth of the *whole* of the livings would have shown to this beggared people what an immense sum is swallowed annually by these comparatively few men and their families, whose Catholic predecessors kept all the poor, and also kept the churches in repair out of these same tithes. The tithes of England, Wales, and Ireland have been estimated, by several writers at *eight millions a year*. The parsons affect to say that this is an over statement. But, when any public functionary hears his gains over stated, and knows that he is thereby placed before the public in a disadvantageous light, what is his remedy? Why, to *publish an exact account of what he really does receive*. Aye, and this is what the parsons would do, to be sure, if they had it in their power to prove that their gains have been over-rated. For my part, I am convinced, that, if we include the rent of the *parsonage-houses and glebes*, the *compulsory offerings and fees*, and all the estates of the bishops, chapters, colleges and other foundations, which, though not legally, nor necessarily, engrossed by the church-parsons, are so in fact; if we include the whole, I am convinced, that this church-establishment costs this "*enlightened Protestant nation*," more than TWELVE MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING A YEAR; and this, too, observe, without including further millions that are required to maintain the POLICE establishment and the TROOPS, which the public papers so frequently exhibit to us as employed in collecting, or in aiding and defending those who are employed in the collecting of tithes! This "church-property," as it is called, must, like the debt, not be estimated by the bare amount of *itself*, but, there must be added to this amount, the cost of the army, which is required *on account of it*. If we leave this out of our estimate, we shall be as far short of the true mark, as we should be if we were to leave out of the estimate of the custom and excise taxes the amount of the salaries of

the custom house and excise officers, or as if we were, in our account of the cost of post-chaise hire, to leave out the amount of the sums paid to the post-boy and the outlier. The cost, then, of this establishment is perfectly enormous and, what is the establishment worth to the nation? Is the "service" rendered by this body of persons, called the clergy, worth twelve or fifteen millions a year? Is it worth one million? Is it worth one pound? Is not the name of "service" wrongly applied in this case? Has not this establishment now been proved, by ample experience, to be injurious, rather than beneficial, to the country? Ought the incomes to be applied to other public purposes? The stating, and shortly remarking on, a few well known facts, relating to each of the above four classes of "spiritual persons," taking the classes in the order in which they there stand, will enable us to answer these questions, and, if we find the last of these questions to be answered in the affirmative; that is to say, if we find, that these several parcels of public property ought to be applied to other public purposes, there will remain for us to determine only on the manner and degree, in which it is our duty to petition the King and Parliament to cause the taking away, or alienation, to be made.

29. To begin with the first class, the **TITHES** and **GLEBELS**, or property now possessed by the common parsons, or parish clergy, it must always be borne in mind, that this property was only so much put into the hands of the priests for the purpose, of relieving their indigent parishioners, of showing hospitality to the stranger, of keeping the church in repair, and keeping up its ornaments, and of furnishing a decent maintenance for the parish priests themselves. This was not only the intention of the founders and endowors of parish-living, but it was the law of the land as well as the law of the church. In the first part, paragraph 51, I have shown by a reference to the canon-law, that the poor were to have relief out of the tithes. And, to prove beyond all doubt, that this was the practice as well as the law, I need only mention an act of the 13. year of Richard II., which provides, that, if the living of the parish be in the hands of any convent, the convent shall always leave in the hands of their vicar, *a part of the income sufficient for the relief of the poor*. Another act, enforcing this act, was passed in the 4. year of Henry IV. So that it is quite clear, that the tithes, glebes, and all the income of every church-living, were to be employed, as far as necessary, in relieving and in otherwise doing good to the poor and the stranger.

30. It is not necessary to say, that the income arising from this class of public property has been wholly diverted from the purposes to which it was, at first, destined, and to which it was, until the "Reformation," as we Protestants call that sad event, fairly applied. Why, therefore, should these par-

cels of property remain any longer, at any rate, in the hands of the present possessors? If they would, even now, do as the Catholic priests did, if they would maintain the poor of their parishes, and would entertain and help all strangers in distress; if they would repair the churches, keep up the ornaments (there are none left, by-the-by); if, in short, they would put an end to poor rates and church-rates, and keep the poor and repair the church, they might still keep the tithes and the glebes and parsonage-houses and gardeps. But, if they will do neither of these, what reason is there for their having the property? "They have law for it." Oh, say 'aid the Catholic clergy, and more especially the monks and nuns, had "law for it" too, and law a little older, at any rate, than the law that our parsons have for it. They have law for it till another law come to take this their law away, and what reason is there, I again ask, for leaving the property in their possession? What REASON is there that another law should not come to take this their law away!

31. Most monstrously have they always been afraid of questions like this. Most anxious have they always been to keep it (if sight the origin of the poor rates. A Hampshire farmer, who had read the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION" told me a few weeks ago, that at a meeting, relative to the poor, lately held at the poor house in his parish and at which meeting the parson presided, there was a good deal said about the fearful increase of, and great hardship inflicted by, the poor rates, of which the parson complained more vehemently than any body else. He (the farmer) took this occasion to ask, in all simplicity, if his reverence, 'how these came to be such a thing as poor rates in England, and who it was that used to maintain the poor in old times.' "Well," said 'and what did he say to you in answer?' "Ziv," replied he, "he did not say much, but he censored down his rows, and, looking a black as the very devil, he said, that 'twould be a good deal better if every man would mind his own business.' This was a pincher indeed! Our parsons know all about the Catholic claims to tithes, they know all about the collection of tithes, all about *modus* and *endowment*, and the like, they have at their huge ends all the history of the "*superstitions and idolatries*" of the Catholic church, but ignorant as horses they appear with regard to the way in which the poor were kept in Catholic times and I can tell you another thing, namely, that whoever dares to make any thing public on this subject is, if they can reach him, sure to feel, in some way or other, the effects of their implacable vengeance of the truth of which we have the most complete proof in the famous affair of Mr. RUGLES, to the circumstances of which I have once before merely alluded, but which, in justice to myself as well as my subject, and, which is of still more importance, in justice to the middle and working

classes of my countrymen, I must here full relate.

32. In the year 1793, DEIGHTON, bookseller, Holborn, published a book in two vols. octavo with the following title: "*The History of the Poor: their Rights, Duties, and the Law, respecting them: in a Series of Letters.*" By THOMAS RUGGLES, F.A.S., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Counties of Essex and Suffolk." In this work Mr. Ruggles explained the foundation of the right of the poor to a maintenance from the land; he explained the principle on which the Catholic church took charge of the poor; he traced the church-estates, including tithes, glebes, personal tithes and all, back to one and the same source, namely, CHARITY; he insisted, that *gifts*, out of which the church-property arose, were gifts, not to bishops and priests, or to any religious order, for their own use, but that they were gifts IN TRUST to them for certain purposes, one of which purposes was, the maintenance of the poor; and this his doctrine he founded and upheld on the canons of the church, on the writings of the fathers, on the common-law of England, and on the statute-law of England.

33. Having established his doctrine of gifts in trust, he proceeded to inquire, whether this doctrine ought not now to be acted upon; and he came to the conclusion, that it ought to be acted upon; and that, not only the holders of what is still called church-property, but the holders of abbey-lands also, ought, EVEN NOW, to be made to pay annually towards the maintenance of the poor, a full fourth at least of the net yearly profits of such property, and this observe, over and above the proportion that might be called for from those who held no such property! For he contended, and indeed he proved, that the grants of the Parliament to Henry VIII. did not set aside, nor at all enfeeble, the claim of the poor to their share of the benefit of the gifts in trust; and that, though the claim had lain DORMANT for a long while, it was BY NO MEANS BECOME EXTINGUISHED. In short, he proposed to revive the claim, to act upon it, and to call upon all the holders of church-property, whether coming from the Catholic seculars or regulars, whether now held by clerical or lay persons, to give up, if it should be wanted by the poor, a fourth part of the net-profits of their estates, be they of what nature they might, for, or towards, the maintenance of the poor, and this too over and above the rates paid by other people. He proposed in short, that the poor should be maintained out of the church-property, if a fourth of its income would do it, and if it would not, he proposed, first to take that fourth, and then to raise in the present manner, and by general assessment, whatever might be wanted further.

34. Observe, now, that it was no Jacobin, no radical, no republican, who proposed this; but, in the first place, a landowner; in the next place, a justice of the peace in two coun-

ties; in the next place a most-loyal gentleman; in the next place, one of the *adversaries* of the "heaven-born" Pitt; and, lastly, a most zealous Protestant, asserting that the Catholic church had "rested on fear and superstition," and that the "Reformation," springing up at the "magic touch of Henry VIII.," gave rise to a system "more consonant to the principles of sober piety and good sense"! A sort of "piety" and "good sense" that had it seems, Mr. Ruggles, little to do with charity, or with an honest execution of "trusts"! However, such was the author of this book; such was the maintainer of these doctrines. "And," the reader will exclaim, "why were the doctrines not acted upon?" Ay! that is the pith of the story: that is the very thing we are going to see. "See!" the reader will exclaim; "but, what answer was given to Mr. Ruggles?" Alas! reader, no answer was given to poor Mr. Ruggles; but he soon found himself under the necessity of answering himself. In short, HE PUBLISHED A SECOND EDITION OF HIS BOOK, LEFT OUT ALL HIS ABOVE-MENTIONED DOCTRINES AND PROPOSALS, AND ALMOST BEG-
ED. PARDON FOR HAVING PUT FORTH THOSE DOCTRINES AND PROPOSALS!

35. "What!" exclaims the honest reader, "an Englishman do this; an English gentleman do such a thing as this"! O, yes! And your "gentlemen of England," as that former demagogue and now creeping courtier, Sir Francis Burdett, calls them, have proved to the world, by a long series of acts, that they are, generally speaking, the meanest and most cowardly of all mankind. But, what was it, then, that this poor Thomas Ruggles, Esq., his unfortunate justice of the peace for the counties of Essex and Suffolk; what was it, that the poor man left out of his second edition? We will now see what it was that he left out, what words he ate, in order to appease the wrath of the parsons; for he expressly says, in the preface to his second edition, that "HIS PRINCIPLES AS A FRIEND TO THE HIERARCHY, HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT CALLED IN QUESTION," in consequence of his attempt "to revive the claim" of the poor on the revenues of the clergy. Poor fellow! That was enough for him! He was marked out for vengeance; he evidently saw it; and published his "second edition," in order to save himself, if possible. And, now let us see what it was that the poor, terrified "esquire" left out.

36. In the preface to his first edition, he is speaking of the monstrous burdens on the lands, especially of the poor-rates; and, here he says, that, in his book, he had made an inquiry into the matter. "More especially," says he; and then he goes on in the following words; and, mind, these words that I am now going to copy here, are left out in the second edition. The poor "esquire" republishes, in the second edition, the preface to the first edition; and, at the end of the thirteenth para-

graph of that preface he leaves out, he sinks he eats the words, and every word, of the following passage: "more especially as to that part of the case, which relates to the productiveness and application of those estates which were originally given to the clergy, in trust for *eleemosynary purposes*; but if the laity were to claim from the legislature, that equity, which the Court of Chancery would decree on a bill filed in common cases, on complaint of a *cestui que trust*; that the trustees should fulfil those trusts, for the purposes for which the estate was granted; a cry of '*the church is in danger*,' much more serious and distressing would arise throughout the land, than any attempts of the sectaries have occasioned. This also requires the attention of the minister; but the pen of no individual can ever be expected to rouse him to action on this point; nothing but the public voice is equal to that effect, such an equitable decree of the legislature, clashing with the interests of so *reverend a portion* of our fellow-subjects." Poor 'squire! He was compelled to eat these words even in his preface! But we are now to see what a dreadful meal, or rather, counter-vomit, he had to undergo, in the work itself.

37. In his 27. letter, first edition, after describing the origin of tithes, he speaks of the practice, as to the distribution of them. The following are his words, which words he leaves out in the second edition.—"That such was their origin, is not only the true theory; but, that, in former days, the practice flowed in conformity with the principle, has been already proved in the instance of an application from *St. Augustine to Pope Gregory*, with respect to the distribution of tithes; from ancient canons of the church, and from other instances, where the *three-fold* or *four-fold* division of the tithes was directed, as the sees of the bishops were, or were not, endowed. The writings of the fathers also corroborate the proof of this theory, as well as of the practice; and the evidence of those who first held these *fiduciary* estates for the benefit of the poor and the church, is evidence of the highest authority, and establishes the most convincing proof. The statute law also proceeded on this idea; or else the legislature looked on the possessions of the ecclesiastics as the property of the kingdom, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV."—Yes! the parsons of *Essex and Suffolk* did not like to hear of any "*division of the tithes, or any distribution of them*." They did not like to hear of "*fiduciary estates*"; that is to say, *trust-held estates*. And so the poor 'squire found that his safest way was to swallow all this down again.

38. The next is a still bigger mass for poor 'Squire Ruggles to get back down his throat. He has been, in the sentences immediately preceding what I am now about to quote, speaking of the turbulent times from Henry V. to Henry VIII. and the still more turbulent times in and after this last reign, which caused the

above-mentioned claim of the poor to lie dormant. Then he goes on, in the words which I am just about to quote, and which words the poor 'squire has wholly sunk in his second edition:—"No wonder that [during the turbulent times, and after the Reformation,] these claims should have remained dormant, but, it by no means follows, as a consequence, that because such rights of charity as these, owing to the rough and unsettled circumstances of the times, were dormant, they should BECOME EXTINCT, especially when so large a portion of the revenue still remained to the church; the possessors of which, however charitable in their DOCTRINES, BY DEGREES WITHDREW THE RIGHTFUL AND ACQUSTOMED PROPORTION OF THEIR ESTATES FROM THE REPAIR OF CHURCHES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POOR; and although they still presided in our high court of conscience, and through the ensuing century gave us chancellors, were, notwithstanding, very careful how they permitted such a claim to be established over the estates of the dissolved monasteries: knowing that their own possessions were held by the same tenure, given, at first, for the same purposes, and liable to similar trusts."—No wonder that the 'squire's "principles" as a friend to the hierarchy, were somewhat "called in question." No wonder that he was compelled to swallow these words.

39. Having told us, that the claims, though they had been dormant, were not *extinguished*, he proceeded to prove, that the right still existed in 1793, as good as it was, as complete as it was, in the 12. or 14. century, never having been weakened by any positive law. The following is the passage; most excellent it is; and it is unnecessary for me to add, that it was left out of the second edition.—"We all know, that a claim to the third or fourth part of the ecclesiastic revenue for the benefit of the poor, is nearly vanished in the oblivion of past times; but a right may remain, although the use of it has been long neglected. A maxim of law prevails in ecclesiastical rights, *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesie*; the poor are a part of the church; the possessions of the church are the possessions of the poor; the revenues have been so styled by the fathers of the church; they were obtained in the name of the poor, for the love of God: are not the poor, therefore, permitted to claim the benefit of the same maxim? Is not that the law of the part, which is the law of the whole? At least there is as much justice in the maxim for the one as for the other; therefore, *nullum tempus occurrit pauperibus*. If positive ordinances of the state have not destroyed this right, no length of time should be allowed to weaken it. Let those who doubt the truth of these assertions, and, if they can, an affirmative injunction, that the church should hold its revenues free and clear of those trusts, for the benefit of the poor, which were created by

the donors, when they gave their lands and tithes for eleemosynary purposes; no such discharge is to be seen in the acts of Parliament in the 27. and 31. Henry VIII., which empowered the crown to alienate the possessions of the monasteries: those, therefore, who are possessed of estates, which were formerly monasteries, held them upon hoc, subject to the same equitable claim."—Alas! for poor Justice Ruggles! No wonder, good God! that his "principles, as a friend to the hierarchy, were somewhat called in question." However, here we have law, not only equity, but law also, for going with a demand, if we choose it, on the holders of *Abbey-lands* for a part, at least, of their revenues!

40. One more extract shall finish; and, a pretty complete finish it is: for, it contains nothing short of a proposition, to take away from all holders of what is, or what ever was, ecclesiastical property, a full fourth part of the net annual profits of such property! Not a word, not a breath of this, in the 'squire's second edition! "MUM!" says the 'squire; but I have found out the first edition; and in that the 'squire shall now be heard.—"In any future revision of the laws, respecting the poor, their maintenance, employment, and relief, it may be worth the attention of the legislature to call to mind for what purposes the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom were originally granted, to inquire whether they are employed in those purposes; to investigate the fact, on what trusts and on account of what duties, the clergy originally received the clerical estates; and to ask whether those duties and those trusts are now fulfilled, and when they are convinced of the purposes for which those estates were originally granted, and can find no positive law to abrogate those purposes, and perceive that the poor stand as much in need of the performance of those duties, as they did when the estates were first granted to the church; the principle on which the legislature should proceed is manifest. I am aware of the nature of such investigations, and fully sensible that no man can expect, in those whose performances of the duties, for which they have received their estates, is challenged and brought to the test, a favourable audience, nor expect from them a candid interpretation of the motives which instigate to the inquiry; but be that as it may; the present situation of the poor: their wretched state; their increasing misery; the increasing burden upon the public for their maintenance; these warrant the inquiry; the inquiry brings to light the evidence; the deductions are the consequence of a free and candid use of the reasoning faculties; if any error lie either in fact or argument, candour requires an explanation from those who conceive that there is the least intention in the writer to mislead the judgment of the public; which explanation will be thankfully received; as it will, nevertheless, tend to establish one great object of this investigation, that is truth. Assuming,

therefore, the foregoing state of the matter a fact, would it be a hard compromise with the possessors of ecclesiastical estates, that those in the possession of lay patrons, on whom no parochial duty is incumbent, should, after a medium of the poor-rates has been taken throughout the kingdom for the last three years, bear the increased expense of the maintenance of the poor alone, until the rate upon their ecclesiastical estates amount to one-fourth of the net annual receipt of their profits, before the lay estates be further encumbered; and that the clergy should be rated in the same proportion?"—Not one word of all this in the second edition!

IRISH CHURCH.

In the last *Register* there were some errors which, though trifling, it is necessary to correct. The first was at the bottom of page 631, where I said, "but "I have before me an account relative "to the county of Kilkenny, drawn up "in consequence of an order of the "House of Lords, and communicated "by the Bishop of Ossory, and bearing "date in the year 1800"; it should have been the year 1731. I should have said that the statement which I made, with regard to the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and the extraordinary decrease of the latter, in 1800, was drawn up by Mr. TIGHE of Woodstock in KILKENNY. I also stated, at page 658, "that the glebe lands in KILKENNY amounted to 7,000*l.* a year. This includes houses, lands, bishops' lands, and all other church-property. Perhaps I should have told the reader, that the whole expense of the military government in Ireland was, for the last year, 1,065,000*l.*, and that the force altogether in that county amounts to thirty-four thousand men: 24,000 soldiers and 10,000 *Bourbon* police. Instead of taking the whole expense of the army, and placing it to the account of the church, I took a fair proportion, which I estimated at 846,000*l.*

Any gentleman desirous of completing his volumes or set of the *Cobbett Magazine*, may have back numbers by applying at 11, Bolt-court.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BENNETT, R., Worcester, linen-draper.
 QUELLE, C., Ludgate-hill, furrier.

HANKRUPTS.

BENNS, R., Manchester, grocer.
 GOREN, J., Orchard-street, Portman-square, scrivener.
 HARRIS, W., Southampton-street, Covent-garden, laceman.
 MATHEWS, J., Tooley-street, Southwark, linen-draper.
 PAYNE, H., Rotherham, Yorkshire, grocer.
 PERRY, J., New Sarum, Wiltshire, innkeeper.
 SCOTSON, J., Wigan, Lancashire, druggist.
 WEEDON, T., Southall, Middlesex, victualler.
 WILKINSON, W., York, innkeeper.

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

ASHCROFT, T., and J. Tilston, Liverpool, timber-merchants.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDERTON, T., Liverpool, merchant.
 ASHLEY, J. B., Hanway-street, Oxford-st., victualler.
 CHAMPION, C., Sheffield, scissor-manufacturer.
 GRIFFITHS, H., Liverpool, builder.
 HOWARD, E. J., Duke-street, Westminster, money-scrivener.
 MADDEN, T., Cambridge, hatter.
 POULTER, W., jun., Needham-market, Suffolk, grocer.
 SHANKLIN, T. R., and J. H. Shanklin, Birkinhead, Cheshire, brewers.
 WEEKES, J., Lime-street, hide-dealers.
 WUEHRLE, H. R., Ossulston-street, Somers town, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

BINGHAM, S., and Co., Paisley, clothiers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 16.—We had a good show of samples fresh up to this morning's market from the home counties. The trade opened with a heavy aspect, and the general rains having been considered as generally beneficial to the growing crops, checked the ardour of speculators. Bidders commenced by demanding the rates of last week, which millers refusing to accede to, sales were eventually effected at a decline on the best qualities of full 2s. per quarter on the rates of last week, and for other descriptions,

there was hardly any inquiry. In banded Wheat nothing doing.

The supplies of Barley were moderate, and the tradetruledull; speculative inquiry having partially subsided, prices, however, remained unaltered; a good parcel in bond was offered at 16s. Fine parcels of Malt are scarce, and maltsters evinced little disposition to realize, but the quotations of this day so might could not be maintained by 1s. per quarter.

We have been liberally supplied with Oats since Friday, and several parcels being let over from that day, caused the stands to be well filled, particularly with Irish samples. Dealers as well as speculators held off from purchasing, and the trade was in consequence rendered heavy at a decline of fully 1s. per quarter from the rates of last Monday, prices remaining nearly the same as on Monday. In banded qualities little doing; but holders did not lower their demands.

Beans, though in limited supply, were heavy in disposal, and full 2s. der quarter cheaper. Banded qualities were offering on lower terms.

Peas extremely scarce, and as the rains cannot in many instances cause any improvement in the crops, prices advanced, and are from 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer on all descriptions. Banded samples in demand at from 26s. to 30s., and fine, 32s.

Flour steady, with a fair demand, and ship marks supported last week's improvement of 1s. to 2s. per sack.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk | 46s. to 52s |
| — White | 50s to 57s |
| — Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire | 43s. to 48s |
| — White, ditto | 47s. to 53s |
| — West Country red | 44s to 49s |
| — White, ditto | 42s. to 52s |
| — Northumberland and Berwickshire red | 40s. to 46s. |
| — White, ditto | 42s. to 48s. |
| — Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red | 31s. to 44s. |
| — White, ditto | 44s. to 46s. |
| — Irish red | 38s. to 42s. |
| — White, ditto | 41s. to 45s. |
| Barley, Malting | 29s. to 31s. |
| — Chevalier | —s. to 33s. |
| — Disuiling | 30s. to 31s. |
| — Grinding | 29s. to 30s. |
| Malt, new | 37s. to 47s. |
| — Norfolk, pale | 50s. to 56s. |
| — Ware | 52s. to 58s. |
| Beans, Blog and Grey | 36s. to 41s. |
| — Maple | 40s. to 43s. |
| — White Boilers | 38s. to 48s. |
| Beans, Small | 33s. to 38s. |
| — Harrow | 33s. to 38s. |
| — Tick | 32s. to 33s. |
| Oats, English Feed | 24s. to 26s. |
| — Short, small | 25s. to 27s. |
| — Poland | 24s. to 28s. |
| — Scotch, common | 24s. to 25s. |
| — Potato | 26s. to 28s. |
| — Berwick | 25s. to 27s. |

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| — Irish, Galway, &c. | 21s. to 23s. |
| — — Potato | 24s. to 26s. |
| — — Black | 24s. to 25s. |
| Bräu, per bushel | 10s. to 13s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Butter, Dorset | 40s. to —s. per cwt. |
| — — Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| — — York | 40s. to —s. |
| Cheese, Dble. Gloucester | 48s. to 66s. |
| — Single ditto.... | 44s. to 48s. |
| — — Cheshire | 54s. to 78s. |
| — — Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Hams, Westmoreland.. | 50s. to 60s. |
| — — Cumberland ... | 46s. to 56s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 16.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was rather great; its supply of Beasts and Porkers but limited. With prime small Beef, Mutton, and Lamb, trade was somewhat brisk, the middling and inferior kinds, as also with Veal and Pork, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Short-horns, a fourth of them Scots, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with a few Herefords, Sussex Beasts, and Town's-end Cows, &c.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs; and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Full two-thirds of the Lambs, which were said to number in the whole about 6,500, were Southdowns; and the remaining third about equal numbers of new Leicesters of various crosses, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry other incidental crosses.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, about 500 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few homebreds, came from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 470, a full moiety of which were Short-horns, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish, with a few Herefordshire beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 90, mostly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, runts, and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 80, about a fourth of which were Sussex beasts, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 24.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 28TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF FINSBURY.

Normandy, 25. June, 1834.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN the Reform Bill was under discussion, the country gentlemen expressed their fears, that the people of the metropolitan boroughs, and of the two cities of Westminster and London, would return nothing but men of great industry, great talent, and uncontrollable stubbornness in asserting the rights and interests of the tradesmen and working people. The conduct of the electors in these boroughs and cities most fully proved that these alarms were groundless. The Irish Coercion Bill, the present Poor-Law Bill, the Repeal of the Malt-tax, the endeavour made by me to get justice for the middle classes with regard to the Stamp Duties, the several discussions upon the subject of short Parliaments; all these have most amply proved that the alarm of the landed grandees was wholly groundless. In short, if I were to enter into the detail, I could show that the metropolitan boroughs and cities discovered in their choice, less sense, or less public spirit, than any other part of the kingdom.

As to yourselves, when a man like Mr. WAKLEY was offered to you, you took a lawyer, employed by the Government on the circuit to supply the place of the Attorney-General in prosecuting printers and the like; and, doubtless, you must have been very proud to see your member pleading, as it were for his life, for

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

a heavy sentence on Mr. COHEN, the editor of the *Brighton Guardian*, for an offence of a very trifling nature, if it were an offence at all; and you have had the satisfaction to see numerous landed grandees of the county of Sussex, making application for the mitigation of the sentence.

Your other member you could know nothing of, except that you knew that he was a *placeman*; and that ought to have been enough for you to know. What did we want the reform of Parliament for? When we petitioned for parliamentary reform, we were not such senseless brutes as to pray for it for nothing; for the mere name. We prayed for it, first and foremost, because we thought it would take off the enormous and unjust burdens which we have to bear. Never did it enter into our heads to pray for parliamentary reform, in order that we might have a Parliament to cause the Irish to be tried by courts-martial, instead of judges and juries; or that the money raised in parishes for the relief of the poor should be taken away from the control of the parishes, and placed under the control of commissioners appointed by the Government, and removable at the Government's pleasure. We did not pray for a parliamentary reform, in order to get a penny off from our burdens, and that should pass a law to enable the landed grandees to sell the wild animals of the field, and to transport us if we should be found in pursuit of them in the night-time. We did not want a Parliament to set to work to pull to pieces every institution of the country made for our protection, and to do no one thing that should be of any practical good to us. Yet, if we chose placemen; men *living upon the taxes*, how are we to expect that those men would vote for taking the taxes from our backs?

Mr. GRANT is, for anything that I have ever heard to the contrary, a very worthy man; but you know, and every

body knows, that a placeman is compelled by his engagement, by his word of honour, to vote on the side of the Ministry, be the question what it may. Therefore you knew you were choosing a man who would never vote for the taking a tax off your backs. By your votes you as good as told the Government that you did not want any reform of the Parliament at all; and that you were quite content to pay all the taxes imposed on you without any alleviation whatsoever.

And what benefit has the parish of St. Luke, for instance, found in having two members in Parliament? There is a bill before Parliament for giving six votes in every vestry to every considerable landowner, for enabling him, while spending his rents at Paris or at Rome, to give those votes by proxy. In short, to give to the landowners of England the power which is possessed by the landlords of Scotland, which is the most hellish under the sun. This bill, which makes a total change in the social compact of England, which proposes such monstrous things that every humane man shudders at the thought of them; by the means of which it is intended to have only three or four workhouses in every county; and by the means of which it is avowed that the rate-payers in the middle ranks of life are to be stripped of all power in the distribution of relief. This most monstrous bill is founded upon this assertion; namely, *that the vestries of the parishes are not worthy of being intrusted with the distribution of the money of the parishes*; and therefore it is necessary to take the money out of their hands and put it under the control of a board appointed by, and removable at the pleasure of, the Ministry of the day, though this is a total abrogation of the ancient local government of England.

Speaking to a member of a metropolitan borough, I said, Upon what ground do you defend the transferring of the monies of a parish into the hands, or putting them under the control, of Government commissioners? Upon what ground do you support the proposition, that those who have to pay for the

management of the poor, are not the best calculated to attend to that management? "Oh," said he, "there is no such thing as preventing *jobbing*. The tradesmen play into each other's hands, and thus the parish is robbed." "Only look," said he, "at the Poor-law Commissioners' Report relative to the parish of St. Luke, Middlesex." I did look at it, knowing nothing of RICHMOND their informer, nor of the true state of the case. Therefore, during the discussions on the clauses of the bill, it was out of my power to defend the parish of St. Luke; it was out of my power to show the falsehood which had been circulated, so much to the prejudice of the character of the leading men of that parish.

This RICHMOND (of whom we shall hear more by-and-by from Mr. WAKLEY, if you act the part of men of sense and of spirit); this RICHMOND told the commissioners that he had been one of the vestry of the parish of St. Luke; and then he told them, that the vestry expended 20,000*l.* a year on goods bought for the use of the poor; that they purchased these goods of one another, in the parish; that they gave, sometimes, forty per cent. above the market prices; and that these people would oppose the Poor-law Bill, because it took the power of *jobbing* and cheating the parish, out of their hands. In answer to this, the vestry have now made a *publication*, proving that, beginning with the year 1828, and going on to the present time, there has been on an average of years, about a *fifth* part of the goods purchased, purchased in the parish. That the total amount has been on an average about *six* thousand, instead of *twenty* thousand; that four-sixths have been contracted for by public advertisement; and that of the rest, only about *one-fifth* has been purchased in the parish.

Now, this is most particularly stated in full, in a published paper put forth by the vestry, dated the 5. of June, 1834; and not a word of this has yet been heard of in Parliament! Instead of 20,000*l.* a year being expended, not 7,000*l.* has been expended in any one year since RICHMOND came into the parish;

Instead of 20,000*l.* a year having been expended with tradesmen in the parish, only 1,040*l.* has upon an average been expended with tradesmen in the parish.

The vestry, to be sure, have had the power to publish a paper; and they have sent it round to the press, and I published it in my *Register* last week; but what is this compared to a defence of the parish in Parliament! What is this, compared to an exposure of the falsehoods contained in this Poor-law Commissioners' Report; and which falsehoods are to be the foundation of the passing of this horrible bill! Yes, this instance of the monstrous jobbing of the parish of St. LUKE is made the pretence for the passing of this bill.

And, where were your two members of Parliament? Did you go to them? Did you go to them and say, "Here are we most grossly defamed, in a book laid before Parliament by the Government: here are we represented as robbers of our neighbours: defend us before that Parliament, to whom we have been defamed"? Did you do this? no: it would have been useless for you to do it. One of your members would have been busy, applying the law of libel, perhaps, with a fee from the Government: your other member would have been busy in receiving his salary out of the taxes; or in preparing a speech to be made in defence of this bill. At any rate, he could not have performed his duty towards you, and have kept his word with the Ministry at the same time: he could not have defended you without proving the falsehood of the reports of the commissioners, and thereby taking from the bill the very best of its pretences.

Well, then, what good has the parliamentary reform done to you? None at all: not a pin is it worth to you at this present time: that which I am doing for you I should have done, if there had been no parliamentary reform. Yet, if it has been of no use to you, take the blame to yourselves. You ought to have known, and you must have known, that your two members would act as they have done: and the question now is, whether, having seen

the effects of your past conduct, you will now take care not to do the like again. I know not who may be stuck up to oppose Mr. WAKLEY; but, this I know, that of all the men whom I am acquainted with, I know not a man so likely to make a successful stand against that which threatens to take from us the last vestige of our freedom. It is useless to plead with you; useless to use any words, other than to point out to you that which I have pointed out: you well know the ability of Mr. WAKLEY; you well know his talents, his courage, and his disregard of any thing that the greedy great say of him or do to him. Ten such men in Parliament would make a great change in the affairs of this world; against ten such men that which is now going on could not go on, without coming to an open and avowed and complete disregard of all the settled laws, usages, customs, and principles of English government.

Gentlemen, I need say no more; and indeed I can say no more, without wasting words. Experience points out to you your duty to your country: do that duty, and your children will bless you; neglect it, and they will entertain for your memory sentiments which I will not express. I cannot conclude, however, without observing, in justice to you, that, from every thing that I hear, you are resolved to do that duty; in the doing of which you will entitle yourselves to thanks and to the lasting praise of every man in the kingdom; and to those of no man more sincerely than

Your friend,

And most humble and obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

P. S. Though I published the defence of the vestry of St. LUKE, last week, I here republish it, it being of the utmost importance that the public, and that the members of both Houses of Parliament, should see it, and well attend to it, before the final discussion upon the horrible bill, which, I repeat for the fiftieth time, I believe never came before the House of Lords, if it pass the House of Commons; and which, if attempted

to be executed, will, I verily believe, produce in England events far beyond the imagination even of those who are alarmed at the prospect. The country people are beginning to understand what is intended for them; they are beginning to understand what is intended to be their lot; and they are beginning to consider of the means of protection which they shall make use of.

**DEFENCE OF THE PARISH OF ST. LUKE
AGAINST THE CHARGES PREFERRED
IN THE POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS'
REPORT.**

Saint Luke, Middlesex.

At a general meeting of the vestrymen of this parish, held in the church on Thursday, the 5. of June, 1834, publicly convened, to take into consideration certain evidence said to have been given by Mr. RICHMOND, one of the guardians of the poor of this parish, to the commissioners of the poor-laws, as printed in their Report: viz. "When I came into office it was a recognised principle that the purchase of commodities for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish. The effects of the patronage incident to the purchase of goods to the amount of upwards of 20,000*l.* per annum, from shopkeepers within the parish, patronage exercised by a Board who are themselves shopkeepers, or connected with shopkeepers, may well be conceived. For several years I have contended, but unsuccessfully, for the universal application of the principle that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, provided they gave the requisite securities for the due performance of the contract. On investigating the purchases of goods within the parish, I found that some of the charges were upwards of 40 per cent. above the market prices. Whatever opposition may be made against an extensive or efficient reform, or generalization of the management of the funds for the relief of the poor, will be based on the

"retention of parochial patronage and power, although such a motive will never be ostensibly avowed. I have no doubt they will even assume that extended management will be more profuse than their own."

Mr. WILLIAM WOOD, Churchwarden,
in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,—That the statement made by Mr. Richmond, to the commissioners of poor-law inquiry is utterly *without foundation in truth*, because it is clearly proved that instead of its being a "recognised principle," that the purchase of goods for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish, upon an average of the last seven years, five-sixths of the sums laid out have been expended with persons living out of the parish; that instead of goods being purchased to the amount of 20,000*l.* per annum, the whole amount has very little exceeded 6,000*l.* upon an average, and has not in any one year amounted to 7,000*l.*, and of that sum only 1,040*l.* per annum, upon an average, instead of upwards of 20,000*l.* has been expended with tradesmen in the parish; that instead of Mr. Richmond having had to contend unsuccessfully for the universal application of the principle, that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, that principle was in operation long before Mr. Richmond entered the parish, and continues to the present time, it being the regular practice to contract for the supply of all the principal articles of consumption with those who made the lowest tender, whether they resided in or out of the parish, after advertisements in the daily papers; that instead of the purchase of goods being used as a means of patronage and power, the tradesmen employed to serve the parish with those articles that could not be contracted for, have frequently been persons opposed to the guardians of the poor upon parochial matters, as was the case in the person alluded to by Mr. Richmond, who made an overcharge upon an article amounting to 30*s.*, and was detected (but not

by Mr. Richmond), and was declared by the guardian board disqualified from ever supplying goods to the workhouse again.

That the following tabular statement details the exact amounts of the whole expenditure in the purchase of goods during the last seven years, together with the manner in which those goods have been obtained :

| Years ending Lady-day | 1828-1829 | 1829-1830 | 1830-1831 | 1831-1832 | 1832-1833 | 1833-1834 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Gross amount paid for Goods | £ 6536 | 6984 | 6253 | 6342 | 6441 | 5940 |
| Out of which contracted for by public advertisement | 4559 | 4555 | 4641 | 3716 | 4411 | 4526 |
| Not contracted for | 1977 | 2429 | 1612 | 1626 | 2030 | 1414 |
| Of which bought out of the parish | 578 | 940 | 614 | 611 | 872 | 945 |
| Bought in the parish | £ 1399 | 1489 | 1000 | 1013 | 1158 | 469 |
| | | | | | | 757 |

And, are not these parties to be called to account? Are not the poor-law commissioners and RICHMOND to be called to the bar of the House, instead of sitting under the gallery? Is the House to have palmed upon it statements like this, coming from authority; and, is *nobody* to be made answerable for the statement? God Almighty! Are guardians

and directors of a parish to be thus libelled; and is nobody upon the face of the earth to be answerable? Poor Mr. COHEN was punished for an alleged libel upon the magistrates, and which every disinterested person declared to be no libel at all. A thing which is published by order of the House of Commons, or House of Lords, has been held to be no libel, though republished all over the kingdom. This was new law laid down by old KENYON, in the case of WRIGHT of Piccadilly, who republished a very gross libel on a gentleman in Ireland, that libel having been first printed by order of the House of Commons, or House of Lords, I forget which; so that a man may be utterly destroyed in this manner with impunity to the destroying parties; and thus stands this parish of St. LUKE; thus stand the gentlemen belonging to that vestry, held up to the detestation and scorn of the whole kingdom; but, surely, the House itself will not tolerate injustice like this: the House has been misled by this false report; and it is for the vestry of St. LUKE to demand justice, and for their members to urge a compliance with that demand. How this matter may end I cannot say; but, at any rate, I have the power to prevent this matter from being passed over in silence, and prevent it I will.

INFERNAL PAPER-MONEY.

THE United States of America; and particularly the farmers and working men of those states, now headed by the bravest man of which the history of the world affords us any knowledge; those states, and particularly those people, to whose bravery and to whose virtue, the world owes that there is anything worthy of the name of freedom left in it; those people have resolved to get rid of the blighting curse of paper-money. From the first; from the issuing of the President's reasons for his veto; from that moment, I, who pretended to no merit on account of the prediction, because I must have been a sheer fool not to have known the fact, I predicted that, if the democracy of the

country once clearly understood the matter, they would put an end to the paper-money completely; and that would, in a very short time, put an end to our paper-money. The President's reasons for his veto convinced me that he understood the nature of the abominable fraud. His character, which I well knew, convinced me that he would never cease (having the power) till he had destroyed the fraud, root and branch; the question then was, Will the people stand by the President? This question was put to me by innumerable persons in London; my answer to which was, *They will stand by him if the paper-money villains have not the cunning to deceive them.* Every thing, therefore, would depend upon this; whether they would clearly understand the tendency of the fraud. They have shown that they do understand it well: they stand by the President; and the paper-money crew are smitten with fear; their knees knock together; their teeth chatter in their heads; and they look as our fat pensioners will look, when the pensions shall be taken from them; when the hammer shall be presented to them, and when they shall be bidden to crack a load of stones for ninepence, before they shall eat; and that look will only be equalled by the look of a cowardly murderer, when he sees the halter about to be put round his neck.

I have a right to glory in the events which are now taking place. *Before the Bank was established*, I warned the American Congress, and the American people, fully warned them of the dangerous consequences. I will now proceed to inform my English readers of the present state of things in the United States, with regard to this infernal paper-money.

The charter of the Bank provides, that the governors and directors shall, upon demand being made for that purpose by the House of Representatives, submit to the inspection of that House, all their accounts, books, and papers of every description. The President has charged the governor and directors, not only with

malversation as to money affairs, but of making use of their pecuniary means, in order to carry on a conspiracy against the freedom of the country. In order to ascertain the truth of these charges of the President, the House of Representatives have called upon the governor and the directors of the Bank to produce all accounts and books, &c., agreeably to the provision in the charter. With this order, clearly legal, and manifestly just and reasonable, the insolent villains have refused to comply; and, as will be seen by the extract which I am about to insert from a New York paper, dated 31. May, the House had ordered these sons of fraud to be *taken into custody by their sergeant-at-arms and brought to their bar!* I said, some time back, that it must come to this; or that the people must go and take NICHOLAS BIDDLE and sling him out into the street, and take all his books and papers and burn them. I knew that it must be so; I knew that these vagabonds would never produce accounts and books and correspondences; I knew that they would never produce the proof of the support which they had received from England; and they will not do it now. There will be a great *burning of papers* before they go to WASHINGTON. The Congress should have issued an order, which should have accompanied the summons, to seize all their books and papers at once. I think the President should have issued such an order, on a charge of conspiracy or treason against the state, and have brought the vagabonds into the Supreme Court. However, I dare say that he has done that which is just and that which is wise; and that, in the end, all the treasonable correspondence with England will come out; for that there has been such correspondence with persons in England, I have not the smallest doubt.

Now, then, I insert the intelligence, which is very dismal for the money-mongers, and for the greedy landlords in England; for, they will see that all their schemes must fail; that the people of England will never come down to potatoes and sea-weed, so long as

the United States shall remain what they hitherto have been.

REPORT OF THE BANK COMMITTEE.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*, 31. May, 1834.)

We deem it unnecessary to publish in full the report of the Bank Committee, giving a long account of their repeated attempts to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives, directing them to investigate the affairs of the Bank, agreeably to the 23. section of its charter, which provides,

"That it shall be at all times lawful for a committee of either House of Congress appointed for that purpose, to inspect the books and examine into the proceedings of the corporation hereby created, and to report whether the provisions of its charter have been violated or not."

The following is an extract from the report:

In 1818, Mr. Spencer, of New York, offered to the House of Representatives a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to inspect the books, and examine into the proceedings of the Bank. In the debate to which that resolution gave rise, the opinions now entertained by your committee, were well expressed by many distinguished gentlemen. For presenting short extracts from one of the speeches then made, no apology, it is supposed, will be needed. Mr. Lowndes said he had no apprehension of defect of power in the House to prosecute the inquiry in the terms proposed. He had no doubt of the power of the House if the public interest required it, to direct a committee to make such a report. The nation, said he, has a deep interest in the conduct and management of the Bank; our duty to the people whom we represent, the nation's interest, as owners of a large portion of the stock, its interest in the revenues being wholly payable in the notes of the Bank, will justify a constant and vigilant attention to its proceedings. If there had been a doubt whether the con-

duct of the Bank had been proper or not, the House was fully justified in investigating into the facts, and inquiring whether abuses had been committed or not. He would vote for an inquiry in its broadest shape."

The resolution of Mr. Spencer was adopted, and a committee appointed, who visited the principal Bank at Philadelphia, and some of its branches. They had free, unrestrained access to the books and papers of the Bank. They were furnished by the officers with such extracts and copies from the books and papers as they called for. They summoned before them the directors and officers of the Bank, and examined them on oath touching their conduct and proceedings; and the committee made to the House on the 16. January, 1819, an elaborate report, from which we learn that their inquiries had been chiefly directed "to the general management of the Bank and the conduct of its officers." The transactions of private citizens with the Bank were then freely and fully examined. Individual transactions of the president and directors of the Bank in the purchase of its stock were fully investigated, and those officers sworn and required to testify before the committee. Though deeply affected, personally and officially, by these developments, they never hesitated or objected to obey the process, or to give their testimony.

The names of the borrowers from the Bank were published without scruple, with the amount of money due from each, whenever, and not otherwise, such a publication was deemed necessary to illustrate the improper conduct or maladministration of its officers.

This precedent, to which the committee of 1832 strictly conformed, is entitled to high respect from the eminent character of those by whom it was established, and who have justly enjoyed high reputations for purity of purpose and distinguished attainments.

If any additional reason for deference to this contemporaneous construction of the twenty-third section be necessary, it may be found in the fact that the directors of the Bank in 1819 themselves assented to it. They conceded to the com-

mittee of the House the right to inspect all their books and papers in such a manner as that committee thought just and proper. Besides, those who now have the management of the Bank in 1839, without question of right, without hesitation, without protest, produced for the inspection of the committee of the House, all their books, papers, correspondence and accounts, and appeared when summoned, and testified on oath touching the transactions of the institution under their control.

The committee conclude the account of their fruitless attempts to obtain the desired information as follows :

Thus your committee conclude, the just power and authority of the House of Representatives have been set at naught, defied and contemned.

Thus, the charter of the Bank of the United States has been deliberately violated, by repeated refusals of the directors of that corporation to submit their books and papers to the inspection of this committee.

Thus have the just expectations of the House and of their constituents been disappointed, and all means of obtaining the best and most accurate information concerning the operations of a controlling monied institution; been cut off and denied.

It remains for the House and the country to decide how far this conduct of that directory has been dictated by their solemn duty, as declared, to protect the interests of others committed specially to their protection. How far it conforms to those principles of action which are based on conscious integrity and uprightness of purpose; which defies scrutiny, and invites investigation; and how far it shall be received as a plea of guilty to the high misdemeanours which they insist have been charged against the corporation of which they have the management and control.

These grave questions, with others growing out of the transactions and proceedings, are left to be decided by the House of Representatives.

To elicit those opinions the following

resolutions are most respectively submitted :

1. Resolved, That by the charter of the Bank of the United States, the right was expressly reserved to either House of Congress, by the appointment of a committee to inspect the books, and to examine into the proceedings of the said Bank, as well as to ascertain if at any time it had violated its charter.

2. Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives, passed on the 4. of April, 1834, for the appointment of a committee, with full powers to make the investigations embraced in said resolution, was in accordance with the provisions of the charter of said Bank and the power of this House.

3. Resolved, That the president and board of directors of the Bank of the United States, by refusing to submit for inspection the books and papers of the Bank, as called for by the committee of the House of Representatives, have contemned the legitimate authority of the House, asserting for themselves powers and privileges not contemplated by the framers of their charter, nor in fairness deducible from any of the terms or provisions of that instrument.

4. Resolved, That either House of Congress has the right to compel the production of any such books or papers as have been called for by their committee, and also to compel said president and directors to testify to such interrogatories as were necessary to a full and perfect understanding of the proceedings of the Bank at any period within the term of its existence.

5. Resolved, That the Speaker of this House do issue his warrant to the Sergeant-at-Arms, to arrest Nicholas Biddle, President, Manuel Eyre, Lawrence Lewis Ambrose White, Daniel W. Cox, John Holmes, Charles Chauncey, John Goddard, John R. Neff, William Platt, Matthew Newkirk, James C. Fisher, John S. Henry, and John Sergeant, directors of the Bank of the United States, and bring them to the bar of this House, to answer for their contempt of its lawful authority.

Thus stood the matter when my latest papers came away. It was thought that some of the treacherous villains would "bolt," and come over and join the American conspirators already in London. No matter; the harpies' nest is ransacked up; the monstrous fraud is stricken to the heart. When the news came away, the infernal paper was gradually disappearing, and specie gradually increasing, at the rate of nearly three millions of dollars in a week: this specie must go principally from England; a good deal from France; and then will work the nests of paper-monsters in these two countries: it will assist to keep down the price of wheat in England; and it will soon produce a dissolution of the whole fraud; and the white-fingered discounters must go to sweep the streets, or to the crackling of stones.

That the industrious classes in America understand this matter well; that they understand it to the very bottom, and clearly see the manner in which it robs them of the fruit of their labour, is clear from the following document which has been published at New York, which every reader should go through with the greatest attention. It is an account of the organization of the working men, for the purpose of ridding the country of paper-money, by the means of which they are fraudulently robbed of their earnings. The reader will be astonished that working men should possess such perfect and profound knowledge on a subject so intricate. I admire the depth of knowledge, I admire the reasoning, I admire the ability of statement, in this incomparable paper; and I, above all things, admire the resolution taken, to adopt the effectual means of shutting out of every legislature, in future, every man who shall not, under his hand, certify himself to be an enemy of all paper-money. The American traitors who are now in London, at work for NICHOLAS BIDDLE and Co. must tremble as they read this paper. The reader will observe that they call the Bank of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, the "BRITISH BANK." Ah! They see through the whole of the conspiracy. They see who is at the bottom of the whole; they see that the base and cowardly imps of hell, who are everlastingly seeking the destruction of freedom all over the world, are the principals, and that NICHOLAS BIDDLE and his crew, are only the underlings; they see that the base and bloody-minded villains on this side of the water intended to destroy them, or to make them slaves by the means of this paper-money. They should know; and perhaps they do know, that there is a whole crew of American traitors now in London, keeping up a communication with NICHOLAS BIDDLE and Co. They should, if possible, find out who they are, and publish their names; they should watch their return to the United States, and inflict vengeance on the monsters; for, these villains should not be suffered to escape punishment of some sort. When a warrant was served on the vile miscreants at PHILADELPHIA to give up their books and papers, they said, "that the war that they were carrying on was a defensive one; that they had been assisted by many 'eminent citizens' in the carrying on of this war; and that they were resolved not to give up their names." A rope round NICHOLAS BIDDLE's neck, which the people ought to put, and he in a cart under the limb of a tree, would make the villain give up the names of the eminent citizens. In short, the plot for the destruction of American liberty has been carried on on this side of the Atlantic. I have been informed, and I believe the fact, that a great American banker, who is here, and who is closely connected with, if not living with, a leviathan money-monger, well known in America, said, about the month of February last, speaking of the working people in America, "D—n them, they shall starve or have bank-notes: we will pay some of them, when they are hungry, and they will shoot at the rest, and make them submit quietly to a Government fit for a gentleman to live under." This scoundrel is here, now; and it signifies not to talk, punishment must be inflicted on this monster, as well as others. I now insert the manifesto of

the working men, to which I beg to call the best attention of my readers.

WORKING MAN'S MEETING. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING MEN OPPOSED TO PAPER-MONEY.

(From the Working Man's Advocate.)

At an adjourned public meeting of working men opposed to paper-money and banking, and to all licensed monopolies, held at Military-hall, Bowery, New York, 15. May, 1834, Joel Curti was called to the chair, George H. Evans and Dr. Crocheron were appointed vice-presidents, and William S. Conely and John Windt were chosen secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting and the call of this were read and approved and after some remarks from Mr. E. J. Webb, Mr. John Windt, from a committee appointed at a former meeting, reported the following preamble and resolutions :

The committee appointed to prepare a preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the meeting respectfully submit the following :

A crisis has occurred in the affairs of our country that demands from the useful and industrious classes of the community, a watchfulness, union, and perseverance not inferior to that which declared and sustained the independence of the United States, if the preservation of liberty and the enjoyment of the fruits of honest labour be objects worthy their regard. For nearly half a century, paper-money aristocracies, under the name of "BANKS," have been, through the wicked and unconstitutional acts of the national and state governments, increasing with our growth, until they have now gained an almost entire control of the industry of the republic, by which the reward of labour is wrested from the hand that earns it, and devoured by those who toil not, and who even despise that labour and the labourer through whom their ill-gotten wealth is obtained. Never yet have those, who suffer most from these iniquitous establishments, risen in their strength to sweep them away, but the time has at last come when the field ought to be taken against

them, never to be relinquished, until paper-money shall close its fraudulent and polluted existence in our land : Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all who desire the permanent freedom, prosperity, and happiness of our republic, to unite for the purpose of abolishing gradually but completely, the system of money without value, or paper-money, which is the source and support of the principal evils that oppress not only the interests of labour, but every valuable interest.

Resolved, That both the national and state legislatures, in chartering bands of speculators for making paper-money, and afterwards supporting and legalizing the spurious trash, by authorizing and permitting it to be received and paid out as real money, have violated the constitution under which they legislate, as thus, in effect, it is made a "legal tender," at the same time perpetrating a great moral wrong in giving it this unreal value, which has laid the foundation of one of the most extensive systems of fraud ever practised on any people, and leading to a complication of political, social, and moral evil, unparalleled from any other cause.

Resolved, That as despicable as our rag-money system is in itself, it has completely subjugated the community to its despotic and ruinous sway, and is utterly subversive of public liberty ; the banks furnishing, by means of their notes, nearly all the circulating medium, their irresponsible directors may expand or contract that circulation as their caprice or cupidity may dictate, and thus raise or depress prices, and by the same means are able to produce far greater distress and ruin than has yet been endured ; while the only check to this tremendous power is their own private interests, or what they may consider as such !!

Resolved, That we need no other proof of the dreadfully pernicious effects of banking and paper-money than a survey of the state of the republic at the present time, when, in the midst of profound peace and a superabundance of the necessaries of life,

great pecuniary distress and stagnation of business exist, with frequent bankruptcies, the remote and immediate consequences of banking operations.

Resolved, That the usual excuses for the existence of paper-money, as "furnishing capital," "commercial facilities," &c., are specious sophisms and founded not in truth, and tending only to deceive the producer and betray the mercantile man, being mere facilities for seizing the fruits of labour without giving an equivalent.

Resolved, That we consider the present mode of extensive business credit (the legitimate offspring of our banking and false money system) highly injurious and productive of far more evil than advantage to the reputable merchant and trader; for, by it, they are subjected to long credits and uncertain receipts from customers, while bound to banks by short credits and liable to uncertain "accommodations"; the least "pressure" prostrating hundreds; but under the cash business gold and silver would produce, they would transact a safe business with a fair profit unenslaved by bank directors, and unhampered by protests, &c.

Resolved, That we view the "safety-fund law" as perfectly in character with the banking and paper-money system, being a miserable deception, which when most needed will be of least service.

Resolved, That the contemplated mortgage of the industry and property of this state, by the six-million-loan law, in the principle it involves, and the example it sets, is one of the most atrocious legislative acts ever passed in the state; and taken in all its parts, and under all its circumstances, it will itself sufficiently demonstrate to the mind of every intelligent and reflecting citizen the absurd and injurious character of the wretched paper-money tyranny to which the commonwealth is at present chained.

Resolved, That every legislator voting in favour of bestowing exclusive privileges, or monopolizing advantages to any individual or individuals, is a practical enemy to the free institutions of

our country, and the equal rights intended to be secured by the constitution to all.

Resolved, That we earnestly invite the farmers, mechanics, and other working men and merchants, in every state of the union, to unite their exertions in putting down the system of counterfeit money, which, though finally injurious to every class, is peculiarly so to them at all times.

The preamble and resolutions having been read by Mr. Windt, were again read by the chairman; the question was taken on each separately, and all were unanimously adopted except the one relating to the state loan, for which, after some discussion, the following substitute, offered by Mr. Webb, was adopted by a large majority:

Resolved, That, under existing circumstances, the mortgage loan was needful to the state institutions, in order to paralyze the intended attack meditated by the British Bank. We, therefore, refrain from complaint. Still, we believe the act so direfully needed, a gross, flagrant, unconstitutional abuse of power; an act in turpitude like that of a gambler in desperate circumstances, who blows out his brains rather than see his ruined family.

On motion, the safety-fund resolution was then reconsidered, and discussed at some length, but the resolution was sustained.

Mr. William Froment offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we do not believe, with the advocates of banks, that they are beneficial to poor enterprising men, or the rich get so large a portion of the paper-money, as enables them to monopolize almost every kind of business, and thus live on the labour of the poor.

A plan for the organization of the working men opposed to paper-money and to all licensed monopolies, on the principle of requiring a pledge from candidates for the state and legislatures, that they will, if elected, oppose the chartering of any monopolies, and endeavour to procure the passage of a law

abolishing bank-notes of a less denomination than twenty dollars within five years, was offered and adopted.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING MEN OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

1. There shall be ward associations.
2. There shall be a general committee, composed of two delegates from each ward association.

3. The general committee shall be empowered to call general meetings of the associations; to require the ward associations to nominate candidates for public office; to take cognizance of the business of general meetings and elections; and to perform such other duties as may be required of them by their associations. Meetings of the committee shall be called by its chairman and secretary. The necessary funds shall be supplied by the associations.

4. It shall be in the power of each ward association, at all times, to change its delegation to the committee.

5. Until a district system is obtained, each ward shall be required to nominate its candidate for county, state, and United States officers, and to publish the nominations at least three times in a daily newspaper; and out of the number of nominations thus published, who will subscribe to the pledge given below, the proper number shall be selected by ballot, at a general meeting of the associations.

6. At the first regular meeting of each ward association, after the general committee shall require the associations to make nominations for county, state, and United States officers, candidates for each office may be proposed, and at an adjourned or regular meeting, at least three days afterwards the members present shall ballot for one candidate for each office, from the number so proposed. Candidates for charter officers shall be proposed and nominated in the same manner.

7. In case there shall not be a sufficient number of candidates nominated for any office by the ward associations, the general meeting of the associations shall supply the deficiency.

8. The following shall be the form of the constitution of the ward associations.

CONSTITUTION OF THE — WARD WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

PREAMBLE.

Believing as we do that the only legitimate object of legislation is the defence of the lives, liberties, and equal individual rights of the governed, and that all legislation beyond this is mischievous. That paper-money, chartered companies, exclusive auctions, and every other invention by which wealth is favoured at the expense of poverty and intriguing speculation at the expense of the people, are pernicious. That our present complicated, perplexing, and tedious system of civil law, is partial and unjust in its operations. That imprisonment for debt, or the deprivation of personal liberty without crime, or of life for any crime whatever, is cruel and barbarous in the one case, and uncalled for by the exigencies of the community in the other. That the present compulsory militia system, whilst it encourages immorality and oppresses the poor, is productive of no one good effect. That unequal taxation by which the poor man is compelled to pay as much as the rich, whilst certain descriptions of proprietary, to an enormous amount, are totally exempted, is oppressive and unjust. That every act of legislation on religion, is dangerous to the liberties of the republic; and that a system of equal republican education, a system which shall place equal facilities for the intellectual and useful training of their offspring within the reach of all, is imperiously called for. We whose names are hereunto subscribed, with a view to effect, by the more general diffusion of our principles, a peaceful and constitutional correction of existing abuses, and to promote, to the utmost in our power, the momentous object of educational reform, as well as the more immediate purpose of the moral cultivation and improvement of ourselves, do associate and

agree to adopt for our government the following

CONSTITUTION.

Art. I. This association shall be known by the name of "The — Ward Working Man's Political Association."

Art. II. The officers of this association shall be a president, a vice-president, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer.

Art. III. Two delegates to a general committee shall be chosen.

Art. IV. Any person may become a member of this association, a majority concurring on a vote by ballot, on signing the constitution and paying one shilling or more as an initiation fee.

Art. V. Regular meetings of the association shall be held on the first Monday evening of each month. Special meetings may be called by the president, or by ten members.

Art. VI. The funds of this association shall consist of initiation fees of one shilling or more for each member, monthly collections of one shilling from each member, and donations; which shall be appropriated for necessary expenses, and for advancing the objects of the association.

Art. VII. Members may be dismissed from the association by the vote of a majority of members present at a regular meeting.

Art. VIII. Discussions on subjects of religious or irreligious character shall be prohibited in this association.

Art. IX. This constitution shall not be altered or amended but by the vote of a majority of the members present at a general meeting of the association, notice of the alteration or amendment having been given at a previous general meeting.

PLEDGE

FOR CANDIDATES FOR THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATURES.

I, the subscriber, being proposed as a candidate for [the State Legislature or Congress] do hereby certify, that I have not now, and PLEDGE myself that I will not during my term of office, should I be elected, nor for one year thereafter, have

any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, in any banking or other chartered company; that, if elected, I will oppose the recharter of any such company, or the charter of any new one; and that I will use the utmost of my endeavours to procure the passage of a law prohibiting the circulation of bank-notes of the denomination of one dollar, in [this state or district of Columbia] at the end of six months, two-dollar notes at the end of twelve months, three-dollar notes at the end of eighteen months, five-dollar notes at the end of two years, and ten-dollar notes at the end of three years from the passage thereof, or sooner.

POOR-LAW BILL.

I wish to direct the reader's attention to the following extract from the Poor-Law Commissioners' report, made from Scotland. The reader will see, that the real object at bottom is, to do away with all assessments for the relief of the poor in Scotland as well as in England, and to bring them all to the condition of Ireland. He will also see how widely the witnesses differ from the commissioners in their account of the effect of the management of the Scotch-

EXTRACT

From the Poor-Law Commissioners' Reports. Appendix A. Part II.

The assistant commissioners who were appointed to inquire into the operation of the poor-laws in Scotland, in addition to their separate reports, beg to make some joint observations on one important topic. These will be rather in the nature of a general deduction from the evidence they have collected, than the addition of new facts, and hence the writers may be charged with stepping out of their proper province and trespassing on the duties of the central board. But they are induced to take this course, as Scotland, not having been included in the commission issued by his Majesty's Government, the circulars of queries were not transmitted

as any part of that kingdom, and consequently the assistant commissioners who were sent there, are in possession of the only evidence that was furnished by that portion of the empire.

The point to which these observations are intended to be directed, is the all-important one of the policy of having any poor-law at all; whether there are any sufficient reasons why a statute should exist enforcing any public provision for the poor.

For deciding this question, Scotland offers facilities which are not to be met with in any other part of the United Kingdom. In England and Wales no parish is without poor-laws; in Ireland no parish is with them; in Scotland the two systems are co-existent. Whole counties are to be met with, where the poor-laws have never been enforced, and others in precisely the same natural circumstances, where they have existed for a century. Again, parishes with poor-laws are to be met with in the middle of districts which have none; and conversely, parishes which have none, surrounded by places where they are in full operation. Many parishes which have never been assessed, have lately introduced the poor-laws, and the good or ill effects of the change may be accurately traced; while, on the other hand, some places offer the converse example of the abolition of their poor-laws, having been previously subjected to them. All these different conditions obviously present opportunities of judging of the two systems, which are not and cannot be paralleled in any other part of the kingdom.

But there are other peculiarities belonging to Scotland, which still further assist our investigations into this point. It is always maintained by those who are favourable to the principle of a compulsory provision for the poor, that the evils of the English poor-laws are owing to the abuses in their administration. Scotland affords a test of the truth of this opinion. Here the English abuses are wholly unknown; the difference in the enactments which enforce the rate and regulate its issue, set barriers to their introduction; and the arguers

for poor-laws are doubtless in the right, when they assert, that the Scottish system is the very perfection of a poor-law, at least as near as human institutions can go. If then it can be shown, that in spite of these advantages, wherever poor-laws have been introduced, evil has resulted, it will go far to prove that the sound policy is to aim at their entire abolition.

Now nearly all the evidence which the assistant commissioners have been able to collect from personal inspection, or from hearsay, from statistical facts, or from the opinions of persons conversant with their operation, goes to prove that the principle of poor-laws is injurious; that the very basis on which all poor-laws must be founded, the giving to the distressed a right to relief, is essentially productive of evil. Benevolence is the usual ground on which they are defended; and the English statute, which says that no one shall die of hunger, is constantly held up as the model of humane and enlightened legislation. Any one who holds a contrary opinion is instantly assailed with the question, "Would you allow a poor person to die of hunger?" The answer to this is, that in a well-regulated community the fear is wholly groundless. In those parts of Scotland where the poor-laws are unknown, no instance of a person perishing for want of relief exists on record; on the contrary, these are just the places in which destitution is most infrequent; and furthermore it can be shown that this absence of destitution is owing to the absence of poor-laws. So far, indeed, are we from allowing that these laws deserve the epithets "*humane* and *enlightened*," it is our firm impression that, however benevolent in design, they present glaring examples of inhuman and misdirected legislation.

The most infallible method of increasing the number of poor in a parish is to assess it, as will be seen by referring to those parishes mentioned in the preceding reports, where assessments exist, from which it will appear that the number of poor in the receipt of regular relief is twice as great in the assessed

places as in the unassessed ones. An equally efficacious mode of diminishing poverty in a parish, is to return to the ancient system; unhappily, few instances of such a return can be pointed out, but the examples of St. John's and Dirlston afford incontestable proof of the success with which the *retracing* process may be conducted.

The effect which assessments have in repressing charitable feelings amongst the poor is very striking; even Ireland offers an aspect comparatively favourable in this view. Dr. Doyle, in his Irish evidence, declares, that if he were to speak till the sun went down, he could not convey a just picture of the benevolence prevailing in the minds and hearts of the lowest classes in that country. Those who are acquainted with the southern counties of England, must be aware that this description is wholly untrue of them; it is partially true of the assessed parts of Scotland, and entirely true of the unassessed.

The increased poverty which accompanies an assessment is partially relieved by it, as the sums given to the poor where a rate is levied, are usually six or seven times as much as are distributed among an equal population without rates; but it must necessarily leave a large circle of misery unalleviated, of misery which itself has created, and which it would be too small to alleviate were the amount levied increased so as to absorb the whole land rental. But the immorality which an assessment engenders is its most mournful result, an evil which it tends continually to enlarge, and to which it is incompetent to apply an iota of remedy. Its progress is marked by an evident relaxation of industry, by an increase of bastardy, by the forsaking of aged parents by their children, and by a gradual decay of the spirit of independence and forethought. That these are the never-failing effects of assessments is the opinion of nine-tenths of those who administer the poor-laws in Scotland, of persons who have managed parishes under both systems, and who consequently have had every opportunity of investigating their respective

merits. To some of these persons we beg to refer.

The opinion of Dr. Chalmers is too well known to require repetition; we shall only then remark on the injustice that is done him, when he is accused (as he usually is by his opponents) of being a mere theoretical philosopher, issuing his dicta from his closet; whereas he passed many years of his life in a retired country parish, and also in the largest city in Scotland; in both places he applied his views to practice, and the success which then followed them has continued to attend them since his superintendence has been withdrawn. We may also mention as authority the Rev. Mr. McClellan, the minister of Kelton, Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, the Rev. Mr. Monteith, of Dalkeith, Lord Napier, of Etterick; the two first residing in parishes which have never been assessed, and the two latter being at this moment employed in bringing back their respective parishes to the condition of the ancient Scotch economy, from which assessments had degraded them, and with every prospect, we may say the certainty, of success.

The evils which spring from poor-rates are not peculiar to them, and may flow from many other causes, the variety of which serve to complicate and perplex the question. Alms-houses, soup and clothing societies may be more truly described as encouragers of pauperism than as relievers of want; and we may mention that the celebrated Heriot's hospital is now considered by many persons in Edinburgh, who have long paid a close attention to its effects, to have been productive of greater evil than good. All the evils of a poor-rate have been created in the parish of Caerlaverock by the fatal gift of Dr. Hutton; and the opinion seems general among the administrators of the poor-laws in Scotland, that mortified money is injurious to those parishes which possess it. The same effects may follow from the want of education, from bad administration of the laws and political commotion. In 1698, Scotland, which had then not a single parish assessed, was as remarkable for poverty,

for murder and misery, as Ireland is now; it is in evidence that nineteen years of peace, and the education bill, placed it in that high moral condition for which it has ever since been distinguished. We would not be understood as recommending the *immediate* abolition of the English poor-laws; we are simply desirous of stating the conclusion to which we have been led by the preceding evidence, that *all* poor-laws are in their essence impolitic and uncalled for, and that consequently their *final* abolition ought to be the ultimate object of any changes that may be made; an object, however, that it is not supposed can be attained without being preceded by years of careful preparation for it.

E. CARLETON TUFNELL.
P. F. JOHNSTON.

An Account of the State of Pauperism and the Remedies proposed in the Stewartry of Kircudbright, communicated to Mr. Johnston by Mr. Brown, an intelligent and active gentleman at Gatehouse of Fleet.

There is a singularity in the case of pauperism that the very means employed to relieve it, unless prudently and judiciously managed, have a tendency to increase the evil they are intended to prevent, and thus frequently do more harm than good.

The more that is done for the poor the less will they feel inclined to do for themselves, and therefore they should be thrown as much as possible upon their own resources; it is only when their energies are roused by necessity that habits of indolence to which they naturally gravitate can be overcome, and that their ingenuity can be set to work, to find employment for themselves. Necessity, in this as in many other cases becomes the mother of invention, and calls into action new powers and resources which they probably were not before aware of or conscious that they possessed. The poor would thus be taught to perceive that the chief causes of poverty and also the means of preventing it depend, in a great measure,

on their own conduct, and that nobody can do so much for them as they can do for themselves. It would be desirable that parochial relief were to be restricted to the support of the sick and the aged only, for the great abuse of the poor-laws in England seems to have arisen from relieving able-bodied labourers, by increasing their wages out of the poor-rates; whereas they should have been left to depend on their own resources and to make up for low wages by greater industry and by practising a more rigid economy; early habits of prudence and frugality would thus be formed by their young families, and a foundation laid for future comfort and independence. Early marriages, to which parochial relief has given rise, have greatly tended to the increase of poverty. Education would help to counteract this evil, as it would inspire them with a taste for comforts and with a spirit of independence, and with an ambition to better their circumstances and to endeavour to rise in the world, which are the great forces that set all industry in motion, and make life so busy a scene. As the taste and intelligence of the labouring classes improved their wants would increase, and a proportional increase of industry would be called forth to supply these wants; and when they saw that they must depend entirely on their own exertions for the enjoyment of comforts, habits of prudence and a desire for accumulation would be formed, to enable them to provide for a rainy day.

I am sorry to observe that there has lately been a considerable increase of pauperism all over Scotland, and particularly in Galloway, owing I think chiefly to the great influx of Irish labourers, who, from their being content to live in huts, to feed on potatoes, to be clothed in rags, and to have their wives and children occasionally begging, are enabled to underbid or underwork the Scotch labourers, who are thus compelled either to leave the country or to descend into the same level and adopt the same habits, in order to be able to come into a fair competition with them. The Scotch labourers have lost all that proper pride and spirit of

independence which they formerly possessed, and consider it as no disparagement to be put on the poor's roll: this degradation lessens their self-esteem, and has a most demoralizing effect on their character; they feel that they have to a certain degree lost their former station in society, and become more reckless in their conduct and more careless in observing the decencies and enjoying the comforts of life. They have also lost much of that anxiety for the future, which led them to provide for sickness or old age, and much of that caution and prudence in their conduct for which they were formerly so proverbial.

A modified and well-regulated system of poor-laws in Ireland would (what ever might be its effects there) be of every great advantage to the labourers of this country, whose condition would soon be greatly improved, and who would no doubt soon again acquire all their former prudential habits and spirit of independence. This would also be an advantage to Scottish proprietors, for if Irish competition continues they will soon have to pay much more in poor-rates than the amount of any additional increase of wages that would arise from the want of such competition.

Another cause of poverty is the habit of drinking ardent spirits, now become so general among the labouring classes; its effects are most pernicious, not only from injuring their health and paralyzing their industry, but in depraving their character, and rendering them insensible to all respect for public opinion or regard for decency of conduct.

The high duties on malt which have prevented home brewing of beer, and the great number of tippling houses now allowed, have been the chief causes of this unfortunate change in the habits of the people. If the malt-tax were to be greatly reduced and farmers and others again allowed to brew their own beer, I have no doubt that the habits of the people would soon return to what they were in the good old times. This subject is worthy the attention of the legislature, for taxes should be imposed

if possible in such a way as neither to fetter the industry nor injure the moral habits of the people. Excessive taxation however has a demoralizing effect, especially among the lower orders, as it increases poverty with all its train of evils. The support of illegitimate children is often a burden on the kirk-session funds, and the parents often escape on account of the expense that would be incurred in a prosecution to compel them to provide for their offspring.

I have stated some of the chief causes of pauperism, and I am confident that unless some measures are taken to prevent the constant influx of Irish labourers, poor-rates will soon be imposed all over this country. The parish of Girthon contains about 1,700 inhabitants, 1,300 of whom reside in the burgh and the remainder in the country part of the parish.

Gatehouse cotton mills having been stopped several years ago, the houses formerly occupied by the spinners are now inhabited by Irish vagrants, who pay their house rents weekly, and they, in case of sickness or want of work, soon come upon the poor's roll: when any of them leave the place their houses are immediately occupied by other vagrants, who contrive to subsist often by pillage, begging, poaching, &c. The whole of one of the streets of Gatehouse is inhabited by such characters, which is a great nuisance to the place, besides being a burden to the poor funds, and a great loss to the proprietor, who suffers from poaching and the pillaging of his plantations, &c. probably more than a hundred pounds yearly. If a law could be made to compel the feuars or proprietors of houses to support such of their tenants as became paupers, the evil would be completely checked, for there are not more than two or three paupers that belong to the country part of the parish; the paupers in the town being all, or nearly all, Irish. If the time of industrial residence in a parish were extended to seven instead of three years, it would tend to lessen the claims on the poor funds and excite more industry and economy among the labouring classes. It is to be hoped that the

legislature, from the information they will acquire, will be able to devise some means for checking the increase of pauperism in this country. I ought to apologize for the length of this letter, as I feel ashamed, when I consider that the gentleman to whom it is addressed possesses infinitely more knowledge of the subject than his present correspondent can pretend to. I shall be happy to forward the other circulars as soon as I receive them, and to answer any farther queries which you may find it necessary to make on the subject in relation to this part of the country.

A Communication from the Rev. Mr. Colin Smith, of Inverary, to Mr. Johnston, relative to the Management of the Poor in Argyleshire.

The first question to be determined is, Who are the poor? Those whom we acknowledge as entitled to parochial relief are, first, such individuals as are totally incapacitated by age or sickness to earn their own subsistence, and who have neither children nor relatives to assist them, or whose children or relatives are only able to afford a partial relief. This class does not arise at once in any parish. They are the most necessitous, and they are generally persons who have been long upon the list of paupers, and have grown old or sick; sometimes indeed sickness, or the death of a dutiful child, casts the feeble and the aged at once upon the parish; but it may be considered that for the most part they are the individuals who previously composed the second class of paupers, which is formed by such persons as have so much health and strength remaining as to provide a partial subsistence, but who are unfit for any general service. This class consists generally of women from the age of forty-eight to sixty, and it is seldom that a man is admitted into it, or even lays claim to admission. Ill health or some accidental injury does, however, sometimes constrain even men to rank themselves among paupers of this class. The reasons why women crowd this class are, that sometimes ill health unfit

them for labour, and sometimes they become unqualified for general service in families about the age of forty-four or forty-six. Few will hire them after this age. For a year or two they contrive to support themselves by their savings during the past seasons, and by labouring in barking wood in summer, or cutting corn and winnowing hay in harvest. When the few pounds they have saved are spent, nothing remains but the occasional labour in summer or harvest, and the deficiency must be made up by private or public charity. Young widows are often placed in similar circumstances, and maimed men.

The third class is formed of persons who are reduced by peculiar circumstances to temporary distress, and who burden the parish for a short time only, *i. e.* while their distress continues.

The fourth class is composed of the children of paupers, and of delinquents who fly the parish, leaving their unprotected offspring behind, and of lunatics who have no relatives able to support them without assistance.

There is a fifth class of paupers, who belong sometimes to no particular parish, or who are travelling to their native parish, and who require assistance to defray the expense of lodgings and victuals on the road.

As to the mode of ascertaining who ought to be included in any of the above classes of paupers, or in what class any individual ought to be placed, there is often much difficulty, because, as the circumstances of the pauper must determine the measure of relief given him, the third class often endeavour to prolong their apparent distress by finding unlaboured-for money sweet; the second class are sometimes disappointed in procuring service, or disqualified by peculiar circumstances from accepting it; sometimes they are deterred by indolence from doing any thing for their own support, and too often, induced by indiscretion to squander the sums they have earned. Sometimes also individuals in each class have relatives or children whose circumstances make it questionable how far the burden of the former should be sustained by the pub-

lie, and occasionally modesty and a love of honest independence make it difficult to discover the destitute or starving situation of persons who ought to have support. In order to ascertain the true claims of each, as well as to discover cases in which charity ought to be exercised, this and the generality of parishes in this country are divided into districts. Each district in the country portion of this parish consists of from twelve to twenty families, and in the burgh of from twenty to thirty families, and over each there is a deacon or elder (both being church officers) placed, whose duty it is to know the pecuniary circumstances as well as the moral habits of each individual intrusted to his care. These elders and deacons are almost always men of tried benevolence, whose religious opinions and moral conduct give an assurance of their interest in the general welfare, and no sooner does any case of distress occur in their bounds than it is made known to them, and they in their turn make it known to the kirk.

Each elder and deacon have a strong disposition to procure as much relief as possible for their own district, the distress in which they see with a microscopic eye; but in order to prevent any undue relief or partiality to any particular district, there are sometimes in the session gentlemen who know the state of the whole parish, and are able to check any unfair representation which may be made of the situation of an individual, and who, along with the minister, weigh all the cases impartially. In this parish I have considered it my duty to make myself acquainted with the circumstances of every man who is a pauper or likely to become one, to know the number of his family and their situation in life, his relatives, or any other friends upon whom he may have claims for relief; and I believe that in almost every instance I have been enabled to adjudge the sums granted proportionably to the exigencies of the paupers.

When a person requires relief, he applies first to the deacon or elder of his district, then by petition to the session,

who receive more minute accounts of his situation from the said deacon or elder, and appoint one or more other deacons to examine into the situation of the person making application, and to report accordingly.

When a person is discovered to be in want, who from any motives concealed it, the deacon or elder of the district informs the session, and relief is given to him, in a manner which may destroy as possible his love of independence; of course the deacons and elders have no pay; they are gratuitous labourers, rewarded only by the good they do.

The second matter of importance is, What are the funds from which the poor are supplied?

In this and many other parishes in the county there is a fund, arising from money mortified by some benevolent individuals for the poor: these sums are generally very trifling, compared with those required. In the parish of Glenurchy there is 160*l.*; in Kilchlenan, 64*l.*; in Kilbrandon, 65*l.*; in Kilbride, 40*l.*; in Kilmore, 32*l.*; in Kilfinan, 10*l.*; in South Knapdale, 20*l.*; in this parish about 250*l.* The interest only goes to the poor.

The second source from which the poor are supplied is from the collection at the church-door. This varies exceedingly, according to circumstances; such as the residence or non-residence of heritors, or other wealthy individuals, the influx of travellers, the popularity of the minister, and the character of the inhabitants.

In several parishes where the number of poor may be 30, and the population 1,120, the whole annual collection may not amount to more than 12*l.* You will see numerous examples of this kind in Sinclair's Statistical Account, as under the head of Kilchrenan, Kilmodun, Kilmerton, Kilminan, Saddle, &c. In this parish, the population is about 2,150, the poor on the roll 55, the annual collection at the church-door from 55*l.* to 60*l.*, and when the family of Argyll used to pass part of the season here, the annual collections amounted to from 90*l.* to 100*l.*

The third source is fines imposed on

fornicators and other delinquents, dues paid by those who are married with fewer than three proclamations of banns on three several Sundays, dues paid by those who use the mortcloth in interring their dead, and occasional collections from the sick and from travellers. The amount of all these, in many parishes, may not amount to 4*l.*; in this they may average at about 12*l.*

The fourth source is a donation of 20*l.* annually, from the Duke of Argyll, to the poor of the parish of Inverary. This mode of increasing the poor fund is not uncommon, where the heritor is wealthy and also non-resident. I could, if necessary, state, upon the authority of the minister, the names of parishes where the laws for enforcing relief are not put in execution, and where the heritors give not a penny, however claimant the cases of distress may be. I need not say that such conduct is most vexatious to those who bestow their time and their means for the support of fellow-beings, who are too often, it is to be feared, ruined by the exactions of these same landlords, combined with their own folly in offering or promising more for their possessions than they know them to be worth. It is conduct also which is very impolitic, as it tends to constrain kirk sessions to put the poor-laws in force; a resource which would be ruinous to industry and independence, but which has been often represented to me as the only one left to kirk sessions.

The third consideration is the amount of relief given to the poor. Generally, they who receive parish support have free-houses, though this is neither always nor necessarily the case. In this burgh there are several houses allotted for the poor by the Duke of Argyll, but the number is so great, that these houses do not accommodate more than a third of those who receive support. Many have pensions from his Grace of 2*l.*, 3*l.*, 4*l.*, or 5*l.*, according to their circumstances, and some even more than this; of course these pensions pay the rent, and render the sum necessary for supporting them smaller.

In the landward part of the parish

several of the paupers have also small pensions, and their houses are either free or rented from one of the tenants for a few shillings. The poor in the country have also potato ground for as much manure as they please; and this is freely given by the tenant, as an accompaniment of the cottage.

The first question to be resolved in determining the amount of relief, is whether the claimant be in the burgh or landward part of the parish? If in the burgh, rather more is allowed. To an insane female in the burgh, who has a pension of a few pounds from his Grace, we give from the session 1*s.* 9*d.* per week. Before she got her pension she had 2*s.* 6*d.* per week: but as she had a grandson in the house, who was also unable to gain subsistence, and required her daughter to be in constant attendance, her relatives complained that it was too little. We again found it too much, as the woman required to be always kept in bed. Her case was represented to the Duke, and the pension given satisfied her in part, and in part relieved us.

To infirm people of class 1*st*, we give from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per week. To those of class 2*nd* we distribute our collections quarterly, or once in the three months, giving them in the summer quarter, when they have work, about 2*s.* 6*d.* and from that to 6*s.* per quarter; and in winter and spring about 4*s.* 6*d.*, or from that to 9*s.*, as we can afford. Children that we board out are paid for to cottagers or small farmers in the neighbourhood, where they may get milk and exercise, at the rate of 5*l.* per annum. Class 3*rd* get according to their need, and class the fifth, 6*d.* or 1*s.*, or what may bring them to the neighbouring parish. These may be taken as instances of the measure of relief given by us, but it is not always so much. There is an insane young man in the landward part of the parish, who is confined with a straitjacket almost always; we give him only 1*s.* per week. This satisfied his poor parents, who are reduced farmers, for several years, for they knew that we had it not to give; but I may mention, as one of the casualties

which often perplex us, that this day I attended the corpse of the young man's father to the grave, and that when the procession left the house, the aged widow, unable any longer to manage her son, though tied in the bed, was constrained to ask the assistance of two of these men who had come to the funeral. In such a case, if we could not depend on the generosity of the Duke, we should have no resource left but to cress the parish. As our former allowance to this man is now altogether inadequate, I must add that the parents whose name is Turner, though reduced farmers, and natives of this parish, were not ruined on the lands of the Duke, who only sheltered their poverty, but on the lands of Lord Breadalbane, who, when they were left penniless, allowed them to depart in peace. The sums given by us are small. You will be astonished to hear that a penny a day is perhaps as much as many of the poor women in this parish may have. In this, too, they are comparatively well provided for; yet if you would propose to increase their allowance, the question occurs, how is this to be done?

To put the poor-laws in force I consider a ruinous measure; for I have sufficient experience to assure me, that, as it is true in mercantile commodities that the supply is regulated by the demand, so that in the inverse proposition is true in every provision for the poor; viz. that the demand is regulated by the supply. The pauper who deems himself comfortable with 1s. a week, along with what he procures from private charity, would not be satisfied with five if our funds were increased fivefold; nor would the individual who lives cheerfully upon potatoes and milk, with perhaps porridge once a week, which he earns with the sweat of his brow, for himself and family, trouble his body and harass his mind, if a craving application to the heritors and kirk session, enforced by a threat of complaint to the supreme civil court if not aided, were sufficient to procure a more luxurious fare. I know many poor in my own and other parishes, and though there are some poor who have been reduced by

great misfortunes to that state, still for every one that misfortune reduces, intemperance reduces ten, improvidence fifteen, and indolence fifteen more. The poor-laws only provide for the evil when it has occurred; they court its occurrence again, but they apply no remedy; they use no method to root out the disease; they do nothing but harden the hearts of the rich when brought into operation, and stimulate the folly of the poor. One good effect, indeed, the poor-laws in Scotland have while they are not put in force, and it is this, by putting the poor man in a condition to crave relief as his right, they tend to make the wealthy anxious to discourage vice, and to preserve those beneath them from being reduced to the necessity of demanding compulsory relief. They also prevent absolute and total neglect, which would undoubtedly be their lot, if no provision were made for them, a truth which I might adduce facts to prove, notwithstanding the state of the law; and they are also a check upon many hard landlords, who are only prevented from ruining their tenants (who are often too ready to ruin themselves) by the conviction that it is easier to want a few pounds to let the tenant support himself, than to deprive him of all, and then to pay double for his maintenance. In regard to the distribution of money to the poor also, much depends on the manner of giving it, as well as the time. In so far as my other duties have permitted me, I have been taught to have my eye constantly on them, so as to know what private charities they receive, when their provisions fail, when their need is greatest. If they get any aid when they require it not, it is of little use, as they spend it on what is not necessary, and a shilling opportunely given does more good than two when there is no immediate occasion for more than what is already possessed. Money given publicly also is less useful, perhaps for the same reason. We are, therefore, in the habit of giving occasionally to the poor, according to their necessities, and of giving also in a manner which may neither hurt their feeling of independ-

ence, nor expose them to their equals as having any thing to spare.

We also give in kind sometimes rather than in money, because when they get money it is spent often as it ought not to be. They contrive also to exchange the provisions for their favourite beverage; but it is not so easily effected in every case.

In every instance we show as much regard to moral character in our distributions, as is consistent with the relief of the individuals, and a few, from six to ten, are allowed to beg one day a week within the bounds of the parish, but in no instance are they to go beyond the bounds, under pain of losing parish support. In some parishes in the county they are not so particular in restraining their poor, but are becoming more so.

I omitted saying, that whenever we find an individual very urgent in claiming support, who we think is not deserving, that we insist upon his bequeathing his effects to the parish first, and then that his name shall be placed on the roll. If he is not really poor, this never fails in making him withdraw his claims; I have never seen it fail; in ordinary cases we do not resort to this measure, as most frequently the applicants have nothing but a pot, a bed, and a few bed clothes, all of which would not sell for 20s. When a pauper dies, however, we generally take possession of his effects, if they be of any value at all. The quarterly distributions are announced from the pulpit, on the Sunday previous, and all invited to send in their claims, or to prepare to state their grievances, if they consider themselves aggrieved.

Since I came to this parish, I have been led to consider it necessary to equity and economy, that one person should superintend the distribution, and attend to the wants of the poor, and scarcely a shilling has been given, or a pauper relieved, without my knowledge. Were all to relieve in their separate capacity, the fund would be squandered; were they to give, no relief save as a body, and no one individual to have power of distributing as he saw necessary, it would be so troublesome and

tedious as to become impossible and incompatible with the promptness of relief which is often required.

We educate the children of the poor, paying for their books, and sometimes the schoolmaster's charges. Medical relief is not given or paid for by the session. It sometimes is in other parishes.

Every farthing collected or arising from any of the aforesaid funds, is noted down in a book kept for that purpose, and every penny expended in a separate account, bearing when, why, to whom, and by whom given. A state of the accounts is annually laid before the kirk session by the treasurer. I should also have mentioned that part of our funds are in the bank, part lent to the burgh, and part lent on personal security. This last, amounting to 100*l.*, we have been most anxious to obtain payment of, but have hitherto been unable. This and much more was lent on a similar security before my induction. There ought to be a prohibition against lending the money of the poor on less than heritable security. The lenders in this case are almost all dead. Their heirs are not able, in every case, to make good our loss, if any, and were they able, we could not compel them without asking much of the poor's fund in litigation.

The poor-laws are not in force in any parish in this county, and so far as I know, to enforce them is an extreme which every kirk session would account a great evil, even though it would prove a great saving of trouble to them, and often of ungracious trouble too; for gratitude is not always the character of any one class of men, nor thanks always the reward of benevolence. The number of paupers in this parish is owing to the influx of elderly women into the burgh, where they get a room for 20*d.*, or less, and hope to get work; a few years after, they require parish relief. The provision made by the law for expelling those from the parish who have no ostensible mode of subsistence before they constitute residence, is not attended to in Argyleshire. I have had no reason to put it into force. The custom

is; if any one, however poor, contrives to get a house or cottage, which is often supplied by the tenants without the knowledge of the authorities, to permit that individual to remain.

The only preventive to the increase of poverty which we have adopted in this parish, is a saving bank and a parochial library; the one to encourage, the other to take some of its charms from dissipation.

The kirk session funds are aided by a fund formed by individuals who contribute a penny a week for the relief of poverty, and by a bazaar; both co-operate with the kirk session. The treasurer and the clerk of session have each 1*l.* per annum for their trouble. Such are all the particulars connected with the management of the poor in this parish that I consider of any importance.

POOR-LAWS.

LETTER IV.

"God said to man, This pleasant land,
I make it wholly thine.

On this sad day, I look, and say,
'There's not one furrow mine.

"God said to man, Increase, enjoy,
Build, till, and sow your seed,
But though the land, the Lord gave me,
My children beg their bread.

"The north belongs unto the crown;
The south to the divine;
And east and west, Wealth holds her hands,
And says, The rest is mine.

"God said to man, The winged fowl,
The fin'd fish of the flood,
The heathcock on the desert hill,
The wild deer of the wood;

"Take them and live. The strong man came;
As came the fiend of vore
To Paradise; put forth his hand;
And they are mine no more!"

CHAUNTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Dunfermline, 17. June, 1834.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND, — I am sure you will join me in the sentiment of the motto which I daily sing to the Psalm tune of "Plaintive Martyr," or Dundee's wild warbling measures, or pious "Elgin." It "beets" not,

indeed, the "heavenward flame": yet it "raises the joy of grief." Thanks to the anonymous, gifted author: happy should I be to take him by the hand, and call him brother, in faith and in feeling.

That your readers of the higher and learned orders, may know how we, poor ignorant devils, "the vulgar"; or as the knowledge diffusers have softened down the phrase, "not regular students," think and feel on such subjects, I will venture to give them my opinions on the justice, policy, and general utility of poor-laws, and, the thought just now strikes me, of doing it in a *parliamentary* form. St. Paul and St. Cobbett have taught me not to fear an imputation of egotism; and, forasmuch as I am an advocate of the rights of the poor, and of the working people, "I magnify mine office. We meet with many insults, it is well that we cultivate a virtuous self-esteem,

Having lately met a good clergyman from a neighbouring parish, who used to read your *Register* along with me many years ago, the conversation turned upon "Cobbett." "Cobbett," said his reverence, "makes no figure in the House; he has found his level there: but, who would have thought at one time, that ever he would have got into Parliament?" After I had answered to this, and nailed him completely on some points of divinity, he observed, tauntingly, "I wonder ye don't get into Parliament, you that know so much, and could so soon correct every thing that's wrong; you should really set up for a parliamenter, as well as your idol, Mr. Cobbett." "Be easy, sir," I replied, "when we obtain universal suffrage, which I hope we shall do ere long, I shall start as a candidate for the Dunfermline district." "And, faith!" said a gentleman present, "he'll get it too, if all the weavers in Dunfermline are to have votes."

At the conclusion of a public meeting, in which my son and I completely vanquished Lord Dalmeny and his famous Whig lawyers from Edinburgh, James Hunt, Esq., of Pittencrieff,

peevishly and sneeringly, cried out, "Oh! we must have *Mr. Morrison* sent to Parliament next election!"

Yes, sir," I replied, "the time is indeed coming, when men such as I am shall be sent to Parliament; and right it is, that the men who work the *wark*, should also make the laws." Since, therefore, my reverend and rich neighbours have put it into my head, I will, Mr. Cobbett, indulge myself with a day-dream of my being in Parliament in room of Lord Dalmeny; the noble lord having resigned on the call of his constituents, in consequence of his vote against Mr. Harvey's motion on the pension list; contrary to his pledge at the election. Having heard Lord Althorp's motion, "that the Poor-Law Amendment Bill be now read a third time," and Mr. Cobbett's amendment, seconded by Mr. Fielden, "that the bill be read a third time this day six months," I thus address the Speaker:

Denying myself, Mr. Speaker, any indulgence of vanity under the flimsy veil of humility, such as is common to members on their first appearances, and, avoiding the cant of "humble station," of "the subject falling into abler hands," and all such despicable common-place stuff, I am happy that my maiden speech shall be on a subject with which I am fully acquainted; having assisted in its discussion at several meetings of the Political Union of Dunfermline (Oh, oh); and in support of an amendment by my "school-master," not "abroad," but always at home; the honourable member for Oldham. (A laugh).

The spirit of the English poor-laws is, that no person shall suffer want: the gravamen of this infamous bill is, that the relief of the poor shall, in a great measure, depend on the pleasure of the rich; and, the administration of the poor-laws, in the event of this bill becoming law, will be conducted in subservency to the principle of "a surplus labouring population"; to "amputate," which will become the "stern-path-duty" of the despotic board. Seriously, and without exaggeration, I conceive the introduction of this mea-

sure to be the result of a combination of the rich, to starve or transport a portion of the poor. (No, no). Yes, yes; it is; and it is nothing else: read *Malthus* and the *Edinburgh Review*. The villanous monsters who are at the bottom of the plot, meditate the total abolition of the poor-laws; and by this *first* measure they expect to render them partially inoperative in England, as they have long been in Scotland. The primary principle of a legal support for the sick, superannuated, and unemployed labourers, is involved in the present discussion; I shall, therefore, consider it under three different aspects, the aspect of *Justice*, as it affects the poor; of *Policy*, in reference to the rich; and, of *Utility*, in regard to the interests of the whole community.

In the *first place*, viewing the question as one of justice towards the poor, I conceive, that every individual born on the land, has a natural right to an equal portion of its rent. (Hear, hear). If the whole rents of all the lands of Britain and Ireland, amount to 48,000,000*l.* yearly; and if the inhabitants of the two islands number 24,000,000; then, according to the law of nature, each man, woman, and child, is entitled to receive 2*l.* annually, from the general rent-fund, which belongs to the nation. (Hear, hear, oh, oh, and loud cries of question, question). Why are hon. gentlemen so very sensitive on this point? Do they wish the present distribution of landed property to remain undisturbed? they may quash discussion by conceding the vested rights of the poor; and repudiating the principles of robbery and spoliation of their national proprietary, in the soil involved in this bill, by voting for the amendment of my hon. Friend. The truth of my proposition is *theoretically* indisputable; when members of this House become better tempered and more polite, I shall speak of the necessary practical restriction as to its application.

The honourable mover of the amendment has informed you, that the poor have an equal right with, nay "a better" right, to a portion of the land rents

than the landlords have to the remainder: *better*; for the poor man's right is natural and indefeasible and inalienable. he holds his charter from Almighty God, while the right of the landlord is conventional and conditional and transferable; it being held merely by the institutions of man; or in the words of Paley, by "the law of the land. (Hear, hear) And the hon. member for Colchester has said, "that the landlord is only a trustee for the people, the *fee-simple* belongs of right to the nation." (Hear, hear, hear). I can understand the meaning of these cries, and the direction of those eyes towards my hon. friends; they would say, See the effects of your "destructive" doctrines on the lower orders: "the cobbler" (as the real or pretended mouth-piece of his Majesty's government in Scotland, Sir J. Craig, has condescended to designate me) "is about to advocate a system of spoliation and "agrarianism!" No, sir, I am not; and if I were to conceive my hon. friends as feeling uneasy under the imputation of misleading me or my order, nothing were easier than to relieve them from the exclusive responsibility: the same doctrine has been taught by LOCKE and PALEY, by MOSES and JESUS.

LOCKE lays it down as a first principle, *that every man is entitled to as much land as he can himself labour, and to no more*; and laments that one man should have been enabled to rob many others of their original patrimony by means of "yellow dirt": had he lived in our day he might have said, by "*filthy rags*"; and Doctor PALEY, a prophet of your own, begins his first chapter on the Rights of Property thus:

"If you see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap, reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on all the winter whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it; and

"if a pigeon more hungry or hardy than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see no more than what is every day practised and established among men. Among men you see the ninety-and-nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one (and this one too oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set), a child, a woman," (this is ungallant, good Doctor; say rather, a *parson*, a madman, or a fool,) getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on while they see the fruits of their labour spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a particle of the hoard the others joining against him and hanging him for the theft."

And, after setting aside the claim of the landlord by inheritance from the first cultivator, he adds, "The real (only) foundation of our right is, THE LAW OF THE LAND."

The pigeon story is not, though it is called by the "learned," a "paradox," but a *poser*; the *rationale* of it bears, that every individual, and especially he who labours, ought to have a share. It is true the parson who was of the *ONES* tries afterwards to support the claims of his order; but with small success indeed. It would appear that the pigeon-poser had made a strong impression on the mind of our late "revered and venerable sovereign," as Oxonians still call George III.; and men of moderate or inferior intellect have this advantage over those of superior powers, that on a simple question their minds are not so easily sophisticated; so it is said, that when our "venerable" was asked for a then vacant bishopric for Archdeacon PALEY, he answered with his usual threefold iteration, "What, what, what! Pigeon Paley, Pigeon Paley, Pigeon Paley! A bishop, a bishop, a bishop! No, no, no." Let the landlords pause and ponder on PALEY's *poser* before they join the noble lord in his unjust and unlawful attempt to take from the poor

toilers and scrapers a part of their "little of the coarsest provisions" legally secured to them by the poor-laws, that such may be "spent or spoiled" by the rich proprietors.

Moses informs us, that immediately after the creation "God said to our 'first progenitors jointly, 'Behold, I 'have given *you* (in the plural) every 'herb bearing seed, &c.'" consequently the soil on which they grew; and on taking possession of the land of Canaan the principle of common right was made the rule of its partition among families; individual alienation was permitted to be only for a limited space; it was expressly enjoined, *THE LAND SHALL NOT BE SOLD FOR EVER*; and for the unfortunate and the improvident provision was made by a liberal system of poor-laws. Jesus, the greatest of all levelers, made the leaving or selling of land and all other property a term and test of discipleship, forbade individual accumulation, and commanded equal distribution among his followers; his laws were obeyed: "they that had possessions and goods sold them, and laid 'the price at the apostles' feet, and 'distribution was made unto all, as 'every man had need; they that believed were together, and *they had all 'things common.*" Robert OWEN is the only CHRISTIAN writer of the present day. Lords and prelates of the Malthusian school, with their immense possessions and revenues, in the midst of their starving brethren, and not even so much as saying to these, "Be warmed, be filled," but "starve, die, and be damned," call themselves *Christians*! Were the Author of Christianity now to appear in London as he did in Jerusalem, teaching the same doctrines, and accompanied by as many followers, he would not be crucified, to be sure, as he was by the bloody Jews, but I have no doubt that he and his apostles would soon be sent after the Dorchester Unionists. (Hear, hear, and question). Well, I will come to the question. On the principle of a natural, common, equal right to the soil, my individual claim on the land-rent fund at the present time is,

To my share of land-rent for
53 years, at say 2*l.* yearly. . . £ 106
To my wife's share, for 15 years 30
To my 6 children's shares, till
12 years old 144

£ 280.

Now I am willing to waive this family claim, and also to forbear to press my future claims during life; and my working friends are willing to do the same on condition that the landlords shall religiously fulfil a virtual compact, upon condition of which they hold their estates; that is, that *when we are sick, impotent, or unemployed, they will moderately supply our natural wants out of the rents of the lands of which they have a monopoly.* Is this claim unjust or unreasonable? Surely no: let every hon. gentleman who thinks so vote for the amendment of the hon. member for Oldham. * * * * *

I must awake, Mr. Cobbett, and for the present leave my parliamentary duties for the awls. With my next I shall send you printed papers, from which you will see how the poor of this parish are defrauded and robbed under the most hypocritical pretences, in consequence of the inefficiency of the Scotch poor-laws, to which it is intended to assimilate the English. There is a Report from a Committee of the General Assembly on this subject, which it might be of service to our cause that you should see. I have long sought for it in vain. If any of your Scotch friends can obtain it they ought to send it to you without delay.

Poor Man's Friend,

I remain,

Your obedient servant, .

THOS. MORRISON, Sen.

William Cobbett, M. P.

P. S. I now recollect that the G. A.'s Report was made to Parliament.

Bolton, 23. June, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I see by your praiseworthy opposition to the Malthus-check-population bill, that you have received a statement from Mr. MYERSCOTCH of Little Bolton, stating the amount of

the money received by the overseers, and the amount paid to the poor, in which it appears not more than one-half has been handed to the poor. I feel confident from my long experience in reforming local abuses, that this is the case throughout England; and those designing knaves called assistant-overseers seldom, or never, furnish Government with a fair statement. About six years ago I was summoned before the magistrates to show cause why I refused to pay my poor-rates, when I took three years printed reports to show them that it was not poor-rates, as stated on the summons; for the three years not one-third of the amount laid had been paid to the poor, including the workhouse. Since that time our town's affairs have been better managed, as you will see by the following statement, which I copied from the last printed report issued by the overseers.

Report of the poor of the township of Great Bolton, from the 25. March, 1832, to the 25. March, 1833.

Amount of rates laid for the relief of the poor, 10,579*l.* 16*s.*

| | £ | d. |
|---|--------|------|
| Amount paid to regular poor, as per list... | | 12 |
| Ditto to Casual Poor | 151 | 0 |
| Passes | 24 | 4 11 |
| Burial expenses..... | 152 | 9 |
| Workhouse expenses .. | 1215 | 10 |
| Di-pensary..... | 42 | 0 |
| Manchester Infirmary .. | 10 | 10 |
| Debts paid which were owing last year | 872 | 10 0 |
| | £ 5246 | 16 9 |

The greater part of the remainder is made up in county-rates, law expenses, salaries, boroughreeve accounts, and other items, not at all connected with the poor, all which items would be unnecessary under a good Government.

I ought to state that the 872*l.* 10*s.* which is stated for debts paid, 490*l.* is for items of this description. We have now got the town's affairs in our own hands; the overseers and all salaried officers are elected by the rate-payers.

The consequence of this is, that the rates which a few years ago were 4*s.* per quarter in the pound under a self-elected, self-interested junta, are now reduced to 6*d.* in the pound, not more than one-half of which can possibly be paid to the poor, as the other will be wanted for various purposes.

Yours very respectfully,
W. NAISBY.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

(From the *Morning Herald* 21. June.)

The Malthusians, and the whole race of Mammonite philosophers—who, to use a phrase of Mr. Poulett Thomson, would rather keep their money to fructify in their breeches-pockets, than contribute the smallest portion of it for the relief of their starving fellow-creature—are in the habit of ascribing the pauperism which prevails among the labouring classes in this country to the poor-laws. But numerous and wretched as the poor of this country are, they are not so numerous or so wretched as those of Ireland, where no poor-laws do or ever have existed. We have often referred to the state of the poor in that country as affording the most convincing argument of the necessity of a statutory provision for the poor. Not only has the want of poor-laws in Ireland produced a state of wretchedness among the labouring population of that part of the United Kingdom which is hardly to be paralleled on the face of the earth, but the same wretchedness operates to depress below what it would otherwise have been the condition of the labouring poor of England. The swarms of Mr. Spring Rice's ragged and famishing countrymen that continually come over along with Mr. Spring Rice's other Irish exports of corn, cattle, pigs, and poultry, we need not say, keep down the rate of wages in this country to a starvation price, while they illustrate the "advancing prosperity" of their native land, where thousands pine for food in the midst of plenty, much better than the red-tape Colonial Secretary's Custom-house returns. Like the critic in Sterne who took no notice of the face of

Garrick in his deep emotions, but "looked only at the stop watch," such a statesman turns from the mass of living wretchedness of his native land, which he may see in every street, on every road, under every hedge, almost of this country, and looks only at the documents! So he finds Ireland to be growing fast in prosperity, because corn and cattle are exported while the population starve. One who did not understand the mysteries of "red-tapeism" would absurdly infer that if the people had the means of purchasing the corn and the beef, the bacon and the poultry, they would save the producers the trouble and expense of exporting those things; but official logicians of the school which we mention smile with contempt at the deductions of common sense.

But though the starving multitudes of the tenantry of the hard-hearted Irish absentees have not money to buy the produce of the soil which they cultivate, they have hands which they sometimes use in vindicating by force the principle which the poor-laws of this country recognise, as the law of humanity did before them, that no person ought to perish of hunger while there is food to be had. It is the poor-laws that prevent such periodical visitations of the madness engendered of hunger which occur in Ireland. At present famine stares a large portion of the population of Ireland in the face, in consequence of an extensive failure of the potato-crop, the only subsistence of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the corn and cattle-exporting country. What is the consequence? The starving crowds seize by force upon the provisions going to market, they attack and carry off carts of flour and potatoes, as they would in England, if the poor-laws did not protect them against absolute starvation. Some years ago, when, from a similar cause, a famine prevailed in the south and west of Ireland, the exports of provisions to this country would have been stopped by the rapid process of a popular embargo and distribution, if it had not been for the large amount of subscription raised among the benevolent in this country, who were thus

mulcted to relieve the Irish poor as well as their own, because the Irish landlords, of whom Mr. Rice is one, oppose every proposition for placing them beyond the reach of absolute starvation by a system of legal relief. Who can wonder at the turbulence of a people so abandoned by their heartless, sordid, absentee landlords, to hopeless misery, that they can fear nothing worse than they already suffer from the penal consequences of lawless attempts to relieve the immediate pressure of their deplorable distress?

The following passage, illustrative of the melancholy state of things in Ireland, in consequence of there being no statutory provision for the poor, is from the *Tipperary Free Press*.

"On Monday, after mid-day, considerable alarm was excited by a report that Messrs. Grubb's flour-carts were attacked near Marlfield, on their way to this town, by about 200 men, women, and children, and 20 sacks of flour forcibly taken away. The police immediately turned out under their active chief, Captain Gunn, and with the dragoons and infantry were at the scene of the attack in about 20 minutes. They were soon after joined by Sir Hugh Gough, Captain Morton, and Stephen Moore, Esq., three magistrates of this county, and having scoured the country with great diligence, four sacks of the flour were found in corn-fields, and two persons, a man and woman, who bore evident marks of the foray, were apprehended. Subsequently seven persons were taken into custody, two of whom were liberated, Mr. Moore having become their security; and the seven prisoners and the four sacks of flour were brought in by the police, and the former duly committed to the county gaol for trial at the ensuing assizes. It has been our painful duty to record, in times of scarcity, the commission of similar outrages on the property of the Messrs. Grubb. These gentlemen send daily from Clogheen and Caher into this town, for consumption and exportation, immense quantities of flour, and their carriers or property

"are never molested, unless at periods like the present, when our wretched peasantry are suffering under the pressure of want and the most grinding privations. Potatoes of indifferent quality are now 6d. per stone in this market: and when the trifling wages of the labourer and the precariousness of employment are taken into consideration, it will be felt that nothing less than the direst necessity could prompt so large a portion of the population, remarkable for their wonderful endurance of poverty, to this glaring outrage of the laws. We trust that something shortly will be done to ameliorate the pitiable condition of the people of this unfortunate country."

If any thing is shortly to be done, in accordance with the anticipation of the writer of the above paragraph, to ameliorate the condition of the people of his unfortunate country, it is not likely it will be done by the Whig Ministers or the reformed Parliament. The former have been nearly four years in office, and they have done nothing whatever to ameliorate the condition of the great mass of the Irish people; yet they are not altogether inattentive to Ireland. They extend their patronage by commissions in that country; they have even a poor-law commission there to inquire about that of which no reasonable man entertains a doubt, and of which the evidence is continually and painfully obtruded upon our notice. Lord Grey has just now declared that the *Coercion Act* is to be renewed. The people "ask for bread, and they get a stone." The *Coercion Act* will not stay the cravings of hunger, nor crush its desperation. Neither armies nor coercion bills were to have been necessary to tranquillize Ireland after the passing of "the healing measure"! Nothing but honest government, and providing employment for the mass of the people, will ever tranquillize it; and yet this simple truth the Tories overlooked, and the Whigs cannot see.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

Two numbers of this work will be published on the 1. of next month, and three numbers on the 1. of August; and this will complete the work, chronological table, index, and all; and then I shall have done my duty with regard to "THIR SOVEREIGN," and his fishings on VIRGINIA Water; and his palaces and his gateways, and his pony phaetons, and his gilded carpets, so much admired and praised by the ever-damned tax-devourers of London. Ah! this is the solace of my life, to look back at, and to describe how it is, that the greedy and blundering fellows, who have had the affairs of this nation in their hands, have brought themselves into their present pretty pickle. I have just finished the history of PEELE's bill. I lose myself in ecstasy, when I look back at their arrogance and insolence, and then turn my eyes to behold them in their present precious plight, in which they are now receiving the just reward of that arrogance and insolence; and there is no part of them, whose present situation I view with more pleasure than that of the parsons.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CLARK, J., Godalming, Surrey, linen-draper.
READY, S., Kingston-upon-Thames, grocer.
BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CAPPER, H., Straud, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, T., Gloucester, chemist.
BROWN, E., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
BRIDGE, R., Twickenham, Middlesex, grocer.
CONROY, F., Leicester-place, Leicester-square, wine-merchant.
NOTT, and Co., Bristol, iron-merchants.
SMITH, J., Liverpool, carrier.
WARD, O. D., Manchester, merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 1834.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BOULTING, J., jun., Wells, Somersetshire, innholder.
TURNER, R. J., Norwich, money-scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

BULMER, J., Hartlepool, Durham.
CHAPMAN, S., Hurst, Lancashire.
COHEN, S., Birmingham, factor.

COWAN, R., Plumstead, Kent, schoolmaster.
 DAY, E. E., Bristol, surgeon.
 GRIFFIN, E., Erdington, surgeon.
 HUNT, T., Sheffield, scissor-manufacturer.
 HODSOLL, T., Garnant place, Spa-fields,
 and Brussels, Belgium, picture-dealer.
 JAMES, J., Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire,
 innkeeper.
 LEE, B., Selby, Yorkshire, soap-boiler.
 WALSH, J., Warrington, Lancashire, cot-
 ton manufacturer.
 WHITEHEAD, R., Liverpool, and Birkin-
 head, Cheshire, attorney-at-law.
 WILLS, W., Exeter, builder.
 WHYBOROUGH, C., Manchester, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GEDDES, J., Verreville, near Glasgow, ma-
 nufacturer of glassware.
 ROBINSON, J., Jedburgh, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 23 —
 Though the arrivals of Wheat fresh up to this
 morning, a market from Essex, Kent, and Suff-
 olk were not large, yet the trade ruled dull,
 and millers exhibited little inclination to be-
 come purchasers, a few fine parcels at the
 commencement of the market realized the
 rates of this day's night, but the general
 runs sold slowly at a decline of 1s per quarter
 on the terms of last Monday. Inferior parcels
 were very unsaleable. In bonded quantities
 nothing transpiring.

Barley was in short supply, and the demand
 proving limited, last week's quotations were
 barely supported. The prices of bonded sam-
 ples were unaltered in value.

Malt of fine quality was saleable at the
 former currency, but inferior qualities met
 with little attention.

The supply of Oats since Friday, particularly
 from Scotland, has been considerable, and
 some additional cargoes having arrived to-day,
 caused the stands to be well filled with sam-
 ples. Factors demanded the advanced rates of
 Friday, which were 6d. to 1s. above the quota-
 tions of this day week. Dealers and consumers,
 however, complied reluctantly with the im-
 proved rates, and the business consequently,
 was not extensive. Some cargoes of foreign
 oats have arrived in the river, but speculators
 are still inquiring for the article in bond, as
 well as transmitting fresh orders to Denmark
 at the prevailing currencies.

Beans, though in limited supply, were dull
 sale at last week's prices. Nothing doing in
 the article under look.

Few Peas offering of any description, and
 prices fully maintained. Bonded samples are
 scarce, and held at from 26s. to 34s. as in
 quality.

The stock of Flour in London being to a
 moderate extent, fresh qualities were ready
 sale at the terms of last Monday.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk | 45s. to 51s. |
| White | 50s. to 56s. |
| Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire | 42s. to 47s. |
| White, ditto | 46s. to 52s. |
| West Country red | 46s. to 48s. |
| White, ditto | 47s. to 51s. |
| Northumberland and Berwickshire red | 40s. to 45s. |
| White, ditto | 41s. to 47s. |
| Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red | 37s. to 43s. |
| White, ditto | 41s. to 45s. |
| Irish red | 37s. to 41s. |
| White, ditto | 40s. to 44s. |
| Barley, Malt | 31s. to 33s. |
| Chevalier | 31s. to 33s. |
| Distilling | 29s. to 31s. |
| Crushing | 28s. to 30s. |
| Malt, new | 37s. to 47s. |
| Norfolk, pale | 50s. to 56s. |
| Ware | 52s. to 58s. |
| Peas, Hog and Grey | 39s. to 40s. |
| Maple | 39s. to 41s. |
| White Bakers | 40s. to 48s. |
| Beans, Small | 31s. to 39s. |
| Harrow | 33s. to 38s. |
| Tick | 42s. to 56s. |
| Oats, English feed | 24s. to 27s. |
| Short, small | 26s. to 28s. |
| Land | 27s. to 29s. |
| Scotch, common | 26s. to 26s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Berwick | 26s. to 26s. |
| Irish, Galway, &c | 22 to 24s. |
| Potato | 25s. to 26s. |
| Black | 21s. to 26s. |
| Bran, per bushel | 10s. to 13s. |
| Flour, per sack | 43s. to 46s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Butter, Dorset | 49s. to —s. per cwt |
| Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| York | 38s. to —s. |
| Cheese, Dble Gl Leicester | 48s. to 66s. |
| Single ditto | 44s. to 49s. |
| Cheshire | 51s. to 74s. |
| Derby | 50s. to 60 |
| Hams, Westmoreland | 46s. to 54s. |
| Cumberland | 46s. to 56s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 23.

This day's supply of Sheep was rather great,
 its supply of Beasts, Lamb, and Calves, mode-
 rately good, of Porkers, but limited. Trade,
 owing to the unfavourable state of the weather
 for slaughtering, and both the carcass mar-
 kets, and many of the street butchers' shops,
 still containing a considerable portion of yester-
 day's meat, was, throughout very dull,
 say with Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, at a de-
 pression of from 2d. to 4d per stone, with
 Beef and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

END OF VOL LXXXIV.

